

THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.

GÖTTE.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XCII.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.
MDCCCLXIX



CONTENTS.

ART.

PAGE

I. *The Quakers.*

1. The Quakers, from their Origin to the Present Time: an International History. By JOHN CUNNINGHAM, D.D. Edinburgh: Menzies. 1868.
2. George Fox, the Friends, and the Early Baptists. By WILLIAM TALLACK. London: Partridge. 1868.
3. The Friends' Quarterly Examiner. Vols. I. and II. London: Kitto. 1867-68.
4. Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London. Printed by direction of the Yearly Meeting. London: Marsh. 1869.
5. Christian Doctrine, Practice, and Discipline of the Society of Friends. Fourth Edition. London: Marsh. 1861.
6. Barclay's Apology for the true Christian Divinity. New Edition. Manchester: Irwin. 1868.
7. The Life of George Fox. New Edition. London: Marsh.
8. The London Friends' Meetings; showing the Rise of the Society of Friends in London. By W. BECK and T. F. BALL. London: Kitto. 1869.
9. On Liberty. A Lecture delivered at the Friends' Institute, Manchester. By J. B. FOSTER. 1867 331

II. *The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough.*

- The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough, with a Selection from his Letters, and a Memoir. Edited by his WIFE. In two volumes, with a Portrait. Vol. II. Poems. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869 333

III. *Water Supply of London.*

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Water Supply. 1869.
2. Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on the Thames Navigation Bill. 1866.
3. Report from the Select Committee on the East London Water Bills. 1869.
4. Summary of the Weekly Returns of the Births, Deaths, and Causes of Death in London during the year 1868. (Published by the authority of the Registrar-General.)
5. Ninth and Tenth Reports from the Medical Officer of the Privy Council.
6. The Practical Medicine of To-day : Two Addresses delivered before the British Medical Association, and the Epidemiological Society. By Sir WILLIAM JENNER, Bart., M.D. London: H. K. Lewis. 1869 388

IV. *Sunday Liberty.*

1. Address to the House of Commons. Address to Working Men. Report, &c. Published by the National Sunday League.
2. Law Journal Reports for January, 1869.
3. A Statement of the Sunday Rest Question. By the Sunday Rest Association.
4. Report of the Society for Promoting the due Observance of the Lord's Day.
5. Report of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association.
6. Sabbatism : a Heresy. By J. BAXTER LANGLEY, M.R.C.S., &c., Vice-President of the National Sunday League.
7. The Sabbath of the Jews in its relation to the Sunday Question. By Dr. BENISCH.
8. The Literature of the Sabbath Question. By ROBERT COX, F.S.A. Scot. 1865. London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
9. Sunday : its Origin, History, &c. By J. A. HESSEY, D.C.L. London : John Murray.
10. Sabbaths : an Inquiry into the Origin of Septenary Institutions. Revised by the Author, and reprinted from the *Westminster Review* for October, 1850 415

V. *The Afghan Tribes on our Trans-Indus Frontier.*

1. Report showing the Relations of the British Government with the Tribes on the North-West Frontier of the Punjab from Annexation in 1849, to the close of 1855, and continuation of the same to August, 1864. Calcutta
 2. Memorandum on the Dera Ishmael Khan District. preparing
 3. The Mission to Candahar, with Appendices. By Major J. MONEY and B. LUMSDEN. have gone
 4. A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848-49. By HERBERT B. EDWARDS, C.B., H.E.I.C. sent wants.
- already ran,
uous line of

THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

~~~~~  
JULY 1, 1869.  
~~~~~

ART. I.—INDIAN RAILWAY REFORM.

Return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated July 12th, 1853, for Copies or Extracts of any Correspondence received from the Governor-General in Council in India, relative to Railway Undertakings in that Country.

Reports to Secretary of State for India in Council, on Railways in India. By JULAND DANVERS, Esq., Government Director of Indian Railways, 1860-69.

IN April, 1853, the late Marquis Dalhousie, being at the time Governor-General of India, drew up the well-known Minute which became the basis of what has ever since been the policy of the Indian Government with respect to railway construction and management. In that famous State Paper several questions bearing upon the general subject are discussed with characteristic ability. The advantages, political, commercial, and social, that might be expected to accrue to India from a national network of railways are eloquently set forth, the principal outlines of such a preference are marked, certain principles of construction are laid down, a special agency indicated as that to which construction was most expediently entrusted. Lord Dalhousie was such a man of commanding intellect. He was both a ruler and a legislator, the habit of laying down the law, and had a way of making his law to be very generally accepted as gospel. So powerful an impression on those in particular who served under him,

that even at this distance of time, it is with many eminent men brought up in his school, a sufficient recommendation of any part of Lord Dalhousie's policy to be able to say that it was Lord Dalhousie's.

Doubtless this personal influence was to a great extent merited, for to get one's familiars to believe in one's superiority is always a proof of some sort of real superiority. It is a pity, however, that respect for authority should ever go so far as to paralyse private judgment, and it is a pity that Lord Dalhousie's Railway Minute should by reason of its authorship have been exempted from early criticism. If certain defects in its theory had been duly exposed at first, certain serious errors in practice to which the theory has led would not be so loudly calling for investigation now.

This remark will scarcely be allowed to pass unchallenged. With some of Lord Dalhousie's admirers his railway policy is still one of his chief claims to admiration. In that department also they are well content to have the tree planted by him judged by its fruits. Has not India, they ask, got 4000 miles of railway by pursuing his lordship's plan? Is there not here a fact outweighing any amount of speculation? What proof is there that this mileage or anything like it could have been obtained in an equal time in any other way? Of course there is no proof. There seldom can be any that the visible consequences of given antecedents would have been the same if the antecedents had been different.

Nevertheless, although in the case before us there be no absolute certainty, it is at least easily conceivable that from a system the direct opposite of the one actually adopted, far more useful results might have ensued in far less time. At a distance of sixteen years from the commencement of operations, there are now, indeed, 4000 miles of open railway. But at the end of the first five years how many were there? When the Mutiny broke out, means at the disposal of the authorities of moving troops at steam pace between Calcutta and Lahore might have sufficed to render the Sepoy war an affair of weeks instead of months, and some twenty or thirty millions sterling of war expenses might have been saved, or, preferably still, have been applied to railway extension. Unfortunately, instead of reaching as far as Lahore, or even Delhi, railway communication from Calcutta did not then reach more than 122 miles westerly. In saving that insignificant mileage for future use, as munition and time had been expended as, otherwise applied, might have gone ten times as far towards satisfying immediately felt wants. For along the whole way in the direction indicated already ran, under the name of the Grand Trunk Road, a cecuous line of

finished earthwork, with all embankments and cuttings complete, and partially bridged, wanting, in short, little else than sleepers and rails to adapt it for the passage of locomotive engines and trains. On one half of the width of this road, leaving the other half to be used as an ordinary highway, these might have been laid down along the whole 1340 miles between Calcutta and Lahore, as cheaply and quickly as 120 miles of both earthwork and permanent way had actually been made between Calcutta and Raneegeunge. If such facilities of rapid transport between Lower Bengal and the Punjab had existed thus early, it is little to say that the siege of Delhi would have been greatly shortened, for the siege would probably never have occurred. The insurgents would never have been permitted to occupy the city. Nor was this the only quarter, nor this the only manner in which railways might have been improvised. But here we are touching on a point to which we may more conveniently advert a little later. Another matter of still greater importance demands attention immediately.

Lord Dalhousie's Minute is itself made up in great part of speculation, to the soundness of which subsequent facts have been by no means unanimous in testifying. When the ruling powers had resolved that Indian railways should be, there was no possibility of inducing private capitalists to accept the risk of creating them. Indian capitalists as a rule adventure nothing without what they believe to be full security for at least 12 per cent. profit, and English capitalists had a recollection, too rueful and too recent, of the bursting of railway bubbles at home to have any fancy for exposing their remaining substance to the chance of being converted into similar airy nothings abroad. If India was to have railways, there were practically but two ways in which she could be provided with them. Either Government might take their construction directly into its own hands, employing thereon either its own officers or contractors under direct engagements with itself, or it might induce bodies of shareholders to undertake the preliminaries and superintendence of construction, by insuring them against all loss from the undertaking: in other words, it might institute guaranteed railway companies. Of these alternatives Lord Dalhousie deliberately gave his casting vote in favour of the second, guided, as he explains, in his preference by reasons negative and positive. The negative, consisting partly of stock objections to Government action in commercial undertakings of any kind, partly of special objections to such action in undertakings of this particular kind, will come under notice presently. The most important of the positive was a peculiar capacity ascribed to guaranteed companies for introducing into India English capital and English enterprise and

energy. His lordship was aware that the advantages of the guarantee system were attended by their own peculiar drawbacks, and in particular might not be procurable without some sacrifice both of economy and speed. He was persuaded, however, that the sacrifice would be insignificant. He did not apprehend that the companies would get on much more slowly with their work than Government would, and though their work might probably enough be somewhat more expensive, still he calculated that the ordinary cost of railway construction under their direction would approximate to 5000*l.* a mile, and that, even where extraordinary difficulties were to be encountered, the maximum cost would not exceed 8500*l.* These were Lord Dalhousie's expectations, with which it may be edifying to compare actual realizations.

In sixteen years 4000 miles of railway have been constructed, that is to say, a country not much less in area and ten times as populous as the settled portions of the United States, may now boast of possessing nearly a tithe of the railway mileage possessed by the States. These 4000 miles have cost 68,000,000*l.*, almost all of it English money. Nearly seventy millions of English capital have, thanks to past railway policy, been transferred to India. As for English enterprise, seeing that enterprise ceases to be enterprise when it insists on being guaranteed against all possibility of danger, the less said about that perhaps the better. Numbers of engineers, however, and of artificers and mechanics of various sorts, have gone out to India under engagements with the companies, doubtless taking a considerable share of their energies with them, and these cannot fail to have set examples of activity, ingenuity, and skill of kinds to which India was previously little accustomed, and which she may not unreasonably be expected gradually to imitate. This is the bright side of the picture. The other is even less dazzling. The 4000 miles of railway so vauntingly spoken of, although consisting almost entirely of single lines of rail, have cost on an average no less than 17,000*l.* a mile. In some instances the cost per mile has exceeded 23,000*l.* In none has it fallen much short of 10,000*l.* And this expenditure is for bare construction and locomotive stock. It is exclusive of the value of the land, which in India is furnished gratis by Government, and it is not swollen by parliamentary or legal expenses, of which there need be next to none. Yet though free from some of the items which figure most conspicuously in the accounts of English lines, railway construction in India averages, as we have said, not less than 17,000*l.* a mile. What is the cause of this enormous costliness? Who is responsible for it? It is only bare justice to Lord Dalhousie to declare at once plainly that he is not. He

would have been one of the last to put forward proposals, pure and simple, for the guarantee of interest on *all* capital applied to railway expenditure. His recommendations in that direction were qualified by very important conditions. He distinctly stipulated, first, that the guarantee should be restricted to such amount as carefully-prepared estimates should show to be really requisite for the work to be done; and secondly, that the guarantee should be partially withdrawn in the event of the work not being completed within a specified period. If these precautions had been observed, they could not indeed have endowed the guarantee system with any positive virtue, but they would at any rate have gone far towards freeing it from the worst of its many vices. Unfortunately, the prudential part of Lord Dalhousie's counsel was entirely neglected. Though Governor-General of India, he was not himself competent to inaugurate the new order of things he contemplated. He could only submit it for the approval of his superiors at home, in those days the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Now, it would ill become the present writer to speak of that defunct body with one particle less of respect than he sincerely feels for their august memory. Amongst its members were several of strong sense and clear views, well competent to sit in judgment on their deputy's scheme. Collectively, however, they were under a great disadvantage in comparison with their exalted nominee. His was one master mind, while their minds, whatever their quality, were in number many, and *quot homines, tot sententiæ*: for many heterogeneous minds to come to any homogeneous and coherent agreement is scarcely in the nature of things. The conclusion they arrive at is always either the result of an interchange of compromises, representing everybody's scruples and nobody's opinion, or it is acquiesced in out of sheer weariness and exhaustion, after the discordant debaters have grown so sick of the subject, that they will agree to anything in order to get rid of it. The second of these courses was probably the one adopted in the instance before us. In no other way is it possible to understand how the Court of Directors could have eliminated all the best parts of Lord Dalhousie's scheme, leaving all the bad, and introducing novelties of their own devising, worse than anything in the original. The guarantee they finally resolved on giving was practically unlimited. Under the contracts entered into by them with the companies which they called into existence, if the first estimate for a railway should subsequently prove insufficient, it might be doubled or trebled, little choice being reserved to Government but that of going on guaranteeing whatever amounts might successively be demanded for the completion of the undertaking, for any period, however

protracted, during which it might remain incomplete. What need to point to the inevitable tendency of such arrangements? If it had been desired to make the Railway Boards extravagant, what more certain mode could be imagined than that of securing to them the full current rate of interest on whatever sums they should expend? What wonder that their estimates have actually been more than doubled; that whereas the line from Calcutta to Delhi was expected to cost less than ten millions, the actual cost will be more than twenty-three millions, and this with every acre of its land given free, with no parliamentary battles, and no battle of the gauges to fight? If the causes already indicated do not furnish complete explanation of the astounding costliness of Indian Railway Construction, they at least afford sufficient to prevent our being astonished at it.

As yet, however, the defects of the existing system have been but half exposed. At first it was believed that English capitalists might be willing to construct railways in India on terms substantially the same as those of an ordinary building lease. In this country, moneyed men may all around be seen running up on other men's land blocks of houses which at the end of ninety-nine years are to belong in full property to the ground landlord, readily taking their chance of making their fortunes if the houses let and let well, or of being half ruined if they do not. There was nothing unnatural, then, in supposing that similarly adventurous spirits might be not only willing but eager to contribute pecuniarily towards the creation of property in which they would have only a ninety-nine years' interest, provided that throughout those ninety-nine years, five per cent. on their money were absolutely secured to them, independently of any profits they might be able to make over and above five per cent. Between the market values of a perpetual and a ninety-nine years' annuity, the difference is scarcely appreciable, and in exchange for a perpetual five per cent. annuity any amount of money is at any time procurable. At least as readily, then, it might be expected to be forthcoming in exchange for a ninety-nine years' five per cent. annuity, with the chance of a bonus in addition. So supposed and so reasoned the Court of Directors, and one solitary step was taken by them in accordance with this view. In every one of their railway contracts will be found a clause providing that at the end of ninety-nine years, by mere effluxion of time, the land of the company contracted with, together with the railways thereon, and all buildings and all other fixed property of the company whatsoever, shall pass into the possession of the Government of India. And this is to take place without any concomitant expense to the said Government, without any payment on its part or any compensating act of any

kind. So far one clause, than which nothing can be more explicit. The very next clause, however, is equally explicit in a directly opposite sense, to wit, the following. If, instead of giving up their railway with its appurtenances for nothing at the end of ninety-nine years, a company shall prefer having their money back in exchange for it, all they have to do is, at any time not less than six months before the expiration of the ninety-ninth year, to give notice of their desire to surrender their property into the hands of Government. Then and in that case the latter, instead of getting the railway gratis, is bound, without any option as to buying or not buying, to pay for the railway every penny of capital that may have been spent upon it. In every one of the same contracts it is in one place provided that when the capital account is made up, no expenditure that has been incurred without the sanction of Government shall be entered in it, the intention evidently being that the amount of any disallowed expenditure should be excluded from the benefit of the Government guarantee. In a previous place, however, the Government guarantee had been distinctly pledged to whatever capital might be paid into the Government Treasury and not subsequently returned to the subscribers, so that the power reserved to Government of disallowing unauthorized expenditure was completely neutralized by anticipation. At this distance of time it would be vain to inquire how the Honourable Court were induced to acquiesce in these amazing contradictions. All that is certainly known is that they acted advisedly in the matter—under the advice of eminent standing and auxiliary counsel learned in the law. The precise amount of fees paid for the legal opinions by which they were persuaded so egregiously to stultify themselves might be an interesting item in the statistics of price.

Not that much persuasion was necessary. Liberality was always a distinguishing characteristic of the East Indian Directors in their corporate capacity, and their arrangements with railway companies seem to have been made in one of their most prodigal moods. Under those arrangements, as we have seen, a railway company, at any time within ninety-eight and a half years, can, for the asking, get back any amount of money it may have spent or squandered; and of course if, as in one case has already actually happened, a railway threaten to prove a permanently losing concern, the associated proprietors will take good care not to forfeit their money for want of timely asking. But on the other hand, if a railway turn out a success, and if Government, for that or any other cause, desire to obtain possession of it, then, says the contract, the price for Government to pay shall be the average market price of the three years last preceding.

Thus nothing is omitted that can insure Government's having the worst of the bargain in either case. Such railway property as the owners don't think worth keeping, Government may be compelled to take off their hands at cost price. Any railway property really worth having, Government can acquire only by paying its extremest value. Again, how much soever a railway may have cost, and how little soever it may be earning, Government is bound to make up to the shareholders 5 per cent. on their outlay. The payments by Government on this account are, it is true, treated only as advances, to be eventually repaid in full, if ever in the course of ages the railway to which they apply so far improve as to earn surplus profits over and above five per cent. sufficient for the purpose. But whatever be the number of ages which might otherwise have sufficed to pay off the advances, a special clause in the contract provides that the number shall be exactly doubled, ordaining that only one-half of any surplus profits shall be so applied, the other half being retained by the shareholders for the augmentation of their dividends. Thus if, as in one or two exceptional half-years has actually happened, one or two exceptional railways should earn six per cent., the extra one per cent. being, as in one of the actual cases referred to, equivalent to 100,000*l.*, only one half of that sum, or 50,000*l.*, would be applicable to payment of arrears of interest, although the amount of such arrears due by the company to Government were, as in the particular case we have in our eye it actually was, no less than 8,000,000*l.*

One more illustration of the lavish generosity exhibited towards the guaranteed railway companies may suffice. When any Indian line, or any part of one, is open for traffic, its earnings are applicable, 1st, to payment of current working expenses; 2nd, to repayment of interest advanced by Government during the current half year; 3rd, to reimbursement to the extent just indicated of advances of interest in previous years. In the first instance, however, the earnings are deposited in the Government Treasury pending their application to one or more of these purposes. If not so deposited, if left instead at the disposal of the company's officers, the money might have been temporarily set out at usury for the benefit of the company, in compensation for the loss of which benefit Government considerably allows interest on the amount deposited with itself, that is to say, allows to its own debtor interest on money due from that debtor for such time as may elapse before that same money is made over in due form to itself. The gain to individual railway companies by this means is not very considerable, not on an average more than 7000*l.* each. The aggregate expense to Government, however, is ten times as much, *i.e.*, a round sum

of 70,000*l.* or thereabouts, annually. All these things are done, be it borne in mind, for the encouragement of private enterprise, which certainly is encouraged in consequence to become continually more and more exacting. The daughters of the horse-leech could never have been more incessant in their cry of "give—give," than are most Indian Railway Companies. One of them, ever since it has been by pure act of grace on the part of Government allowed interest on those revenue deposits to which allusion was just now made, has been squabbling with the local authorities about the amount on which it is entitled to such interest. Another, although bound by contract to convey Government mails free, of course providing suitable carriages, not only will not allow sorting carriages to be substituted for ordinary carriages unless at Government's expense, but also not unless Government pay for the haulage of the substituted carriages. A third, in order to be spared the necessity of stopping its trains at every station in order to take up mailbags, provides itself with an apparatus whereby the latter may be picked up by carriages at full speed, and then, on the plea that the saving of time is an advantage to the public as well as a convenience to itself, demands that the cost of the apparatus shall be defrayed by the public. A fourth, finding that one of the towns which its line adjoins has had its commerce sensibly augmented by the connexion, resents as a grievance that Government should presume to connect the town with the national system of telegraphs, and claims compensation for such an encroachment on its rights. A fifth and a sixth, whose lines run into each other, cannot agree to indulge the public with the means of uninterrupted transport along both, but doggedly insist that all through traffic shall change carriages at their point of junction. To none of the companies does it ever seem to occur that some notion, however mistaken, of public utility may have been one of the motives for all the petting they have received, and that some consideration for public convenience is due from them in return. Even where their interests and those of the public are plainly identical, they will not take a step that, although promoting the former, will promote the latter also, without long preliminary higgling in order to see how much they can get for consenting to take it.

Nor is this at all wonderful. It is no more than might have been expected that the alternation of selfishness and heedlessness that marked their constructive operations, should equally characterize their administrative proceedings. In the hot and enervating Indian climate, what is there to induce agents or engineers or locomotive superintendents or traffic managers to make any superfluous efforts? Why trouble themselves to make any change in the regular routine, or to move an inch out of the familiar

groove? Their personal remuneration is in no degree dependent on their railway's remunerativeness. Whether it be worked at profit or at a loss their salaries are safe. The authority to which they are responsible is thousands of miles away, removed from them by little less than the length of the earth's diameter, and has small means of knowing more of what they do or leave undone than they themselves choose to report. With so little of either hope or fear to counteract natural tendency to lethargy, what wonder if they leave much of their business to take care of itself? What wonder that in the case of the vast national undertakings of which they are in charge, there should be but a minimum of national advantage from a maximum of expenditure—the earnings of the invested capital being similarly minimized? Yet even after this explanation the English reader may scarcely be prepared to hear that on Indian railways six trains a day each way seems to be thought the largest number that can advisably be run on a single line of rails, and that when that number is reached, full proof of the necessity of doubling the rails is supposed to be given; still less to be told that when, during the American Civil War, some of the inland stations of the East Indian Railway were often blocked up with cotton bales under consignment to Calcutta, but detained for want of carriage, whole strings of coal wagons that had come up laden from the capital were suffered to return thither empty.

These are a few illustrations of a system which, originating in half apprehension of Lord Dalhousie's views, has descended like a baleful heirloom on all subsequent Governors-General. Never was there one conceived in a more purely self-sacrificing spirit. "Heads we lose, tails you win," would seem to have been taken as their motto by its framers. Under its operation Government incurs an absolute certainty of inevitable loss, and is debarred from the possibility of the smallest counterbalancing gain. How every one of the eminent statesmen who have been called upon to administer such a system, must have chafed under its ruinous obligations, may easily be imagined, and the righteous soul of Lord Lawrence in especial must have been sorely vexed by them. To that downright, straightforward temper of his, which, when a public object is in view, aims straight at it without over-much tenderness for any individual feelings or interests that chance to stand in the way, it must have been singularly galling to be compelled to remain a passive spectator of such perverse misapplication of national resources. Accordingly, throughout his term of viceroyalty, he is understood, in his correspondence with the Home Government, to have been incessant in his denunciations of a state of things productive of such mischievous consequences. But he could only denounce,

he was unable to subvert ; and when he left India some months back, the nuisance was more rampant than ever, with little prospect of being speedily abated. At length, however, a new era seems to be dawning. Lord Lawrence's representations had not really fallen on barren ground. One or two steps taken by Sir Stafford Northcote while Secretary of State for India, show that he was a good deal impressed by them ; and there is reason to believe that, in the present occupant of the same high office, they have met with one well prepared both to bestow upon them the attention they deserve, and to act upon them as far as his judgment may approve. Already during his brief tenure of office, the Duke of Argyll is understood to have found time to look narrowly into railway matters, and certain overt acts of his appear to indicate that he both clearly perceives the evils involved in their present condition, and is bent on putting, if not an end to the mischief, at least a stop to its further progress. For this, however, there can scarcely be said to be more than one course open. It is too late now to revert to the limitations with which Lord Dalhousie would have hedged round the guarantee system. The abuses that have been suffered to grow up have a strong propensity to propagate their species. One of the most provoking things about the system is the tendency of every evil engendered by, or grafted upon it, to extend itself wherever the system extends. The profuse liberality in particular with which guaranteed companies have been treated, creates a conditional necessity for continuing the same profusion. To the existing companies Government is bound hand and foot by as one-sided contracts as rational beings ever entered into with their eyes open, and it is idle to expect that new companies would be satisfied with inferior terms. No body of investors will accept a limited and naked guarantee as long as on the Stock Exchange considerable choice of guarantees, unlimited and clothed with numerous collateral privileges, are on sale at much about the same price. If new companies are to be called into existence, or if old companies are to be induced to embark in extensions of their present undertakings, the thing is scarcely to be done except by conceding to them the same bounties on extravagance as have been granted hitherto, and continuing in their favour the same reckless and objectless sacrifice of public interests.

Against any such plan, however, those who are now presiding over the destinies of India have happily set their faces, but if this be set aside, what other means is there of providing for future railway construction in India ? As stated early in this paper, there is evidently but one—that, viz., of the substitution of direct Government agency for the intervening agency of the companies, and to many, doubtless the remedy will seem worse than the

disease. Every one is familiar with the usual stock objections to Government interposition wherever it can be dispensed with. That the State should do nothing for the public which the public can do equally well for themselves, has almost passed into a proverb, and far be it from us to dispute the soundness of the maxim. On the contrary, we are ourselves inclined to carry the proposition to an extreme. To us the fostering of habits of self-help and self-dependence appears such an important element in national education, that within certain and those pretty wide limits, we should say, better for the public to do things badly for themselves than to have them well done by others. But in saying this it is essential, especially where the construction of public works is in question, to distinguish carefully between the integral public and its individual components, as well as between countries in which the land belongs to individuals, and those in which—as in India, for example—the Government is the supreme landlord. Better, no doubt, that the inhabitants of a town or district in England, where the general principle of land-tenure is what it is, should make their own roads, docks, bridges, gas-works and water-works, than pay for having them made by the Central Government; but if the local community will not itself undertake their construction, it by no means follows that the next best thing is to leave them to be constructed as a commercial speculation by private adventurers. For with respect to public works, it is desirable not only that they should be as suitable as possible for their special purposes, but that the public should have the use of them on the cheapest possible conditions, which they obviously cannot have if private speculators are permitted to make profit by them; while without the prospect of profit speculators will not undertake them. That surely cannot be the best arrangement for the public under which public needs become the subject of private gain, under which individuals profit at the expense of the general. Evidently it were better, if possible, that whatever gain is made at the public expense should go back into the public purse. Clearly, too, what is done for the public by individuals is not done by the public for themselves. Now, that must be a very small public, the members of which are capable of any combined administrative action, or must not of necessity delegate all administrative functions to some presiding authority—in the case of a parish to the vestry, in that of a town to the municipality, in that of a whole country to the central government or State. What the vestry or municipality can do for the parish or town, let the vestry or municipality do. Here evil is much more likely than good to result from governmental interference. But where some public work of national dimensions is concerned, there, the public can act only through

the medium of the State: there, to say that the State should leave the public to do the work, is a contradiction in terms, for in no other sense can the public do the work themselves than by leaving the State to do it for them.

According to this showing, Government agency, provided only it were equally efficient and economical, would be preferable for the construction of great public works to even that description of private enterprise, viz., the unguaranteed, which really deserves the name. Unfortunately Government work, though generally good of its kind, has the reputation of being disproportionately dear, and until this reproach is cleared away, the national voice may be expected to declare itself generally for any private competitors willing to enter the field, asking no favour and claiming only fair play. At present, however, the comparison is to be made not with unguaranteed but with guaranteed enterprise, and Government agency has certainly nothing to fear from being contrasted with the latter. There are two modes in which guaranteed companies may proceed in the construction of railways. Either they may have them made by engineers and others in their own immediate service, themselves also purchasing all plant and materials, or they may get them made by contract, bargaining with some adventurous capitalists for certain lengths of railway to be provided at stipulated prices, and taking no direct part in constructive operations beyond that of having them inspected in order to secure work of contract quality. Indian Railway Companies have tried both of these ways, and in both have failed so signally as to leave no room for Government to do worse if it tried. Of all the Indian lines, with only two or three exceptions, the cost has been at least twice what it ought or was expected to be. On one of the most pretentious lines the quality of the work is such that no fewer than 2000 bridges, viaducts, and other newly built masonry structures have been officially pronounced to be in a state of premature decay, and to stand in need of a further outlay of nearly 1,800,000*l.* for their repair or renewal.

A standard of excellence based upon achievements like these can scarcely be supposed to be above the range of the most heedless of governments. There is in truth nothing for a guaranteed company to do, which a moderately painstaking Government would not be quite sure to do at least as well, and almost sure to do very much better. It is as easy for the latter as for the former to get surveys, designs, and estimates prepared for its approval by competent engineers, and to get those designs subsequently worked out either by servants of its own or by contractors. Experts would quite as readily take service with, and capitalists quite as readily take contracts from, a Government as a com-

pany. The former's money would be quite as acceptable as the latter's. There is indeed a belief afloat that companies have a special faculty for obtaining money on loan, and that without their intervention Government might find it impossible to raise sufficient funds for its railway undertakings. It is indeed notoriously the Government guarantee alone that attracts subscribers to the companies' stocks; nevertheless it is sometimes seriously said that what the mere loan of the Government's credit enables the companies to do, the credit itself would not enable Government itself to do. This is seriously said, but space is too valuable to allow of its here receiving a serious answer. Our readers will scarcely require any elaborate argument to prove that whoever can persuade money to be lent by backing another's bill, can at least as easily obtain a loan for himself on his own note of hand.

It may indeed be, as some of those best acquainted with the humours of the Stock Exchange insist, that the investing portion of the public have a childish love of variety, not only refusing to accept an indefinite amount of the same security, but even, while content with the substance of the security, requiring that its name should be changed. It may be that if the Indian Government had tried to raise by extra issues of its ordinary five per cent. stock the eighty odd millions of railway capital which have actually been raised by the guaranteed companies, the Government Stock would have been seriously depreciated. This may be, though when we consider what implicit faith is by the majority of investors reposed in their brokers, we may perhaps suspect that it is really rather the brokers themselves than their clients, who mistake a change of name for a change of nature. Be this as it may, however, it would be clearly quite as easy for Government as for a company to create railway stock, and it is not to be conceived that such stock would possess less value in the market because called Government Stock, when whatever value belongs to a company's corresponding stock is derived from its connexion with Government.

Again, it may be that the promoters, as they are called, of a railway company, *i.e.*, the individual members of the original board of direction, do, by personal solicitation and representation, induce friends and acquaintances of their own to become shareholders, who might otherwise hold back; but if Government does not resort to the same arts it is probably because Government finds them unnecessary. One of the commonest expedients adopted by companies in order to get their shares placed, is to pay to brokers a commission for placing them, but this, at any rate, is a plan quite at the disposal of Government. There is

besides one significant fact amply confirmatory of these assumptions. There is not one company that at this moment can raise, even with the help of the Government guarantee, money at less than five per cent. or thereabouts, whereas the Government itself has within the last few weeks borrowed two millions at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It is pretty clear, then, that at the outset Government would be at least on a par with railway boards in ability to raise capital, and still more clear that it would be in a better position subsequently for securing the due application of the capital raised. Even though it should take no more trouble about the matter than the boards are in the habit of doing, there would still be no reason why servants should take more advantage of their master's negligence, merely because their master was the Government. But moreover, Government would have both stronger motives and better facilities than the boards for enforcing economy and insuring efficiency. Without any imputation to the boards of special insensibility to the calls of duty, it may be safely laid down as an abstract proposition, that extravagance is likely to be more rampant where it is encouraged by premiums than where it is discouraged by penalties. Now the railway boards are entitled to be paid 5 per cent. interest on all they spend, whereas Government would be bound to pay 5 per cent. on all its expenditure of the same nature. The latter therefore would plainly have much the best reasons for looking sharply after its money, for seeing that it was not squandered, and that the work done in exchange for it was good of its kind. The latter too would be in much the better position for seeing to all this. Railway boards sitting in London can know little more of what their servants are doing on the other side of the globe than their servants think proper to tell them. They have no alternative but to accept, almost without reserve, the representations of their chief officers, who, for anything their so-called directors can do to prevent them, are at liberty to act pretty much as they please, and who no doubt allow to their respective subordinates latitude similar to that enjoyed by themselves. But the Indian Government being on the spot, and having all its railway operations immediately under its own observation, would not have to take for granted whatever it was told by its railway officers, but would be able to look into matters with its own eyes, and to pounce down at once on sluggishness, or unskilfulness, or waste, or malversation. Shortcomings, too, of every description, which might for ever remain unsuspected by a distant board, would, even without being looked for, force themselves on the attention of the local government. For the members of the latter, individually and collectively, personally and by proxy, in their private

Accn. No.

7980

Date

8. 8. 75

and in their official capacity, constitute precisely that portion of the Indian community which has most occasion to avail itself of railway communication. They would not fail therefore to become aware if railway work, for which they were providing the cost, were not proceeding satisfactorily, and they would have too direct an interest in improvement of progress not to take pains to discover which of their employes were in fault, and to make examples of the chief delinquents for the encouragement of the others. Not that such examples would be so likely to be needed as under the present system. For whereas the servants of railway companies have no personal interest in the success of the undertakings in which they are engaged, Government servants would, to say nothing of higher motives, feel that their official prospects depended on their performance of their official duties, and, when good service was insisted upon by their employers as a condition of promotion, would for their own sakes do their best to render what was insisted on.

These are reasons for supposing that if the Indian Government had in the first instance gone itself directly into railway construction, it might have been able to make its railways more cheaply and better than the guaranteed companies have done. And there are two further reasons for believing that it would be able to do so now. For, for one thing, there would be the past experience and example of the companies to assist in showing what errors and dangers were to be avoided ; and for another, both Government and its servants would, as their only justification for having superseded the railway companies, feel bound to do better than the companies had done. The officers employed on the Government railways would thus be on their mettle, and though of public servants as a class, owing to the depressing atmosphere that commonly surrounds them, apathy be no doubt the besetting sin, still, there is no such self-devotedness as that of exceptional members of the class, while even its average members require comparatively little to stimulate them to extraordinary exertion. For to servants of the public alone, to the exclusion of those of all other employers, do public zeal and public spirit come at all naturally, while among such of them as are good for anything, these qualities are always ready to show themselves as soon as called for. Those are not worth their salt who do not take a disinterested pride in any work of theirs which they perceive to conduce to a great public end, and who, because it so conduces, will not apply themselves to it with a will impossible for those the immediate object of whose labour is to make some one or some few other persons rich. But for those who are worth so much, when they are pitted against the employes of private adventurers, individual or corporate, with

equal encouragement to do well, there need be no doubt of their doing as well or better. And great national undertakings like railways are specially calculated to elicit disinterested zeal. In a practical comparison, then, of the respective aptitude of Government and private officers for railway construction, there can be little doubt of the former establishing their superiority, provided only the experiment be fairly tried.

In order, however, that the experiment should succeed in India, special danger must be guarded against and special deficiencies supplied. The Anglo-Indian Government is not now for the first time to be tried as to its fitness for undertaking public works. On the contrary, ever since it has been in existence it has had almost a monopoly of all such works, with the single exception of railways, and its warmest partisans will scarcely say that the result of its management has been altogether satisfactory. It has indeed effected much—much more than it commonly gets credit for. In the vast territories under its sway where, until it came into possession, there was not a single mile of what in Europe would be termed road, nor any means of crossing rivers but fording or ferrying, there are now thousands upon thousands of miles of metalled highway, and bridges over most of the countless smaller, and many of the larger, streams. Great irrigation works, too, which native dynasties had provided, with little apparent purpose but that of presently letting them fall into ruin by neglect, the British successors of those dynasties have both restored and surpassed by far greater works of their own of the same kind. And most of what has been done by Anglo-Indian rulers in any of these several ways has been very good of its kind, and much of it excellent. There is no road in England or France to compare with the Grand Trunk stretching from Calcutta to Lahore. There is nothing in Italy or Spain to match the annicuts and canals of Hindostan and the Madras Presidency, which as much outdo in scale and utility the dams and water-courses of Lombardy and Valencia, as the Ganges and Godavery surpass in volume the Po and Turia. Still, whatever praise on other accounts be due to the constructive faculty of the Indian Government, it must be admitted to be singularly slow in bringing its products to maturity. Children who were looking on when the Grand Trunk Road was begun had full time allowed them for growing into middle-aged men before it was finished. Though the Bezwarah and Dowlaishweran annicuts were finished twenty years ago, not half of the distributing channels for utilizing the waters periodically stored up behind them have yet been provided. For a similar reason, the Ganges Canal, though in one single extraordinary season—that of the famine-year of 1860—it went far towards repaying its entire

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. C

cost by the amount of good it did,* does not as yet yield more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of net water revenue in ordinary years. If in railway affairs Government action must needs be marked by similar procrastination, it were better perhaps that the guaranteed companies with all their faults should be continued in tranquil possession of the field. Better perhaps that India should pay 20,000*l.* a mile for work that need not cost more than half the sum, than that she should wait ten or twenty years for railways that might be made in half the time. But of course there is no real necessity for any such delay. The slow progress of Government public works is due to none but avoidable causes. Commonly it is ascribed to want of funds and want of engineers, but it is in reality more largely owing to misapplication of the funds and engineers actually available.

The Indian Public Works Department is organized in this wise. The whole empire from Peshawur to Rangoon, and from Assam to Cape Comorin, is divided for official purposes into twenty "circles," each presided over by a Chief Engineer, having under him two or more Superintending Engineers, most of whom again have each a score or two of Executive, Assistant, and Sub-Engineers under them. The specific duty of these officers is to keep in repair the roads, canals, bridges, barracks, jails, &c., with which their circle or province is already provided, to ascertain what additional ones are required, to make designs and estimates for these latter, and to carry into execution such plans as they can obtain sanction for. Not perhaps an ill-devised organization this with reference to its purpose, provided there were adequate motive power to keep it going. Such immense machinery, however, evidently requires immense pecuniary steam, and though the Indian Government has for years past been spending at the rate of five, six, and seven millions a year on public works, still even that expenditure is insufficient to allow of public works proceeding at the rate of speed desirable over the whole of India simultaneously. Since, however, there the machinery is, it cannot be suffered to stand idle and to grow rusty from disuse. Since there the several provincial establishments are—threatening to eat their heads off if left without something to do—some employment must be given to every one of them, sufficient to produce at least some show of activity. So funds, which if devoted exclusively to the prosecution of one or two important

* Colonel Turnbull, R.E., Superintendent-General of Irrigation at the time, reported of it officially as follows:—"It covered with cultivation 800 square miles, which must otherwise have been parched with drought, and enabled them to produce grain enough to maintain nearly 1,400,000 human beings during an entire year, besides saving Government from the necessity of making remissions of revenue to the extent of at least 200,000*l.*"

works, would have caused them to be finished offhand, are frittered away by being distributed amongst a dozen or more, and the consequence is that, at the close of every working season, instead of 100 miles of new road or new canal straight on end in any one direction, there are a dozen or more of disjointed portions connected with nothing and leading nowhere. Rather than allow the inhabitants of one district to have improved means of locomotion or of irrigation, earlier than those of another, half a dozen districts are all kept waiting to have their wants in those respects supplied, as long as the latest served would have had to wait if they had been attended to one after the other instead of all at once. On the other hand, if in aid of any work of extraordinary urgency an extraordinary grant be made, then it not unfrequently happens that the whole of the grant cannot be utilized within the year, owing to the want of engineers. There is always a lack of these where there is much for them to do, because so many of them are scattered about in places where there is little to be done. Where money is plentiful, work is delayed for want of engineers; where engineers are present in sufficient number, work languishes for want of money. A partial remedy for this double evil would obviously be greater concentration of resources of both kinds, but, besides that the remedy would be only partial, India cannot afford to wait for her railways until that radical departmental reform shall have been effected, which alone could render such concentration possible, nor indeed could any, the most complete, reorganization qualify the existing Public Works Department for adding railway construction to its other avocations without large adventitious aid. The railway wants of India cannot be adequately provided for either out of the ordinary revenues of the State or by the skilled agency actually at the disposal of Government. For such railways as Government itself undertakes large additional funds must be obtained by loan, and many additional experts must be engaged temporarily or permanently. Neither of these necessities, however, presents any very formidable obstacle. The credit of the Indian Government is good enough to enable it to borrow any amount of capital it is likely to require, and if it be prudent, it will enter upon no railway scheme without assuring itself beforehand of its ability to raise as soon as requisite the amount of capital estimated to be necessary in each particular case, or without taking efficient measures to prevent the capital so raised from being subsequently diverted from its original destination. No arrangements for this purpose can indeed be perfectly efficient, unless they comprehend the placing of the capital in question beyond the reach of Government, for in no other way can security be taken that it will not be misappro-

priated in times of State embarrassment. It is not to be doubted that, if during the evil days of the mutiny, the funds of the guaranteed companies had been at the disposal of Government, they would have met with as little respect as was actually shown to the so-called "Public Works Loan," which having been raised for public improvements, was applied without scruple to the expenses of the war. The only effectual way of saving money raised for railways from being similarly swallowed up, will be to commit it to independent keeping, proof against Government influence and solicitation, and incapable of being moved by reasons of State. This is a *sine quâ non*, to consent to which will require considerable magnanimity on the part of Government, but from which Government cannot withhold its consent without abandoning a precaution essential to all subsequent satisfactory progress.

Likewise, for procuring a sufficiency of professional and technical aid, Government can do, as well or better, whatever a guaranteed company could do in its place, and something more besides. Its service is generally deemed the more honourable and otherwise the preferable of the two, and at the present epoch of speculative depression there is unfortunately quite a superabundance of experts in search of employment. Within the last eighteen months, by simply advertising for engineers for its irrigation works, the Indian Government has been able to obtain immediately more than a hundred, selected from six times that number who offered themselves for engagement. Probably if it were now to advertise for persons qualified to conduct railway operations it would have still greater latitude of choice. Some such step it may probably have to resort to at first, but for subsequently recruiting its engineering staff, far better expedients than haphazard enlistment may without difficulty be devised. Eventually, to maintain the Indian Government Establishment at its proper numerical strength, some fifty or sixty civil engineers will, it is estimated, have to be sent out annually, merely to supply casualties in the service, and it would be on every account preferable that those so sent out should have been selected betimes, and specially trained beforehand for their destined service, than that they should be picked up hastily when wanted, having been left to their own devices previously to pick up professional knowledge where and as they could.

Now an Indian Civil Engineering College naturally suggests itself as a suitable means of affording the training in question, and if a college of the kind were established, into which none should be admitted except by competition at examinations open to all comers, but admission into which should entitle all, who eventually passed certain prescribed tests, to appointments in

India, it would in all probability be sufficiently frequented to become to a great extent, if not altogether, self-supporting. That if only decently managed it would turn out men far above the present average of English Civil Engineers may be presumed pretty confidently from two facts : 1st, that there neither is nor ever has been in this country any even tolerably good civil establishment for instruction in practical engineering ; 2nd, that the old Military Seminary at Addiscombe, though very far indeed from being a model of good management, did actually furnish the old East India Company with as fine a corps of military engineers as the world ever saw. There is nothing in the abstract nature of things to prevent a Civil Engineering College from now furnishing the present Indian Government with a corps of civil engineers equal in all respects to their military prototypes, and even superior in some ; equal in *esprit de corps*, sense of honour and integrity, and superior in technical training and practical aptitude. It is satisfactory, therefore, to have ground for believing that the idea of such a college has occurred to the present Secretary of State for India. From the firm grip of that energetic minister the idea will not be suffered lightly to drop, if on examination it be found capable of being turned to good practical account.

With adequate resources, pecuniary and professional, at command for railway construction, the chief remaining essential for the success of Government in embarking in that enterprise is that those resources should be properly applied. In order to this, however, there must be a large abandonment of time-honoured official traditions. Government must abdicate some fondly cherished functions—railway officers must not be hampered with a complex network of official forms, but must be allowed the free use of their faculties. The veriest engineering Samsons will have been engaged in vain if they are to be wound round with coils of red tape. One of the many evils inherent in and inseparable from the guarantee system, is the incessant intermeddling by the guaranteeing Government which it necessitates. After having done its best to deprive the companies of all motives to economy, Government is nevertheless bound in self-defence to use all watchfulness to prevent extravagance from which it will itself be the chief sufferer. An intricate system of checks and counter-checks has been in consequence devised. Over the so-called Chief Engineer, in the service of an Indian Railway Company, is placed a second chief, with the title of Government Consulting Engineer, whose previous assent is requisite for every proceeding of the first. Without his permission, no separate item even of an aggregate estimate which the presiding Government has already passed, can be acted upon. Every separate design and specification must have his approval. Every draft on the Go-

vernment treasury must have his endorsement. All this may quite possibly be really necessary under the existing *régime*. How imperfectly adapted it is to prevent extravagance and waste may be seen by the amount of extravagance and waste that goes on in spite of it. Still, since as without it the amount would no doubt be far greater, its object cannot be denied to be partially served. It is so far served, however, only at the cost of continual interruptions and delays, which, where, as in railway construction, time is money, must go far towards neutralizing the good effects of any such qualified economy as the control of the Consulting Engineer enforces. As might have been expected too, further and often serious impediments to progress are occasioned by the jealousy and ill-feeling which naturally spring up between the controlling and controlled officers. The utmost mutual forbearance could scarcely prevent frequent causes of offence, where the former stands to the latter in so invidious a relation. If direct Government agency, however, were substituted for that of a guaranteed company, there would be no necessity for this divided and conflicting chiefship. The Government, it may be presumed, would be careful to place in charge of every railway it undertook, the very fittest person it could find for the post, the one best qualified by professional knowledge and skill, integrity and administrative ability. Upon which assumption, it would obviously be at best superfluous to subordinate that fittest person to one less fit. No good, only harm, could possibly come from requiring the Chief Engineer to submit his proposals for approval, and to apply for orders to a Consulting Engineer less experienced, less able, and not more honest than himself. For all his official proceedings the former's responsibility should be exclusively and directly to the local government, which, moreover, having selected him on account of his presumed trustworthiness, should, if only for consistency's sake, treat him as one worthy to be trusted. Before executive operations were commenced, plans and estimates, framed with whatever minuteness of detail might be deemed desirable, would of course have to receive the sanction of Government, but that sanction having been accorded, and limits thereby set which the Chief Engineer would be bound at his peril not to transgress, he ought to be left to move freely within those limits with the least possible let or hindrance. In our opinion it would not be going too far to permit him to draw at his discretion for any sums within the totals assigned for specific portions of works, and to leave him in great measure to his own judgment in carrying out the approved designs for those portions, subject of course to adequate supervision, but not to more than might be requisite to insure the faithful application to the specified purposes of the several sums drawn, and the due quality

of the work on which the money was expended. Such confidence, even if occasionally misplaced, would scarcely, under a proper system, be liable to much abuse, while, when worthily bestowed, nothing would tend so much to elicit the zeal and public spirit which above all things would be required in the circumstances, and which nothing, on the other hand, is more calculated to repress than a constant show of jealousy and suspicion.

Thus far we have assumed that the Indian Government will prefer having its railways constructed by engineers in its own immediate employment and acting under its own immediate orders. But it may be objected that the Government already has its hands full, is already overburthened, and has neither time nor energy to devote to the direction of railway operations. Even so, there would still be no reason why it should continue to have recourse to the mediation of guaranteed companies. Most of these have found it advantageous to get part, and one or two of them the whole, of their work done by contract. But not only would it plainly be quite as easy for Government, as for a company, to form arrangements with contractors, but inasmuch as the contracts are to be entered into virtually at the expense of Government, it would plainly also be preferable for Government to contract directly, than to constitute a company for no other purpose than to contract intermediately. In fact, the contract system, if it had been originally entered into by Government direct, might have been found to possess whatever merits are supposed to belong to the guarantee system, without any of the latter's defects. It would have served equally well to introduce from England into India genuine energy and skill, without robbing those qualities of half their vitality. Instead of weakening, it would rather have strengthened the usual inducements to activity and economy. Hitherto an arrangement between Government and a guaranteed company has been for work to be done in an indefinite time at an indefinite expense, the company being moreover left with more reason for prolonging the one and increasing the other than for striving to curtail either. But a corresponding engagement with a railway contractor would specify both time and expenditure, the first of which the contractor would be directly interested in diminishing, while he could not exceed the second except at his own loss, any saving made by him upon his estimated outlay being moreover so much extra gain to himself, while the knowledge of such extra gain would be indirectly advantageous to Government by assisting it to make subsequent contracts on more favourable terms. For these reasons it is possible that Government may be consulting its own convenience if some three or four years hence it resolve to adopt the contract system in certain cases. It is to be hoped, however,

that the trial will not be made earlier. At present the chief data on which the calculations of contractors could be based consist of the past disbursements of guaranteed companies, but Government on taking railway construction into its own hands will, no doubt, if it manage properly, be able to prove that a large proportion of that past expenditure might have been saved. Let it first prove this by actual results, and it will then have authoritative facts to insist upon in its negotiations with contracting firms.

But whether it be agency of its own regular servants or the contract system that Government adopt, it can plainly avail itself of either with quite as much effect as a company could, proceeding in all its railway operations certainly as well, and probably better, with regard to economy, excellence of workmanship, and speed. As to speed, indeed, there is some risk of its proceeding too fast, rather than not fast enough. Nothing, as Dr. Franklin makes his *Poor Richard* say, is cheap that we do not want, and the dearness in relation to ourselves of anything we cannot afford is at least equally apparent. How much soever India may need railways, there is a limit to its Government's ability to create them without becoming financially embarrassed, and no national convenience can be so urgently required as to warrant its being obtained at the risk of national bankruptcy. Whatever the limit in question be, it must on no account be overstepped, or there can be no regularity in the progress of railway construction. No narrow nor inelastic limit need be set. The railway expenditure of the Indian Government on account of guaranteed interest was at one time, speaking in round numbers, little less than two millions annually. It has now by the gradually increasing remunerativeness of the several guaranteed lines been reduced to about half that amount, and instead of ever rising higher again, it may reasonably be expected to go on falling lower and lower. But the financial condition of the Indian Government is at least as sound at this moment as it has ever been, and if in any year within the last twenty it could afford to spend two millions on railways, it can equally well afford to spend the same amount annually now. And as of these two millions only one at most is likely to be required hereafter for interest due to guaranteed companies, there will remain another million upon the security of which Government may raise loans on its own account, and for appropriation according to its own discretion. Now that million would suffice for the so raising of a total of at least twenty millions, which again would suffice for the outlay on railway works of three millions annually for nearly seven years, and for the creation, at the rate of 10,000*l.* per mile, of two thousand miles of new railway within that period. And by the

time the whole of these two thousand miles were opened for traffic, their own partial remunerativeness, together with the increased remunerativeness of previously existing lines, would furnish Government with fresh means of borrowing and of proceeding with its railway work without exceeding the limit assumed to have been set to its annual expenditure; and that limit, be it recollected, is merely an assumed one. It is quite possible that an outlay considerably exceeding three millions a year might not imprudently be adopted. Nothing more is here desired to be insisted on than that whatever were the extreme limit which careful calculation and comparison of its financial resources and liabilities, should convince the Indian Government ought to be set to its railway expenditure, that limit should be rigidly adhered to. Before engaging in railway projects, which when once commenced would necessitate expenditure extending over a series of years, it will be indispensable for Government carefully to calculate the entire cost, and to consider whether the periodical claims to which it will be liable in consequence, will be greater than it can rely on being able to meet. If there be any doubt on this point, there will be no safe alternative but to defer the execution of the projects until there shall be a clear prospect of their being, when once begun, prosecuted uninterruptedly towards completion.

There is another counsel which, superfluous as it may perhaps be deemed, is in fact anything but unnecessary. It behoves Government to take special heed that it gets money's worth for its money. This we say with reference less to quality of workmanship, than to the question whether the utility of the work done, however excellent of its kind, will be commensurate with the cost. "To afford facilities for intercommunication between the peoples of widely separated districts is," said Washington, "the first duty of a government," but the apothegm is not to be accepted without reserve. It is not the less possible to pay too dearly for our whistle, because the whistle happens to be of railway type. In speaking of Indian railways, however, it is necessary to distinguish. Of some of them, commonly classed as "political," the main purpose is to subserve some great national end; perhaps to facilitate the transport of troops and military stores, and thereby to assist Government in obeying nature's first law, that of self-preservation; perhaps to facilitate the conveyance of food to districts liable to drought, and thereby to afford far better security against local famines than could be given by the existence of local irrigation works: for the best contrived of these latter will occasionally fail in exceptionally dry seasons, whereas in the whole of a vast country like India there will always be food enough to feed the whole people pro-

vided there be means of transport available for its universal distribution. For example, the projected Indus Valley Line, one very likely to be taken up by Government forthwith, would throughout its course traverse a desert so nearly continuous, that very few peaceful passengers and very little merchandize need be expected ever to travel or to be sent by it, unless bound for, or consigned to, destinations beyond one or other of its terminal stations. But, on the other hand, in the event of threatened invasion from the side of Afghanistan, every ounce of iron laid down through that same desert might at once grow worth its weight in silver; for an intermediate link, connecting the existing Punjab and Scinde Railways, would enable a defensive force to be readily massed at whatever point between Lahore and Sukkur the enemy might choose for his attack,—while a second almost priceless advantage would consist in the power of despatching by express trains to the scene of operations troops arriving at Kurrachee direct from England *via* Suez. Again, in the actually backward condition of Orissa, there is probably no traffic between that and any other part of India, which in ordinary seasons would afford adequate employment for a railway; yet if two years ago a railway had been in existence, connecting Orissa with any well-provisioned province like Bengal, not only would myriads of lives have been saved, but Government, by being spared the necessity of a large portion of its expenditure on comparatively useless relief, would so have at once recovered indirectly much of the cost of such a railway. Railways of these two descriptions contain immense latent capabilities, only to be called forth by extraordinary emergencies, and their value cannot be duly estimated except by reference to the probability of such contingencies. In dealing with schemes relating to them, Government should be guided by much the same principles as those on which individuals act when effecting insurances against death, or fire, or shipwreck. To determine when the calamity against which provision is made will take place, or whether it will take place at all, may be impossible. The only course open to Government is to calculate the chances according to the best of its ability, and to act upon the result of the calculation according to the best of its judgment.

The case, however, is materially different with regard to another and more numerous class of railways—those, *viz.*, which though not, of course, devoid of political utility, are designed mainly for personal or commercial accommodation, for the conveyance of private passengers and private merchandize. If on any of these, the traffic be insufficient to pay interest at the average rate on the cost, there is always *prima facie* room for suspicion that its construction was a financial mistake. In

speaking of such railways, considered as investments of national capital, it is indeed common to suggest that their indirect advantages may be greater than the direct, and that their influence in promoting the growth of national wealth and in conducing generally to national prosperity, may more than compensate for their failure to yield fair dividends to shareholders. Such language is somewhat vague. Let us endeavour to ascertain precisely what are the indirect advantages referred to. The most prominent appear to be the following. By affording easier and cheaper means of transport, and by consequently enabling industrial products to be sent to more distant markets, railways undoubtedly not only enable home-producers to obtain higher prices from foreign customers, but also give a new stimulus to home-production, causing fresh lands to be brought under cultivation, or to be planted or sown with more remunerative crops, and encouraging equally the extension of manufacturing, mining, and miscellaneous industry. Two distinct increments of national wealth are in consequence made, consisting, first, of enhanced receipts from abroad for part of the previous aggregate of national produce; second, of the entire net profits on the sale of certain additions made to that previous aggregate; and of both increments the credit fairly belongs to the railways. It may however be readily shown that the utmost which the first recipients of these additions to the national wealth are willing to pay in order to secure them is a pretty exact measure of the value of the additions. Clearly, rather than not send their merchandize to a market where it would sell at enhanced prices, producers will pay for its conveyance thither any fares that will still allow them to sell it there at any additional profit. Clearly, they will submit to any tariff of rates and fares which will not absolutely prevent their benefiting by using the railway. But if the utmost, which by the most cunningly devised tariff can be annually extracted from producers and from the public generally for the use of a railway, be not equal to interest at the current rate on the capital invested in the line, it seems to follow of necessity that the whole pecuniary value of the advantages of every kind afforded by the railway to its customers is not, in the eyes of those best able to judge, viz., the customers themselves, equal to the cost at which they have been provided. It seems clear that the capital invested in the railway would have become more productive if it had not been so applied, if it had not been diverted from the agricultural, manufacturing, or other branch of ordinary business, in which it would otherwise have been employed. The consequence of the change in the mode of employment would seem clearly to be, not an augmentation, but a diminution of national wealth, inasmuch as the capital has been withdrawn from a

business in which it would have produced more, to one in which it is producing less.

According to this reasoning the construction of any merely commercial railway that could not be made to pay commercially, might at once be set down as an economic blunder, and we must confess that this would, in our opinion, be a perfectly just conclusion but for one solitary consideration. In addition to the national benefits already alluded to, there is another of pre-eminent importance which railways render, and render too, gratuitously. Besides facilitating and cheapening the conveyance of persons and goods in all directions, they also disseminate intelligence, knowledge, ideas of all sorts, and this latter service they perform without charge. Hawk-eyed capitalists carried about the country by rail are made acquainted with previously hidden natural resources—coalfields, iron mines, or what not—needing nothing but the appliances for which capitalists are seeking occupation, to be converted into mines of wealth. Farmers, manufacturers, artificers, and artisans are similarly brought into contact with new modes of culture, new industrial processes, new machinery and implements, and on their return home adopt in their own operations some of the improvements they have noticed. Industry of every kind thus becomes improved, as well as extended, its productiveness increasing accordingly, and adding proportionately to the national wealth. Here is a consideration which should never be overlooked in estimating the national importance of railways, and which may serve to prevent certain lines, in whose favour little could be said when viewed with reference solely to the individual interests connected with them, from being summarily condemned as failures when regarded in an enlarged and national sense. No doubt the consideration will receive due weight from the Indian Government. It may easily receive too much. The effect which a railway may have in contributing to industrial progress being incapable of being ascertained beforehand, is as liable to be over as under rated, and though every augmentation of national wealth consequent on industrial progress must needs tell eventually on railway traffic, it may tell only slowly and gradually, and not necessarily at all perceptibly on the particular railway to which the progress is due. It will generally therefore be wiser, in judging of the railway requirements of any district, to take into account rather its existing, or immediately prospective, traffic, than that which might possibly spring up years afterwards. Even comparatively small traffic need not, however, be left indefinitely without railway accommodation, provided the scale on which the accommodation is provided be adapted, as in reason it should, to the object immediately in view. Early in

this paper allusion was made to the neglected opportunity of improvising 1340 miles of railway on the Grand Trunk Road. The railway might not perhaps have been exactly a model of constructive excellence, but it would have sufficed for immediate requirements pretty nearly as well as one ten times as costly, while it might have been finished in a tenth of the time, and, as soon as finished, would have earned ten times as much in proportion to its cost.* Hitherto, however, Indian railways have been planned without reference to such grovelling calculations. Their authors have kept steadily before them the English standard of perfection, never for a moment suspecting that appliances suitable enough for a compact little island, with a population denser, wealthier, more ardently commercial, and more restlessly locomotive than can anywhere else be found, must be best suited likewise to regions the direct opposite in all respects—vast, wide-spreading, for the most part sparsely inhabited, with the most backward of agriculture, with few manufactures, and with little commercial animation to counteract the national dislike of activity or movement of any sort. Inspiration much more to the purpose might have been obtained from the other side of the Atlantic. In some physical characteristics India resembles the United States as much as she differs from England, and no race of men ever showed themselves better able than our American cousins to deal with whatever circumstances, physical or other, they happen to be placed in. In their public works, as in everything else, instead of starting with some grand preconceived idea, their first step is to take the dimensions of the reality to be provided for. They have no notion of spanning a brook like the Manzanares with arches like those of Westminster Bridge. When planning a railway, they first ask what are the actual wants of the district to be traversed, and if its traffic seems too small to pay for costly and substantial appliances, only cheap and slight ones are provided, timber perhaps being substituted wholly or to a great extent for iron, and proportionate parsimony observed in all other arrangements. In the Adiconrack district of the State of New York, a railway lately made entirely of wood is being worked satisfactorily, and with profit to its owners. According to the description it is but a homespun affair. A good deal of rough trestle work, consisting of cross logs, is used, and into the sleepers, which are not squared at all, the rails,

* The claims of the Grand Trunk Road to conversion into a railway were forcibly urged in a letter addressed in January, 1859, to Lord Stanley, by Mr. George Preston White, C.E., and printed subsequently for private circulation. When in India, four years earlier, Mr. White had pressed the same subject on the local Government.

which are of maple, are set in heavy notches, and tightly wedged down by small wedges made from the waste of the rail. In some places the gradients are as much as 70 feet in the mile. But rough as the whole contrivance is, it serves its purpose for the nonce, far better than any more expensive elaboration would. Its cost per mile was only a tenth part of that of a first-class iron road, and rates and fares can therefore be fixed proportionably low, and at sums which the infant traffic can afford to pay. Very possibly in eight or ten years, rails, sleepers, and all the rest of the materials may be worn out and require complete renewal, but by that time the traffic, thanks to railway fostering, may have expanded into dimensions requiring and able to pay for improved means of conveyance. The creators of the wooden railway may then be encouraged to replace it by one of iron, with full assurance of obtaining as high a rate of profits on the larger outlay as they had already received on the smaller; whereas if a first-class railway had been made in the first instance, not only would the greater part of the capital have been lying unremunerative during the interval, but the traffic of the district would have remained undeveloped from inability to pay for the expensive railway assistance which alone was available for its development. Whether India would have done well to act from the beginning on the modest American plan is a matter which we will not now stop to discuss. Let bygones be bygones. What has been done is done, and cannot now be undone. But with regard to the future the American example does certainly seem deserving of imitation in some of those more thinly peopled and poorer districts into which it is proposed that the Indian railway system shall be extended. Where the standard gauge would involve ruinous and great expense, a narrower gauge should be substituted. Where steep gradients cannot be got rid of except on the same terms, steep gradients must be submitted to. In those parts of India in which timber is abundant, iron rails might sometimes be advantageously replaced by wooden ones. Where wood is scarce, the experience of a smart Yankee engineer, if such an one were enlisted amongst Government's professional advisers, might probably be able to suggest some other cheap substitute for metal. For be it recollected, in any of the cases supposed, the choice would be not between standard and narrow gauge, steep and easy gradients, metal or wooden materials, but between inexpensive railways and no railways at all. Now even an inferior railway may, for the development of a country's latent resources, be in many respects better than the best ordinary road, while the temporary adoption of an inferior railway might, in the manner already indicated, be the best mode of preparing for the creation of a superior railway subsequently.

Enough has been said to expose the incorrigible defects of the guarantee system, under which all the ordinary motives to economy and carefulness are destroyed or weakened, while a direct stimulus is given to extravagance and recklessness, probability of financial failure in the case of some of the railways undertaken being thus almost converted into certainty, and Government being at the same time saddled with the whole loss of every line that fails, and utterly excluded from participation in the profits of any that succeed. Enough has been said too, to show that the substitution for such a system of any tolerable form of direct Government action can scarcely by possibility be a change for the worse, and can only, by the perversest mismanagement, be prevented from being an immense change for the better.

The foregoing discussion of the question,—Who ought to make the railways of India? consists of arguments addressed alike to those who, agreeing with ourselves, would restrict governmental activity within the narrowest possible limits consistent with the well-being of the commonwealth, and to those who strenuously maintain as an article of political faith the doctrine, implicitly believed by the great majority of the English people, and but too confidently acted on by English statesmen, that the land can be held by individuals as an absolute property, or possession in perpetuity, as completely as a moveable chattel. But the few thoughtful Englishmen who maintain an exactly opposite doctrine, the many English working men who have a dim adumbration of it, and the millions of inhabitants of India whom railway legislation for that country directly affects, and whose principles and practice in respect to the tenure of land are the reverse of those now established in England, will recognise at once that in favour of the construction of railways by or on behalf of the supreme Government the argument which, in their eyes, is the strongest of all, still remains to be stated. Of this argument we can only present a summary, for the few concluding pages at our disposal will not enable us to do more. This is, however, the less to be regretted as, exactly ten years ago, we treated this part of the subject *in extenso*, and, indeed; we shall do little more now than reproduce a few paragraphs from the concluding pages of the article entitled "The Government of India, its Liabilities and Resources," published in the number of this Review for July, 1859.

Having described the various modes by which in India land is held, and by which that share of its produce accruing to the Government as revenue is assessed and collected, we said,—

"Our readers are now, we believe, in possession of ample data for forming a distinct conception of the general principle and practice which have distinguished the various Governments of India

as proprietors, lords paramount, or assessors of the land. We have seen that, in accordance with Asiatic ideas and immemorial custom, the Indian theory of the tenure of land vests the absolute ownership in the Sovereign; that, whether this theory be recognised or not, Hindu and Mohammedan princes have exercised all the rights of unconditional proprietorship; that as a general rule they have exacted from the cultivators so large a proportion of the produce as to leave them a bare subsistence; that in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay the British Government has followed so faithfully in the footsteps of its predecessors as not only by its rapacity to bar the cultivators from proprietary rights, but to drive them from their native lands, which, by tens of thousands of acres, have consequently gone out of cultivation; that in these two Presidencies the proprietary right is not even theoretically abandoned; that in the Bengal Presidency a proprietary right to the extent only of one eleventh part of the assumed net profits of the soil was assigned by Lord Cornwallis to the zemindars;* that in the north-west provinces, the Punjab and Scinde, where the interests of the cultivators are alleged to be especially considered, the Government avowedly takes two-thirds of the net profit or rent, and often much more, as shown by the frequent necessity of lowering the assessments after they have been fixed; and that in every part of British India where beneficial leases are now granted, the Government reserves to itself the right of continuing to claim the same *proportion* of the produce which it now exacts, or, in other words, raising the rent when the present leases shall expire. In view of the evidence we have adduced, few will deny, we presume, that the British Government is both *de jure* and *de facto* the all but absolute landlord of British India, and therefore in the position so to manage the vast estate, so to administer its trust on behalf of the people, as to realize the wise and righteous doctrine, dimly understood but practically insisted on for ages throughout a large part of Asia, and emphatically taught by the English politico-economical authorities of Europe—viz., that the land of each nation belongs to the people as a whole, that the Government as their representative is the supreme landlord, and that it cannot rightly alienate in perpetuity any part of its trust to individuals.

"Seeing what is the actual relation of the Anglo-Indian Government to the soil of India, and assured of the truth and wisdom of the doctrine just referred to, we believe it to be the imperative duty of that Government to proclaim itself, both theoretically and

* Owing to improvements, the value of their proprietary right has increased two, three, and even fourfold.

practically, the supreme landlord on behalf of the people, and to assume all the obligations attaching to that high office."

Were it to do this it would be bound to use every means in its power so to increase the value of its estate, as to enable it to yield a revenue equal to the national expenditure, and ultimately capable of paying off the hundred millions of debt with which it is burthened. Now, among the several practicable means of increasing the land revenue an incalculably great one consists in supplying facilities for copious irrigation, *and for the cheap transport of agricultural produce to the best markets.* "Practically the landlord of India, but under the influence of the European and antagonistic idea that it would be better were the actual holders absolute proprietors of the land, the English Government in its management of, or relation to, the public works, has exhibited all the dubiousness and faltering inevitably resulting from a policy prompted by two irreconcilable principles. In an economical point of view it is clearly the duty of a landlord to do all in his power so to improve the value of his estate as to make it yield him the highest possible rent. In a country, the fertility of which mainly depends on efficient irrigation, this duty is peculiarly imperative, because many estates being supplied with water from one and the same source, their several owners are individually powerless to help themselves, and unless they co-operate for the satisfaction of their common need they must be assisted either by large and enterprising capitalists, or by the Government itself. Nearly the same remarks are applicable to canals and roads. * * * The Anglo-Indian Government has encouraged their accomplishment by private enterprise, and has been so loth to recognise its duties as national landlord, that though compelled to perform them more or less in spite of itself, it abstained from organizing a department of public works until the present decade, and confided such as it did undertake to military boards. In 1854, during the reign of Lord Dalhousie, a systematic organization of the Public Works Department was inaugurated, and for some years past from 2,000,000*l.* to 2,500,000*l.* have been expended yearly on public works, a considerable proportion being for roads, bridges, and works of irrigation. But how greatly the Government would fain still lean on private enterprise is evident from the fact that it has presented to the several Indian railway companies the land on which the lines are being constructed, and has incurred the risk of guaranteeing to the shareholders a minimum profit of 5 per cent. on 40,000,000*l.*, stipulating only for a share of any profits which may accrue beyond 5 per cent. even if the undertakings should prove successful enough to make repayment possible. Vol. XCH. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. D

Such private enterprise as this is, however, much more seeming than real. It is a mere mask under which the national landlord is in fact improving his estate himself, and at his own expense. We are glad of it, but our gladness is not unmixed with regret that the Government, after finding the land and according its guarantee, will have no share in the property which it has virtually created ; and we look on these anomalous partnerships between the Government and private companies, in which all the risks are on one side and all the profits on the other, as characteristic of a transitional state. So soon as the doctrine that the land belongs to the people as a whole shall obtain complete recognition, road and canal making, and irrigation on that gigantic scale which is essential in eastern countries, will be found to be among the few important functions of government when restricted to the proper sphere of its activity.

"The indirect profit derivable by a nation from the construction of roads and canals, is far greater than the direct profit derivable from the sums paid for their use after deducting the cost of making and working them ; witness the enormous impetus which has been given to agricultural and commercial activity, and the wonderfully rapid progress in civilization which has been made throughout Europe and North America, by the extensive system of railroads now established. But the prime movers of this great and beneficent revolution—the railway capitalists—instead of finding their great works yield a remunerative interest on the capital invested, have to deplore the irrecoverable loss of hundreds of millions, while many of them have been reduced from affluence to beggary. Competition, usually so healthful and beneficent, is baneful here : if two lines run between the same points and through the same intervening country, their directors will, in the first instance, so cut down each others' prices as to ruin the shareholders, and then they will either amalgamate or enter into a treaty, the result in either case being that the public will be compelled to pay double the fares they ought to do on each line, in order to yield a profit on the double outlay of constructing two where one would more than suffice for the whole public traffic.

"The more attention is given to the question—Who ought to construct the public works?—the more distinct we believe will be the answer that the duty rests with the Government. Assuming that political economists and statesmen will ultimately concur in this judgment, they will probably be also of opinion that whenever such works would undoubtedly yield a large indirect profit to the State, by developing and enriching it as a whole, they ought to be constructed even though they should fail to yield a direct profit on their cost and management.

"The following facts justify this opinion :—During the years

from 1836 to 1849 the aggregate increase of the revenue of Madras, due to the extension of works of irrigation, was 415,529*l.*, after paying all cost of construction and repair. Owing to the Godavery Works, the aggregate increase of revenue from 1846-7 to 1853-4, was 360,000*l.* against an expense of 188,000*l.*, and the exports of the district steadily increased from 116,000*l.* in 1847-8 to 650,000*l.* in 1853-4. It is estimated by the Madras Public Works Commission that the landholders of the same district will be enriched by the Godavery Works to the extent of 3,000,000*l.* a year. The Doab and Eastern Canal, which has cost altogether about 640,000*l.*, irrigates an area of 1,300,000 acres, yielding produce to the annual value of not less than 2½ millions sterling. The increase of land revenue due to the Ganges Canal is estimated at upwards of 240,000*l.* a year.* Pages might be filled with similar facts. But if the Government incurs the expense and risk of such works, it has no right to alienate its claim to whatever direct profits may sooner or later arise from them. It seems to us, that instead of guaranteeing 5 per cent. per annum on 40,000,000*l.* now being expended on Indian railways, the Government would have acted more prudently had it borrowed the money at its market value, constructed the lines itself, and retained them as its property, to be leased to private companies on such terms as should seem mutually equitable. A knowledge of the large direct profits now yielded by certain Indian public works will perhaps be held to justify this conviction.†

The Eastern Jumna Canal, which irrigates an area of 239,555 acres, has cost 175,205*l.*, and yields a net profit annually of 25 per cent. on that sum. The Western Jumna Canal, irrigating an area of 447,171 acres, and constructed at an outlay of 228,451*l.*, yields a net profit annually of 22½ per cent. The outlay on the Godavery Irrigation Works up to 1867-8 was 443,549*l.*, and after deducting 4 per cent. for interest on capital, the profit from all sources on these works was in 1866-7, 180,140*l.* The Kistna Irrigation Works have cost 269,759*l.*, and after deducting 4 per cent. interest on the outlay, the profit from all sources was 50,470*l.* The direct profit on the Ganges Canal, which irrigates an area of 634,734 acres, has not yet amounted to the sum it was originally expected to yield; but the net annual profit derived from the direct receipts of water-rent only may now be stated at 3½ per cent. on an outlay, up to 1866-7, of 2,195,575*l.* But even this, when compared with the average dividends yielded by English railways is no contemptible profit, and indeed, the

* See the Note at page 18.

† *Westminster Review*, No. xxxi., pp. 153-160.

same remark applies to the Barea Doab Canal, which irrigates 228,421 acres : it yields a profit of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on its outlay—1,151,381*l*.

We have no data immediately at hand wherewith to prove the indirect effects of railways in augmenting the revenue derived from Indian lands, but it is certain that they are, and must continue to be, immense. Even on this ground alone we conclude therefore, and may consistently affirm, that whereas the construction of public works, including railways, by private companies who depend solely on the direct profits derived from them, frequently results in loss, the State, which in India enjoys the large indirect profit derived from them, can construct them with comparative little risk ; that when their existence would greatly augment the revenue, it may be the duty of Government to construct them, even though there is no prospect that they will yield a direct profit ; that considering the enormous amount of land still unlet, or recoverable from holders paying nothing for it and having no title to it, the increasing demand for it, the certainty that it will rise in value from natural causes, and still more from the extensive construction of railroads, common roads, and works of irrigation, and that such works themselves often yield a large direct profit, the potential wealth of the Anglo-Indian Government is unspeakably great ; and that, therefore, it holds first-rate security for the repayment of any amount it can judiciously spend in facilitating the transport of raw produce and manufactured articles, as well as the rapid intercourse of the people throughout the empire.



ART. II.—THE FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES.

The Four Ancient Books of Wales, containing the Cymric Poems attributed to Bards of the Sixth Century. By WILLIAM F. SKENE. Edinburgh, 1868.

IN one of the Welsh romances relating to the exploits of the Great King of Britain, it is said, "Thereupon behold, bards came and recited verses before Arthur, and no man understood those verses, save that they were in Arthur's praise." We might almost be tempted to think that the poems contained in the Four Ancient Books of Wales, must be of the same nature as the verses sung before Arthur, so varied and contradictory have been the opinions entertained as to their real meaning and character. Welsh antiquaries, from the sixteenth century almost

to the present day, having satisfied themselves that the Welsh language was spoken in Paradise, concluded that the religion and learning of the antediluvian patriarchs, a religion which was something better than Christianity, and a learning which anticipated the wisdom of Egypt and the philosophy of Greece, had been handed down by the postdiluvian Cymry, and finally enshrined by the Druids in their ancient poems. When those documents were submitted to examination at a later period their antiquity was denied, their religion declared to be indifferent Christianity, and their learning below contempt.

Time rolls on, and now these same poems are declared to be genuine works of the sixth and seventh centuries, containing valuable materials for the history of Britain during that period.

Should this latter opinion prove to be well founded, the materials so acquired will be most acceptable to the historian, for the history of Britain during the two centuries which followed the departure of the Roman forces from the island, has hitherto been sufficiently obscure to allow ample scope to the imagination of those who have endeavoured to elucidate it. It has been a literary lowland in which every gentleman might take his prey.

On the surface of the land, and buried beneath the soil throughout all Britain, are found the relics of the Roman greatness. Coins of the empire appear to be sown broadcast over our fields, and the plough and the spade continually disclose new traces of Roman occupation. Foundations of ruined villas, tessellated pavements, sites of fortresses, remains of roads, bridges and walls, weapons and ornaments, milestones and votive inscriptions, have been found in nearly every part of the island. Excavations on the sites of buried cities, such as Uriconium, may give some idea of the scene of universal confusion, the breaking down of all government, the destruction of law and order, the uprising of native tribes, the inroads of barbarian neighbours, and the general intestine war which followed the removal of the strong pressure exercised by the hand of their Roman masters on the subject tribes and cities of Britain. We can gather, too, from the indistinct utterances of the earlier historians some notion of that want of union and subjection to a central authority, that absence of the feeling of nationality, in which the clan is preferred to the tribe, the tribe to the country, a system which seems inherent in the Celtic races, and which proved fatal to Britain as it has always proved fatal to the independence of the nations among whom it has prevailed. It was due to this splitting up of the British people into independent sections, sometimes at variance, sometimes allied, never

united, that a country abounding in great cities and flourishing towns, traversed by a network of admirable roads, covered by fortified posts and military stations, yielded itself with unexampled rapidity an easy prey to the first comers bold enough to seize on what the Romanized Britons were too disunited if not too imbecile to retain. The melancholy picture which Gildas the historian, writing in the sixth century, draws of the condition of his countrymen in the early part of the fifth century is probably not a very exaggerated one. The groans of the Britons driven by the barbarians to the sea, while the sea threw them back upon the barbarians, were drawn from them by a series of dire calamities in which foreign invasion was less active than domestic feud. The picture may excite compassion, but it is a compassion not unmingled with contempt.

Such general notions of this period of weakness and calamity are, however, eminently unsatisfactory. We desire to fill in the details of the picture, and to give life to the scene by bringing into view the principal living actors in this disastrous drama; to know something of the men, if any such there were, who threw themselves into the front of the battle and struggled bravely if not successfully against overwhelming odds. The heroic deeds of such men live long in the memory of their kinsmen and copatriots, in the songs of bards and in the legendary history of heroes, and if any records of the great deeds of the Cymric warriors of this period remain, where should we look for them if not in the most ancient songs of the Cymric race? Such is the mode of reasoning which has induced Mr. Skene to reprint these old Welsh poems, with what results we shall presently endeavour to ascertain.

For the purpose of reconstructing the history of Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries, a not inconsiderable mass of material appears to exist, though the reliable information hitherto extracted from it, has been but slight, and it has rather been productive of discordant conjecture than of trustworthy history.

These materials are : 1. The Epistle of Gildas, written about the middle of the sixth century, and the History of the Britons, under the name of Nennius, compiled at various dates from the eighth to the tenth century. 2. The mass of native Welsh materials, consisting of the old Welsh poems, the Triads, the Romances, the Lives and Genealogies of the Saints, and the Bruts. 3. The History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, translated from a British book of unknown origin; and 4. The Saxon accounts of such transactions as that nation was concerned in during the period in question.

When the old Welsh poems were first made generally ac-

cessible by the publication of the *Myvyrian Archæology* it might have been expected that the few persons then competent to undertake their interpretation would have sought in the works of bards professionally employed in singing the praises, recounting the exploits, and recording the genealogies of the chieftains with whom they were connected by ties of blood or by condition of service, some information on the historical events—the general history of the period in which these personages were supposed to have flourished. Unfortunately the investigation took a wrong turn. Dr. Owen Pughe, the lexicographer, whose learning and thorough knowledge of the Welsh language pointed him out as the fitting person to undertake the translation, was in these matters entirely under the influence of a very remarkable man, of great natural abilities, a stonemason by trade, self educated, very enthusiastic, and though not ignorant yet only half learned—Edward Williams, of Flimstone, called bardically, *Iolo Morganwg*. This person pretended to be the last representative of the Ancient Druids, whose successors had, he said, existed in Wales as a secret society down to his time, and to be the depository, by direct transmission, of the Druidic learning and esoteric doctrines. He occupied himself chiefly in the search for Welsh MSS., and had accumulated a considerable number of MSS. or copies of MSS. which had been transcribed in the sixteenth century from originals in the library of Raglan Castle, a library which perished when that castle was sacked and burned in the civil wars. Under Edward Williams's guidance Dr. Pughe could see nothing in the poems ascribed to Taliesin but Druidic lore. Dark and mysterious sentences, purporting to be translations from these poems, are scattered through the Welsh and English Dictionary of Dr. Pughe, which set at defiance alike common sense and ordinary critical judgment.

Following in the same track, the most fantastic notions as to the religion, philosophy, social condition, and ethnological relations of the so-called ancient Cymry were maintained by the Rev. Edward Davies in his "*Celtic Remains*," and "*Mythology of the British Druids*." To him followed Mr. Herbert, who brought an immense amount of learning to bear on his view that these poems indicated the existence in Britain in the fifth century of a Neo-Druidic or Manichæan heresy, of which a mythic Arthur and a mythic Ambrosius were the principal characters. In 1849 the criticism of these compositions was directed into a new and more healthy channel by the appearance of "*The Literature of the Kymry*," by Mr. Thomas Stephens, a work of remarkable ability, distinguished as much by the modesty of the author as by his profound acquaintance with the literature of his native country which it exhibited. This work has been translated into German,

and may be said to have acquired an European reputation. In it Mr. Stephens demonstrated on the most unmistakeable internal evidence afforded by the poems themselves, that a considerable number were not compositions of the sixth century but of a much later date, and that they have been falsely attributed to the renowned bards whose names they popularly bear. To this work of Mr. Stephens may be attributed a revival of the interest taken in Cymric literature, while it led to what may be called a strong Druidic reaction on the part of some Welsh antiquaries, the most distinguished of whom was the late Rev. John Williams, (ab Ithel), who furnished in 1852 a translation of the Gododin of Aneurin, with numerous critical notes. In 1850, also, the Vicomte de la Villemarqué, a distinguished Breton scholar, published a translation of the same poem, the Gododin, and some minor pieces, but unfortunately saw fit to rewrite the Welsh text in the Breton dialect, which he considered to be the original Cymric form. In 1858 Mr. Nash published his "Taliesin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain," containing translations of fifty-four of the poems attributed to Taliesin, accompanied by the Welsh text as given in the Myvyrian Archæology. These translations clearly proved that the authors of the poems were Christian men, that no Druidic or other philosophy was to be found in them, and that the date of their composition could not, with few exceptions, be carried higher than the twelfth century. The latest contribution to this branch of literature is the work placed at the head of this article, "*The Four Ancient Books of Wales*," by Mr. Skene. These four ancient books or MSS. are :

1. "*The Black Book of Caermarthen*," written in the reign of Henry II. (1154-1189), now preserved in the Hengwrt collection of MSS. It belonged to the Priory of Black Canons, at Caermarthen, and was given by the treasurer of the church of St. David to Sir John Price, a native of Breconshire, who was one of the commissioners appointed by King Henry VIII.
2. "*The Book of Aneurin*," a MS. of the latter part of the thirteenth century, now the property of Sir Thomas Phillips, of Middlehill, and preserved in his large collection at Cheltenham.
3. "*The Book of Taliesin*," a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century, now in the Hengwrt collection ; and 4. "*The Red Book of Hergest*," a MS. compiled at different times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, now preserved in the library of Jesus College, Oxford.

These are called "*The Four Ancient Books of Wales*," and one of them at least may be considered ancient in the sense that no older Welsh MSS. than those contained in "*The Black Book of Caermarthen*" are known to exist, if we except the lines written on a leaf of a MS. copy of Juvenius, now in the library of the

university of Cambridge, and the Welsh glosses mentioned by Zeus in his "*Grammatica Celtica*." The MS. of Juvenius itself is said to be unquestionably of the ninth century, and there is some reason to believe that the Welsh verses are of about the same date, especially as one at least, probably both, are of a religious character. That the Welsh language was already a written language in the sixth century there is no reason to doubt. Wales was early converted to Christianity, and, like Ireland, seems to have been a land of saints. Large monastic, or half-monastic, half-collegiate establishments, containing swarms of religious, arose as well in North as in South Wales, which not only attracted ecclesiastics and devotees from Ireland, Brittany, and Gaul, but in which also, according to Welsh legends, every chief deprived of his territories by the Saxons, or discomfited in civil broils, took up his residence. The legend of St. Germanus shows that already in the fifth century the bitterness of theological disputation on the subject of the Pelagian heresy had raised a storm in Britain which was only allayed by the edge of the sword, and by miracles performed in behalf of the orthodox party in the church. In the commencement of the seventh century there was a great slaughter of religious persons belonging to the monastic establishment of Bangor, in North Wales, who had been confident enough to present themselves at the scene of conflict for the purpose of assuring victory to their own party by means of their prayers, by Edwin, King of Northumbria, at the battle of Bangor in 613. That bards should have existed, and poetic compositions on the stirring events of the time should have been framed as early as the sixth century, presents on the first impression nothing incredible or even surprising, but the collections extant of Welsh poems disclose this remarkable fact, that between the works attributed to known personages of the sixth century, and the works of writers of the twelfth century, there exists an interval which, with one or two doubtful exceptions, presents an absolute blank, in which such a literature either never existed or has been altogether lost.

There is nothing in the history of Wales between the sixth and twelfth centuries to account for this literary waste, no national calamities, no lethargy of the national spirit under the pressure of foreign dominion. On the contrary, the conditions for the continued production of similar effusions were during those centuries particularly favourable. Wales enjoyed from the sixth to the tenth century a remarkable security from external aggression as compared with Britain east of the Severn. Governed by her own princes, continually engaged in civil broils and border wars, occasionally plundered and made tributary, but neither conquered nor occupied by the foreigner, the condition of things was emi-

nently favourable to the production of a poetry such as that attributed to the sixth century, the inspiration of which is mainly war and plunder, slaughter of foes, and carouses over the meadhorn after battle. Some explanation of this remarkable break in the continuity of Welsh literature is clearly required.

Mr. Stephens and Mr. Nash in the works above referred to, boldly declared, on the internal evidence of the poems themselves, that the great majority of these works were spurious, falsely attributed to the celebrated historical bards of the sixth century, but in reality the work of writers of the twelfth and even later centuries. As to the great majority of these poems the assertion is undoubtedly true, and supported by evidence which cannot be controverted or explained away. But as there are still some few pieces which, as these writers admit, appear on the face of them to be genuine historical poems of the date of the sixth century, an appearance not contradicted by any internal evidence, the difficulty of accounting for this blank of five centuries remains as great as before.

At this stage Mr. Skene takes up the investigation, and undertakes to show that the Welsh poems attributed to the sixth century, are for the most part what they profess to be, genuine productions of bards of that century, and valuable material for the history of the period.

Mr. Skene's object in publishing these ancient poems, is "to give the text of these poems in the oldest form in which it is to be found, and in the precise orthography of the oldest MSS., and to present a translation which shall give as accurate and faithful a representation of the meaning of the poems as is now possible, as the basis of the work of the critic. The object of the present work is to accomplish this."

Dissatisfied with the translations given of these poems by those who have preceded him in these investigations, Mr. Skene, in order to secure a faithful and impartial translation, and in order to avoid any risk of its being coloured by his own views, resolved to refrain from attempting the translation himself, and hit upon the ingenious idea of having them translated for him by two eminent living Welsh scholars, the Reverend D. Silvan Evans, author of the "English and Welsh Dictionary," and other works, and the Reverend Robert Williams, author of the "Biography of Eminent Welshmen," and the "Cornish Dictionary." He asserts that all previous translations by which the meaning of these poems has been attempted to be expressed are either loose and inaccurate or coloured by the views of the translators. "Those who deal with these poems as the genuine works of the bards whose names they bear, and view them as

containing a recondite system of Druidism, or semi-pagan philosophy, present us with a translation which is, to say the least of it, mysterious enough in all conscience. Those again who consider them to be the work of a later age, and to contain nothing but a mere farrago of nonsense, have no difficulty in producing a translation which amply bears out that character."

Now considering that the Gododin of Aneurin was translated by the late Reverend John Williams, (ab Ithel) perhaps the most learned of modern Welsh scholars, the poems of Llywarch Hen by Dr. Owen Pughe, many of the poems of Merlin and Taliesin by Mr. Thomas Stephens, and fifty-four of those attributed to Taliesin by Mr. Nash, this is a tolerably sweeping rejection of the labours of Mr. Skene's predecessors in these studies. Mr. Skene gives no other reason for requiring us to prefer the translations of Messrs. Evans and Williams to those of their predecessors, than that they were made at his request; and asks us to adopt his peculiar views of early British history, and his estimation of the true place and value of these poems in the literature of Wales, upon the ground that the translations which he has had the modesty not to attempt himself, but which he has procured at second hand, are the only genuine translations which can be relied on. The statement that the text of the "*Myvyrian Archæology*" "is uncertain and untrustworthy, and that any criticism upon that text is comparatively speaking worthless," is of the same sweeping and unsupported character; but as all those who have hitherto attempted an explanation of these poems have made use of the *Myvyrian* text, it amounts in fact to a statement that all criticism anterior to Mr. Skene's is of this worthless description. A writer who unsparingly rejects the results of the labours of others should, we think, proffer some evidence of the superior accuracy of the translations which he offers as the only reliable ones, some critical expositions of the difference between these and former productions of the same nature, and give some reasons for preferring the one and rejecting the others. Mr. Skene has not condescended to anything of the sort.

In fact, however, the new translation does not, taken altogether, differ materially from those which have been already published. The translators were, it appears, requested by Mr. Skene to "make their version as literal and accurate as possible, even though the meaning might be obscured thereby," and they appear to have scrupulously complied with his request. In a poem (vol. i. page 363), addressed by the bard to his patron Urien Reged, a great chief or regulus in North Britain, in the sixth century, he is represented as commencing thus:—

"In manliness he will greet my trouble,
Should I be bled I should evidently get better.
Truly I saw no one before who saw not in me
Every indisposition, he will cultivate his business.
I saw a feeding about a lion for plants,
I saw leaves of luxuriant growth," &c.

This poem belongs to a class of composition not intended for private study, but supposed to have been recited in presence of the chief and his band of half-savage warriors, carousing over bowls of mead. The bardic strain must have been more soporific than the liquor, if some indignant warrior did not at once experiment on the improvement of the bard's health and poetic faculties.

Again, in a poem referring to Cadwaladyr, prophesying his return and the consequent destruction of the Saxon, we find the following; (vol. i. page 446):—

Truly he will come
With his host and ships,
And scaring shields,
And charging lances,
And after a valiant shout
His will will be done.

* * * *

He will bear likewise
Over the effusions of Reged.
The creator, possessor of treasure,
Generous, daring his flow,
Immense his battle,
By airing the skin
Of Cadwaladyr, an active work.

No one appears to be responsible for taking this liberty with the skin of Cadwaladyr. Not Mr. Skene, he is not the translator; he only ordered the translation. Not the reverend gentlemen who have executed the work, they have only liberally followed out their instructions to be as literal as possible, regardless of obscurity. This version, however, Mr. Skene proffers as altogether superseding in accuracy and value those of Nash and Stephens, and in it he believes he has found the testimony he desired in support of his views as to the historical value of certain of these poems, and their bearing on the traditional history of the sixth century. To the endeavours to ascertain the true place of these poems in Cymric literature, Mr. Skene, has however, addressed himself with great earnestness, and if he has not succeeded in proving the truth of the views he entertains on this point, he has failed, not from want of ability to undertake the investigation, but because he has already prejudged the question, and instead of founding his theory on a critical examination of the poems themselves, has endeavoured to support his already formed theory by evidence extracted from the poems, which they are made to furnish under pressure, a kind of evidence which compositions so fragmentary and often so obscure in their meaning might by a similar process be made to furnish in support of a widely different, if not opposite view.

"The first question is, do the poems themselves afford any indications by which we may judge of their antiquity? It is obvious, viewed in this light, that if these poems are genuine they ought to reflect the history of the period to which they belong. If we find that they do not re-echo to any extent the fictitious narrative of the events of the fifth and sixth centuries, as represented in the *Bruts*, but rather the leading facts of the early history of the *Cymry*, as we have been able to deduce them from the older authorities, it will be a strong ground for concluding that they belong themselves to an earlier age. This is an inquiry which, of course, can only affect the so-called historical poems, with such others of the class of mythological poems as contain historical allusions; but when their true place and period are once ascertained, the other poems must be judged of by their resemblance to these in metrical structure, style, and sentiment."

In order to form a trustworthy judgment on these points, and to be able to estimate the tenor and effect of the internal evidence presented by these poems as to the age to which they belong, and the circumstances to which they refer, we require to know from extraneous sources, something of the history of the times supposed to be reflected in these compositions.

At the commencement of the fifth century, immediately upon the departure of the Romans, and the general breaking up of the order of things established by the Roman power, four races are found struggling for the mastery, and for the plunder of the abandoned provinces. These are the Scots and the Picts in the north; the Saxons—whether Angles, Jutes, Saxons, or other Germanic tribes—on the eastern coast; and the people whom, for want of a better name, we are obliged to call the *Cymry*, in western, and probably to some extent in central Britain. To these we ought perhaps to add the Romanized Britons of the towns and cities, who, however, were probably a very mixed population, and the Britons of southern and central England, of whom we in fact know nothing, and who, perhaps of Belgic origin, seem to have been different from the *Cymry*. As, moreover, the poems with which we are dealing are not supposed to reflect any history but that of Wales and Cumbria, we may leave all but the four races above mentioned out of the question. Of these the Picts play a very important but not a very clearly-defined part in the transactions of the fifth and sixth centuries in North Britain; in some respects a more important part than the Britons themselves. In the north we see them sometimes allied with the Saxons, sometimes warring against them; sometimes at deadly feud with the Britons and the Scots, sometimes joining them against the common enemy of the Celtic race. Geoffrey of Monmouth represents Picts serving as mercenary soldiers in the pay of Vortigern, then as fighting against him in

the province north of the Humber. They are much mixed up with the history of Arthur; a Pictish King is related to him by marriage, and the Pictish forces of Mordred contribute largely to his final overthrow. Mr. Skene fancies that he finds in the Welsh poems numerous allusions to the Picts of southern Scotland and to the events in which they acted a conspicuous part.

The nationality and language of this active and vigorous people, a nation of warriors, has always been a subject of dispute. Their language Bede, writing in the eighth century, declared to be then a living tongue. On this difficult subject Mr. Skene's researches have not been altogether without result. In the dissertation prefixed to the translations of the Four Ancient Books, Mr. Skene discusses in separate chapters, the state of Britain in the sixth century, its history prior to and at the time when Gildas wrote, about the year 560; the place of the Picts among the races of Britain, and their language; a discussion on the Celtic topography of Scotland, followed by a sketch of the history of Cumbria and the men of the North. These introductory chapters will well repay perusal, and contain many interesting and valuable suggestions. On the subject of the vexed question of the character of the Pictish language, Mr. Skene makes the following observations:

"The Picts unquestionably existed as a known people, and as an independent nation, possessing a political organization and a known language, till the middle of the ninth century. From that date till the twelfth century the name of the Picts is known as the denomination of one element in a population formed of two different races, but combined into one monarchy, and had no independent existence. After the twelfth century the name disappears as applied to, or borne by, any portion of the population of Scotland. Bede, who wrote prior to the ninth century, knew of the Picts as an existing people and of a language termed the Pictish, and tells of a letter translated into it as the language of the kingdom of Naitan or Nectan; but when Henry of Huntingdon wrote, about 1135, the people and their language had apparently so entirely passed away, that it appeared like a fable that any kingdom of the Picts and any such language had ever existed. It seems strange that Henry of Huntingdon should have made this statement almost in the very year in which the Picts as a body formed an entire division of the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard, and when Reginald of Durham, in the same century, refers to their language as then spoken at Kirkeudbright in Galloway; but the truth is, that notwithstanding the language of Henry of Huntingdon, neither the people nor their language may, in point of fact, have ceased to exist in Scotland—the one as an element in the conglomerate of different races which composed the population of the monarchy, and the other as the *patois* of a district; nor does it follow, from the

language of Bede, that the Picts must of necessity have been a different race, and their language a different language from any of the other peoples and languages enumerated in the same passage.

“What then did Bede and Henry of Huntingdon mean when the former enumerated the Pictish as a separate and distinct language, and the latter said that this people and language were destroyed, while it is evident that large bodies of the people remained, and that a language called the Pictish was still spoken by some portion of the inhabitants of the country?”

It is clear that this question can only be answered, if at all, by an examination of the philological relations of what may remain of the Pictish language. Five words only of this lost language have been handed directly down to us: *Peanfahel*; *Ur*; *Scolofth*; *Cartit*; and *Duiper*.

From these materials, and from fifteen vocables obtained from the names of the Pictish Kings, Mr. Skene draws the conclusion that the Pictish language is neither Cymric nor Gaelic, but that it is a Gaelic dialect partaking largely of Cymric forms.

“The Pictish language appears to have approached more nearly to the old Scottish than even Breton to Welsh; for Adomnan, who, in the seventh century, wrote the ‘Life of St. Columba,’ the Scottish missionary to the Picts, describes St. Columba the Scot as conversing freely with the Picts from the King to the plebeian, without difficulty; but when he preached to them the Word of God, he was obliged to make use of an interpreter—that is, he could make himself understood in conversing, but not in preaching; and conversely, a Pict understood what he said in Scottish, but could not follow a Scottish sermon. Such being probably the mutual position of Pictish and Scottish, the few words we are able to compare show the difference between them to have been of the same character as between high and low dialects. I consider, therefore, that Pictish was a low Gaelic dialect; and following out the analogy, the result I come to is, that Cymric and Gaelic had each a high and low variety; that Cornish and Breton were high Cymric dialects, Welsh low Cymric; that old Scottish, spoken by the Scotti now represented by Irish, Scotch, Gaelic, and Manx, was the high Gaelic dialect, and Pictish the low Gaelic dialect.

“The platform occupied by the Pictish people was not confined to Scotland only, for they certainly extended over part of the north of Ireland, and formed in all probability an earlier population of the north half of Ireland, which became subjugated by the Scots. On the other hand, the Scots at an early period occupied the district of Argyle. In the north of Ireland and the west of Scotland, the Picts must, at an early period have become blended with the Scots, and their form of the Gaelic assimilated to the Scottish. In Scotland, south of the Tay, where they occupied the districts from the Tay to the Forth, the region of Manau or Manann and Galloway, they came

in contact with the Cymric people ; and the one being a low Gaelic dialect, and the other a low Cymric dialect, their forms must have so far resembled each other as to lead to an admixture presenting that mixed language of low Gaelic with Cymric forms, known to Bede as the Pictish language."

These views of the probable relations of the Pictish language are further corroborated by an examination of the Celtic topography of Scotland, the result of which is that the generic terms entering into composition in the names of places in Scotland (*i.e.*, the words for river, mountain, plain, &c., as distinguished from the specific terms great, small, black, white, &c.) do not show the existence of a Cymric language north of the Forth ; and that we find in the topographical nomenclature of the north-east of Scotland, traces of an older and a more recent form of Gaelic ; the one a low Gaelic dialect, the language of the Picts, the other a high Gaelic dialect, that of the Scots. While fully recognising the value of Mr. Skene's observations on the Celtic topography of Scotland, which certainly throw a new light on the disputed question of the Cymric occupancy of the eastern coast of Scotland, as supposed to be indicated among other things by the use of the Cymric *Aber* as opposed to the Gaelic *Inver*, we must remark that his conclusions on the philological relations of the Pictish language appear to rest upon a very narrow foundation. Of the five words at Mr. Skene's disposal for eliciting the phonetic laws of the Pictish tongue, the first is undoubtedly a Cymric form ; the second is as undeniably Gaelic, the Welsh Cymric abhorring the initial conjunction of *s* with a consonant, *sc*, *sp*, *st*, &c., in which the Gaelic abounds ; and the fourth comes from an Irish source, is a relic of the Irish Cruithnean dialect, which, however, we would by no means deny to have been the same with the Pictish of Scotland. The fifth word is an epithet attached to the name of a Pictish King Gartnaid, Gartnaid *duiper*. This epithet is translated in the list of the Pictish Kings given in the Chronicle of the Priory of St. Andrews "Gartnaid *dives*" the rich. As "rich" in Irish is "*saidhbhir*," Mr. Skene concludes that in the philological relations of the Pictish and the Gaelic *d* interchanges with *s*. This appears to be a mere delusion. Why the Monk of St. Andrews wrote *dives* where he should have written *pauper* it is impossible to guess, but it is clear that the Pictish *duiper* is the equivalent of the Irish *daidhbhir* "poor," and that no such philological relation as Mr. Skene has imagined, exists. Without pretending to speak oracularly on this very obscure subject, we may remind Mr. Skene that the same phenomenon of the presence of Gaelic and Cymric forms side by side, exists in other Cymric localities, in Wales, in Cornwall, and

in Brittany; that in these the Cymric element has prevailed, while in Pictish Scotland the Cruithne were apparently the intrusive and conquering race, holding Cymric tribes in subjection, and their dialect prevailed over that of the latter people, until themselves in turn overlaid by the Irish Scots. Whether the appellation by which these mixed tribes were known to the Roman writers, "Picti," was a collective rather than an ethnic term, meaning what it seems to mean, "painted men," or whether it is really a Latin rendering of the national name *Cruithne* which has the same meaning, it is difficult to decide. The words of Eumenius in 308, "Caledones et alii Picti"—"the Caledonians and other painted tribes," or "the Caledonians and other Picti," and those of Ammianus Marcellinus at the end of the fourth century, "Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisæ, Dicaledones et Vecturiones," may be read either way.

Whatever may have been the ethnic character of the Picts, it is certain that at the commencement of the fifth century they had swarmed over the wall of Antoninus, and in concert with other barbarian tribes, Scots, Saxons, and Cumbrian Britons, devastated the province of Valentia, destroyed the civilization introduced by the Romans, and settled down as the permanent occupiers of the country between the two walls. Mr. Skene's sketch of the history of this period is graphic and concise:—

"Till the year 360 the Roman province extended to the northern wall which crossed the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and the Cymric population was no doubt coextensive; but in that year the barbarian tribes broke into the province, which the Roman authors tell us consisted of the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, and though driven back, renewed their incursions from time to time. The Saxons, of course, made their descents on the east coast, and Gildas tells us that the Picts came *ab aquilone*, the Scots *a circione*, implying that they came from different quarters; while all authorities concur in making Ireland the head-quarters of the latter. The Saxons made their descents on the east coast, the Picts from the north, and the Scots from the west.

"Relieved from the erroneous chronology applied by Bede to the events narrated by Gildas, into which he was led by the false place occupied by the letter to Aetius, the statements of Gildas harmonize perfectly with the facts indicated by contemporary Roman and Greek authors. The barbaric tribes who broke into the province in 360, were driven back by Theodosius in 368, and the province restored to the northern wall. Then follows the usurpation of the title of Emperor by Maximus in 383, who takes the Roman troops over to Gaul. This is succeeded by the first *devastatio* by the Picts and Scots, when the Britons apply to the Romans for assistance. Stilicho sends a single legion, who drive them back, and reconstruct the northern wall. Claudian records the defeat of the barbarian tribes, which he names [Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. E

Picts, Scots, and Saxons, the fortifying the wall, and the return of the legion, which was recalled in 402. Then follows the second *devastatio* by the Picts and Scots, and the second appeal for assistance, and a larger force is sent, by whom they are again driven back. The Roman troops then elect Marcus, after him Gratian Municeps, and finally Constantine as Emperor, who likewise passes over to Gaul with the troops in 409, after having repaired the southern wall. Then follows the third *devastatio* by the Picts and Scots, and Honorius writes to the cities of Britain that they must protect themselves. The Picts settle down in the region north of the wall, the Scots return to Ireland, soon to reappear and again effect settlements on the western seaboard. The Saxons are appealed to for help, but unite with the Picts to attack the Britons, and finally bring the greater part of the country under their subjection in 441, and the Britons vainly appeal to Aetius for assistance in 446."

At about the time of the final departure of the Roman forces from Britain, and probably as a consequence of the withdrawal of the garrisons from the fortified posts which assured the security of the military roads, an important event took place in the history of Wales, the results of which have left visible traces even to the present day. At that epoch the whole seaboard of Wales, and a considerable portion of the interior, was occupied by non-Cymric races. A line drawn from the river Clwyd, in Denbighshire, to Swansea, in Glamorganshire, will roughly indicate the line of demarcation between the Cymric tribes on the east, and the non-Cymric tribes on the west. These non-Cymric tribes are called by Nennius, and the Latin writers, Scotti or Irish, by the Welsh authorities sometimes Gwyddyl, or Irish generally; but the people of that race who occupied Anglesea, Caernarvonshire, and North Wales in general, are always called Gwyddyl Fichti, the Irish Picts, in contradistinction to the Gwyddyl Coch, or Red Irish, the Dalriadic Scots of Alban.

This remarkable people, whose occupancy of North Wales during the Roman period is attested not only by historical tradition, but by the nomenclature of the country, and by the peculiar impress they have made on Welsh literature, were no doubt a part of the same race who at an early period held northern Ireland, under the name of Cruithne. The earliest chieftain of this race in Anglesea and North Wales, is called in the Welsh legends which have been preserved respecting them, Don, King of Lochlin and Dublin. Mr. Skene has remarked in a very learned and ingenious essay, forming the introduction to the Dean of Lismore's book, that there are two people mentioned in the Irish records who had settlements in Ireland, and who yet were connected with Alban, Breatan, and Lochlin. These were the people termed Tuatha De Danaan, and the Cruithne. The Cruithne were the race prior to the Scots in Alban, and the Tuatha De Danaan

were the prior colony to the Milesian-Scots in Erin. With both these people the Feinne or Fingalian heroes are brought into close contact in the old historic tales. Both the Tuatha De Danaan and the Cruithne, the former especially, were celebrated for their skill in magic and their supernatural powers; they possessed bards and soothsayers, druids and physicians, smiths and carpenters, workers in brass and gold, and were credited with unusual skill in all the arts. Now the legends of the Gwyddyl Fichti, the Cruithnian inhabitants of North Wales at the commencement of the fifth century, present a remarkable similarity to the tales of the Irish Tuatha De Danaan and Cruithnians. The chiefs and leaders of the Gwyddyl Fichti are necromancers and astronomers, the tales in which they are the heroes are tales of illusion and enchantment. It may not be clear whether this people were ancient settlers from northern Ireland who had conquered lands for themselves among Cymric tribes, or whether they indicate the remains of a pre-Cymric population, pressed backward on the western shores of Britain by an advancing wave of a Cymric population. But we may be sure that when first they came into the circle of tradition, about the commencement of the fifth century, they had already for ages held the country in which they are found. They occupy the position assigned by Ptolemy to the Ordovices and the Cangii; it was here that, in all Britain, the only mention of the Druids occurs, when the island Mona, the stronghold and chief seat of the Gwyddyl Fichti in after times, was conquered by Paullinus Suetonius. The legends of this race, which at a later time were collected in the form of romantic tales, and the allusions to these legends, scattered through what are called the ancient Welsh poems, formed the grand storehouse of what was once supposed to be Druidic lore, and the Welsh writers have appropriated as an inheritance from their own ancestry, the myths which are in truth the legacy of a more imaginative and more highly gifted branch of the Celtic race. The Welsh traditions of the history of the Gwyddyl Fichti are somewhat confused and contradictory, but it may be considered as historical that they were conquered, and ultimately partly driven from Anglesea and North Wales, partly reduced to bondage, after a long and fierce struggle extending over about a hundred years.

The original writer of the "Historia" merely stated that the Scots whom he had brought from Spain to Ireland, occupied certain parts of Britain. "Historeth, the son of Istorinus, with his people, held Dalriada; Buile with his people held the Isle of Man and other neighbouring regions; the sons of Liethan obtained the country of the Demetæ, where is the city called Mineu (St. David's), and spread themselves over other regions, i.e., Gower

and Kidwelly, until expelled by Cunedda and his sons from all the regions of Britain." The later compiler of the Genealogies adds that Cunedda and his sons, to the number of eight, came first from the north, "*de parte sinistrali*," and explains this to mean "from the region which is called Manau Guotodin." Manau is the Welsh name for the Isle of Man; "*Eubonia id est Manau*," called in Irish Manand or Manann. It is, however, highly improbable that the Cymric Cunedda and his tribe should have come from the Isle of Man, a region always occupied by Firbolg and Gaelic tribes, and it is plain from the Irish annals that there was a region in North Britain which bore the name of Manand. By careful comparison of the various authorities, Mr. Skene has endeavoured to ascertain the true site of the region called in Nennius "*Manau Guotodin*." He concludes that the northern region of Manau in its widest sense included the moor of Sliabhmannan, now Slamannan, between the Avon and the Carron. Myned Agned, or Edinburgh, was in it, and it included the mountainous region forming the west part of Linlithgowshire. The north Esk formed its eastern boundary to the sea. Its northern shore was washed by the Frith of Forth. In this narrow sea was placed that city of Giudi or Iudeu mentioned by Bede, which, in the sixth century, was in possession of Oswy, King of Northumbria, and to which Penda, King of the Mercians, aided by thirty kings of the Britons, made that expedition which, at first successful, ended in the great slaughter of Gai Campus, where the death of Cadwallon finally extinguished the hopes of the Cymric populations. The meaning of the epithet Guotodin, which was unknown to the Irish annalists, Mr. Skene does not clearly explain, except by the statement in a note on the Book of Aneurin, that it is plainly the same as the Gododin of the poet, and was a district equivalent to the north part of Lothian in which Manau was contained.

This view of the situation of Manau Guotodin, which brings the Cymric conquerors of the Pictish settlements in North Wales from the extreme northern point of the Cumbrian region is not without its difficulties, and to meet these Mr. Skene is compelled to add largely to the traditions from his own resources.

"Cunedda is termed in all Welsh documents Guledig, a name derived from the word *guled*, a country, and signifying 'ruler.' The same term is applied to Maximus, who is called in the Welsh documents Maxim Guledig. It is, therefore, equivalent to the title and position of Imperator conferred upon him by the troops in Britain. After Maximus, and before the Roman troops left Britain, they elected three Imperatores, the last of whom, Constantine, withdrew the army to Gaul. We know from the *Notitia Imperii* that the Roman legionary troops were mainly stationed at the Roman walls

and on the Saxon shore, to defend the province from inroads of the barbarian tribes; and when the Roman army was finally withdrawn, and Honorius wrote to the cities of Britain that they must defend themselves, the Roman troops were probably replaced by native bodies of warriors, and the functions of the Roman Emperor continued in the British *Guledig*. If this view be correct, the real fact conveyed by Nennius' intimation that Cunedda had left the regions in the north called Manau Guotodin 146 years before the reign of Maelgwn, is that in 410, on the Picts conquering the land up to the southern wall, the *Guledig* had withdrawn from the northern to within the southern wall. In the Welsh documents there is also frequent mention of the *Gosgordd*, or retinue in connexion with the *Guledig*, which appears to have usually consisted of 300 horse. It was certainly a body of men specially employed in the defence of the borders, as the Triads of Arthur and his warriors—a document not subject to the same suspicion as the Historical Triads—mentions the 'three *Gosgordds* of the passes of the island of Britain,' and the *Gosgordd mur* or *Gosgordd* of the wall, is also mentioned in these poems. It seems to be equivalent to the body of 300 cavalry attached to the Roman legion: three times that number, or 900 horse, forming the horse of the auxiliary troops attached to a legion."

These views of the character and historical importance of the *Guledig* are not well founded. It is clear that in Welsh this term means sovereign or ruler, and *imperator* in the modern sense of the word "emperor," not commander of troops. It is applied to the Deity as ruler of heaven, to the sun as sovereign of the revolving lights (in the *Gododin*), and is given as a title to several obscure individuals, Anlawd, Gurthmwl, Kasnar, Coel, Maran, and Dewrath, upon what grounds does not appear. The *Gosgordd* was the personal retinue, the tail or following of a Celtic chief. The Welsh writers translate it "retinue," and sometimes use it in the sense of tribe. The Triads mention several of these *Gosgordds*, which clearly have no reference to an organized military force, and the notion that they speak of the "Gosgordds of the Passes of Britain," or of the "*Gosgordd* of the Wall" is a mere assumption founded on a mistaken interpretation of the original. The early writers understood by the "*sinistralis pars Britannia*," all Britain north of the Humber. The same genealogist who mentions the "*Manau Guotodin*" records that "*Ida, the son of Eobba, possessed the country in 'sinistrali parte Britannia, id est Umbri maris.'*" A Welsh poem on the death of Cunedda, which though probably composed in the twelfth century, has preserved the Welsh tradition relating to this founder of the Cymric power in North Wales, connects him with the country south of Hadrian's Wall, and not with the neighbourhood of the Wall of Antoninus.

"There is trembling from fear of Cunedda the burner
In *Caer Weir* and *Caer Lliwellydd*."

That is, in Durham and Carlisle. The fact that his pedigree is only artificially connected with those of the northern chieftains by making his mother a daughter of the common ancestor of the north Cumbrian clans, Coel, shows that the original Cymric tradition did not recognise him as one of the "*Gwyr y Gogledd*," or chieftains of the north, while the names of his ancestors, Eternus, Paternus, and Tacitus, under the Welsh forms of Edeyrn, Padarn, and Tegid, make it probable that he was a Romanized British regulus, or prince of a district in the Roman province south of Hadrian's Wall, and thence probably the title of Guledig given to him by the Welsh writers.

The original locality of this conquering race, is, however, rather a matter of antiquarian interest than of real importance. No British tradition is more authentic, and whencesoever it came, "the Cuneddian conquest is the first chapter in the history of North Wales. To the Cuneddian family the kings and nobles of North Wales traced up their genealogies. From the age of Cunedda we are to date, if not the introduction, at least the establishment of Christianity in that province. Previous history we have none; the earliest Welsh legends are nearly all connected with South Wales or North Britain."*

Following out the view that all the leading events in the history of the sixth century occurred in southern Scotland, that is, in the Cumbrian region between the two Roman Walls, Mr. Skene proceeds to deal with the career of the historical Arthur, so far as that may be elucidated by the identification of the sites of the twelve battles, the names of which have been recorded by Nennius.

"According to the view I have taken of the site of these battles, Arthur's course was first to advance through the Cymric country, on the west, till he came to the Glen (in Lanarkshire) where he encountered his opponents. He then invades the regions about the wall occupied by the Saxons in the Lennox, where he defeats them in four battles. He advances along the strath of Carron as far as *Dunipace*, where on the Bonny his fifth battle is fought; and from thence marches south through Tweeddale on the Wood of Celyddon, fighting a battle by the way, till he comes to the valley of the Gala, or Wedale, where he defeats the Saxons of the east coast. He then proceeds to master four great fortresses: first *Kaerlium*, or *Dumbarton*; next *Stirling*, by defeating the enemy in the *Tratheu Tryweryd*, or Carse of Stirling; then *Myned Agned*, or *Edinburgh*,

* "Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynald." By the Rev. Basil Jones. 1851.

the great stronghold of the Picts, here called Cathbregon; and lastly, Boudon Hill, in the centre of the country between these strongholds.

"In 537, twenty-one years after, the Chronicle of 977 records the battle of Camlan, in which Arthur and Medrawd perished. It is surprising that historians should have endeavoured to place this battle in the south, as the same traditions which encircle it with so many fables indicate very clearly who his antagonists were—Medrawd or Modred, was the son of that Llew, to whom Arthur is said to have given Lothian, and who as Lothus, King of the Picts, is invariably connected with that part of Scotland. His forces were Saxons, Picts, and Scots, the very races Arthur is said to have conquered in his Scotch campaigns. If it is to be viewed as a real battle at all, it assumes the appearance of an insurrection of the population of these conquered districts, under Medrawd, the son of that Llew, to whom one of them was given, and we must look for its site there. On the south bank of the Carron, in the very heart of these districts, are remains which have always been regarded as those of an important Roman town, and to this the name of Camelon has long been attached. It has stronger claims than any other to be regarded as the Camlan where Arthur encountered Medrawd, with his Picts, Scots, and Saxons, and perished; and its claims are strengthened by the former existence of another ancient building on the opposite side of the river—that singular monument mentioned, as far back as 1298, by the name of 'Furnus Arthuri,' and subsequently known by that of Arthur's O'on."

The legendary figure of Arthur is too great to be confined within such narrow limits. The period during which Arthur flourished is placed by Nennius between the return of Ochta, son of Hengist, from the north to Kent, on the death of the latter, and the rise to supreme power over the various Anglian chiefs of Deira and Bernicia, of Ida the son of Eobba. The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" gives the year 488 for the accession of Osc to command in Kent, and 547 for the commencement of the reign of Ida, a period of 59 years, within which the life of Arthur, if he be, as there seems no good reason to doubt, a historical person, must be comprised. The "*Annales Cambriæ*," however, many of the dates in which are corroborated from other sources, place the battle of Camlan and Arthur's death in 537. In this, as in other matters relating to the history of the period, the obscure and contradictory epistle of Gildas has introduced much doubt and confusion. Writing, according to the now accepted interpretation of the obscure passage in which he refers to the battle of Mount Badon, in the year 560, being then forty-four years of age, he seems not to have been acquainted with the name of Arthur, whom he does not even mention when narrating the great victory obtained by the Britons over the Saxons at the battle of Mount Badon, though, if the received dates be

correct, Gildas had arrived at mature age at the date of the battle of Camlan. Had we no other information on the subject than that derived from Gildas, we should be bound to conclude that the victory of Mount Badon had been gained by Ambrosius Aurelianus. The absurd story that Gildas omitted all mention of the name of Arthur, and destroyed the book in which he had written the exploits of that warrior, in consequence of the slaughter by Arthur of Hueil, the brother of Gildas, deserves no consideration. It is one of the curiosities of history that so little should be known of a personage whose fame since the twelfth century has filled all Europe—a fame which must have been founded on a great and glorious career, and must have lived in tradition and song through the centuries preceding the time when the “*vetustissimus liber*” was brought “*ex Britannia*” by the Archdeacon of Oxford.

The question as to the locality of Arthur, and the central seat of his rule in Britain, has given rise to a great diversity of opinion. Mr. Pearson, author of the “*History of England in the Early and Middle Ages*,” whose opinions on this subject are of considerable weight, has suggested that the country held by Arthur in the sixth century was situated in the west of England. He points out the facts—

“That Cornwall, Devonshire, and parts of Wiltshire and Somersetshire, maintained their independence till the time of Ina; that a principality composed of Somersetshire and part of Wiltshire, of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, of Hereford and Monmouth, defended by Selwood Forest, by the Cotswold Woods, by Wire Forest, and by the Somersetshire Marshes, had its own dynasty of chiefs before the Romans, and a metropolitan city for a native church at Caerleon in the sixth century. A sovereign of this country, with a certain federal supremacy over Devonshire and Cornwall in the South, and Powys and Gwynedd in the North, would come into collision with the Saxons along the marshes of Wiltshire and the line of the Severn, and with the people of South Wales (whether Gaelic or Cymric at that time) in Glamorganshire. In these districts may be found names that correspond pretty exactly to the names of Arthur’s battles as given by Nennius.

This view is to some extent supported by legends and traditions which tell of Arthur’s adventures in South Wales, in Somersetshire, and Cornwall, and by one at least of the Welsh poems, which speaks of Arthur in connexion with the Devonian Geraint ap Erbin as present at the battle of Longborth. It is, however, difficult to believe that if Arthur had been a prince of south-western England in the sixth century, some notice of this renowned warrior should not have found its way into the Saxon chronicle, which relates so many of the transactions of the Saxons in the south and west of England.

Mr. Stuart-Glennie, in a very interesting essay on "Arthurian Localities," the first sketch of which appeared in "Macmillan's Magazine," in 1868, has endeavoured to show that the true seat of the power, and the localities of the exploits of the historical Arthur, are to be found in what he has termed Arthurian Scotland—that is, not only the country between the Solway and the Forth, but also north of the latter as far as Barra Hill, with its traditions of Modred; and Meigle in Forfarshire, where is the tomb of Gwenevere, still called Ganore's grave. If the relative numbers of Arthurian legends in the different Cymric regions could be held to decide this question, no doubt Mr. Glennie's view would be abundantly borne out. But it is not in this way that the question is to be decided. In all lands where the Cymric tongue was spoken, in southern Scotland, in Cumbria, in Wales, in Cornwall, and in Brittany, the name of Arthur has been attached to the imperishable monuments of the country: to hills, to fountains, to ancient earthworks and fortifications, to cromlechs and rocking-stones, the memorials of a primæval period and an unknown or forgotten people. It is this wide-spread fame, these enduring evidences of the depth and breadth of the mark which this man made upon his own age, and all succeeding ages, that has tended to throw doubt on his historic character, and to relegate him into the rank of a mythic hero, coeval with the earliest remembrances of a people, rather than with the desperate dying struggles of an overmatched and beaten race.

That Arthur was not a native Welsh hero—that is, he was not a native chief or ruler of the countries between the Severn and the western sea—the entire tenor of legend, tradition, and history demonstrates. The absurd attempt of Edward Williams in the "Iolo MSS." to identify him with the son of an historical king of Glamorgan is one of the many failures of that enthusiastic, but somewhat shallow antiquary. For the Cornish parentage and Armorican descent of Arthur, we have only the work of Geoffrey, a work the earlier portion of which was evidently written in Brittany or in Cornwall, which knows nothing of Welsh traditions down to the time of Ambrosius, and which exhibits a singular tendency throughout to exalt the descendants of Corineus above those of the sons of Brutus. The confusion of Constantine of Armorica and his son Constans the monk, in the legend of Vortigern, with the historical Constantine, elected imperator by the British soldiery in 407, and his son Constans, who Orosius informs us was a monk, and the silence of the biographers of St. Germanus as to the relationship of the latter to Ambrosius and Uther, who, if the Armorican pedigree were true, were the nephews by marriage of the sister of the saint, seem conclusive against the descent of Arthur from the Armorican Constantine. On the

other hand, it seems certain that Arthur was not a mere Cumbric chief of the country between the Solway and the Forth. The Welsh genealogies, confused and contradictory as they are, must be taken to embody and represent a mass of floating tradition current in Wales at an early period respecting the family connexions of the principal persons who figured in the fifth and sixth centuries. These genealogies present us with three lines or clusters of families: a northern one, the line or family of Coel, the general truth of which is supported by evidence drawn from other sources; a southern one whose accuracy cannot be tested, which passes through Cynan Meriadoc, the contemporary of the Emperor Maximus, into the Armorican line; and thirdly, what may be called the Roman-British family, reputed to be descended from Maximus, in support of which there is some independent testimony from Welsh sources. Rejecting the Armorican descent of Arthur, we find no place for him in either the northern or the Roman-British lines, a circumstance in harmony with the statement in the Vatican MS. of the "Historia," that many were of more noble descent than Arthur. A legend preserved by Godfrey of Viterbo, in his Pantheon, written in the twelfth century, in the shape of a Latin poem, while it gives the Ambrosius-Merlin-Vortigern story very much as in Geoffrey of Monmouth, has a different account of the descent of Arthur. It states that the Emperor Maximus, whom, like Nennius, it confounds with Maximianus the persecutor of the Christians under Diocletian, died, leaving two sons, Uter and Aurelius, while Constans the monk, brother of Maximus, succeeded to the throne. In this legend, which attributes a Roman descent to Arthur, Maximus is substituted for the Constantine of Geoffrey, and Constans the monk is the brother, and not the son of the latter. The Welsh traditions describe a son of Maximus, Owain ap Maccen, as holding rule in the north of Britain, who, joining with the sons of Cunedda in the war against the Picts, was slain, and left no issue. It is worthy of notice that the Welsh genealogies mention another son of Maximus named *Constantine*, of whom nothing is known. Nennius names as the ninth of the Roman emperors in Britain a Constantine who reigned sixteen years, and was then treacherously slain at York. It is evident that both Nennius and Geoffrey have mixed up together the history of two persons of the name of Constantine, the one the usurper who, Orosius says, was a common soldier, "ex infima militia," elected by the troops solely on account of his name, the other a Constantine who appears really to have reigned in some part of Britain. It seems probable that Ambrosius, who as Gildas states, was of Roman descent, whose parents for their merit had been adorned with the purple, may in truth

have been descended from a Roman-British Constantine, confounded with the usurper by Nennius, and that at a later period than the tenth century a pedigree was invented for the then renowned Arthur to the equal glory of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, through Cynan Meriadoc, and the wife of Gorlais of Cornwall.

That Nennius, or the compiler of the "*Historia*," knew nothing of the parentage of Arthur is evident from the attempt to explain the meaning of the name, and that of his father Uther, for the *mab Uter* of the writer can mean nothing else than "son of Uther." Yet this writer does not recognise the word Uter as a personal name, but translates the phrase "*filius horribilis*," because he, Arthur, was cruel from his childhood. This derivation of the name "*mab Uter*," and the translation of the name Arthur as "the terrible bear," are sufficiently borne out by the British language; but the other explanation of the name as "the iron hammer with which the teeth of lions are broken" is altogether unintelligible. It is noticeable that the name Arthur is not borne by any other hero of Cymric extraction. The only other instance of the name Arthur is that of the son of Aidan, King of the Dalriadic Scots, slain in the battle of Circhind in 596. This Scottish Chief was two generations later than the British Arthur, and the occurrence of the name at this period and in the neighbourhood of this British stronghold of Alclyde, seems to offer some corroborative testimony to the historical character and Cumbrian relations of the latter. The name Uther, the British meaning of which no doubt gave birth to the story of the dragon's head, and the subsequent fable of a Pendragon and Pendragonship in Britain, is otherwise unknown as a British name. If not a British name it is Scandinavian, and indeed Eddaic. In 911 a Danish Count Uther was slain at the battle of Wodnesfield. In 918 another Uther, Oter, or Othyr, a Northman, together with Rahald, made a piratical incursion up the Severn. Is it possible that Uther, of unknown parentage, allied according to tradition by marriage of his daughter to Loth King of the Orkneys and of the Picts, can have been a Scandinavian military adventurer, and that under this strange interpretation of the name of Arthur by Nennius, "the iron hammer which breaks the teeth of lions," lurks some obscure allusion to the name and the hammer of Thor?

It would be vain to attempt to follow Mr. Skene in his identification of Arthur's twelve battles, based upon fancied resemblances of local names, which being for the most part descriptive, exist in all Cymric localities. Glain the shining, and Duglas the dark, are epithets applicable to many streams; Caer Guinnion the white fort, and Breguoin the white hill, and

Camlan the crooked enclosure, Traeth tra-frwd the strand beyond the stream, and the wood Celyddon, may belong to any of the Cymric-speaking regions.

An unfortunate misreading of the names of one of these battles in Nennius has led Mr. Skene to imagine that the Picts who held the country around Edinburgh in the sixth century were called Catbregion, a people whom he again finds in one of the Welsh poems under the name of Cath Vreith, and employs in the support of his peculiar opinions.

The last and most important battle mentioned by Nennius, which seems for a time to have checked the progress of the Saxons, was the battle of Mount Badon, the identification of the site of which is the great desideratum for fixing the probable locality of Arthur's rule. If the Mons Badonicus of Gildas and Nennius could be identified with the Somersetshire Bath, Mr. Pearson's view of a south-west Arthurian kingdom would receive important support. The notion that Mount Badon was to be looked for at Bath must have originated after that city was called Bathan-ceaster by the Saxons, which could hardly have been till after the battle of Deorham and the consequent capture of Bath by Cuthwine and Ceawlin in 577, yet Gildas writing in 560, already speaks of the Mons Badonicus. According to the general rule adopted by the native Britons or the later Welsh in forming the names of the Roman cities in Britain, the native name of Bath would have been some corruption of the Roman Aquæ Sulis, with the prefix *Caer*; and we therefore hesitate to believe that the name Badonicus was founded on a pre-existing *Caer-baddon*, which also in the sixth century would probably have appeared in the form *Caer-baton*.

Mr. Skene places the site of this famous battle at Boudenhill in Linlithgowshire, where there yet remain the traces of an important fortification, past which flows the river Avon.

The same difficulties beset the identification of the site of Camlan, the fatal battle in which Arthur and the native British cause perished together. Mr. Skene places it at Camelon on the banks of the Carron, near the Frith of Forth. There is no doubt a considerable similarity in the names; but after all, Camlan may be a later poetical name for the site of the disastrous conflict—the evil or ill-omened plain.

The general tendency of the traditionary and legendary evidence is certainly to localize Arthur in North Britain, not necessarily in Southern Scotland, but generally in the Cumbrian regions extending from the Humber to the Clyde. It is certain that Nennius intended to represent Arthur as fighting against the Saxons of Bernicia, including in the term Saxons, as do the Welsh poems, the Germanic invaders, whether Angles, Jutes,

Frisians, or Saxons. After relating that Ohta, on the death of his father Hengist, left the north of Britain for the kingdom of Kent, he recounts the twelve victories of Arthur against the Saxons. He then says,

“But the barbarians, though defeated in every war, sought help from Germany, and constantly increased greatly in numbers; and they brought over kings from Germany to reign over them in Britain. And they did so reign (*et regnabant*) down to the time when Ida, the son of Eobba, reigned, who was the first king in Bernicia.”

The battles of Arthur are here represented to have been fought with the various chiefs who ruled in Bernicia before Ida consolidated the Saxon power into a kingdom in 547, which agrees with the dates given for the events in which Arthur was concerned by the *Annales Cambriæ*. The Welsh traditions, though in some points contradictory, may perhaps be capable of reconciliation. They represent the Saxon opponent of Arthur at the battle of Mount Badon, and the leader of the Saxon allies of Modred at the battle of Camlan, under the same appellation, *Cyllelvawr*, or the Longknife. One of these traditions, which has found its way into the lists of the British Saints, may very probably have come down from some monastery at York or Durham, since it traces the pedigree of Eata Glinmaur, or Eda the Bigknee, father of Ecgbert the Archbishop of York, who died in 766, up to Ida King of Bernicia, founder of his race. This Ecgbert is noticed in the Appendix to Nennius as the first bishop of their nation. This document is interesting, as it gives us the British names for two of the Saxon chiefs of the period, Gwynber Dorchawg or Whitespear with the collar (*torqueatus*), and Gwyllt y Drawe, or the Arrogant Barbarian, in addition to the two, Flamdwyn the Flamebearer, and Mwg Mawr Drefydd, the Townburner, significant names known from other sources. In this pedigree *Cyllelvawr* certainly represents Ida of Bernicia, who, though he rose to supreme command only in 547, may have been a distinguished leader at an earlier period.

In the romances, the Saxon chief at the battle of Mount Badon is called Ossa *Cyllelvawr*, who may probably represent Oesa or Eossa, the grandfather of Ida. These traditions, which appear to have come down from the time of the events themselves, so far agree with the statement of Nennius that the battles of Arthur in general were against the Bernician Angles, and fix the locality of the two important battles of Mount Badon and Camlan in the same neighbourhood, somewhere in Northumbria and apparently Bernicia, between the Tyne and the Frith of Forth. It is no doubt with this region and its clans and chieftains, British and Pictish, that the native traditional

history of Arthur is mixed up. Many of the redoubted warriors collected about Arthur in the Welsh romances, and noticed in the Triads, who in the Norman-Breton romance become Knights of the Round Table, Urien and Owain, Cai and Gwalchmai, Caradoc and Peredur, Loth and Modred, belong to families styled by the Welsh generally "Men of the North." The transactions of Arthur with that Pictish chief whose unintelligible family has furnished so many saints to the Welsh calendar, as well as, according to the Welsh genealogies, Aneurin the poet, and Gildas the historian—Hueil the son of Caw, converted by the Chronicle of Geoffrey into Hoel of Armorica, belonged to the same region.

The final battle of Camlan, which closed the career of Arthur, gave the Picts the supremacy over the Britons of Strathclyde, facilitated the successes of Ida and the Anglian Kings in Northumbria, and checked the progress of Christianity until another Cumbrian chief of Roman-British descent, Rhydderch Hael, descended from the Emperor Maximus, crushed by aid of the Dalriadic Scots the British and Saxon confederacy at the battle of Arderydd in 577, was perhaps, but not necessarily, fought in the same region. It was no doubt the closing scene of a long and bloody drama, in which Scots, Picts, and Saxons, aided by domestic treason, succeeded in throwing off the yoke imposed upon them by the British Arthur.

The bare list of battles given by Nennius is supplemented, and to some extent elucidated by the account contained in Geoffrey. In this account Arthur's first battle is on the Duglas river, from whence he pursues the defeated Saxons to York, and the river Duglas must have been somewhere in the Northumbrian province south of the Tyne. The attempt to take York was a failure. The next battle took place on relieving the siege of *Caer Luit-coit*, the city or fortress by the grey, perhaps dead, wood, which Geoffrey very improbably identifies with Lincoln; thence the Saxons are driven into the *Celidon*, the great forest extending through Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, into southern Scotland, where the battle called by Nennius *Cat Coit Celidon* takes place, probably in Yorkshire. The next battle is that of *Mount Badon*, which Geoffrey as well as the early commentators of Nennius places at Bath in Somersetshire. This battle, according to Geoffrey, who in this so far agrees with Nennius, closes Arthur's wars against the Saxons, for the seat of war is now transferred to the Clyde, and all the succeeding battles are fought against the Scots and the Picts.

The second part of Arthur's career opens with the relief of the siege of *Alclud*, where the Scots and Picts are defeated in three battles, and a final and decisive victory over the same ene-

mies at Loch Lomond, with a defeat of the Irish forces who had arrived for their assistance. With these battles, and with the settlement of the northern province by the re-establishment of the native chiefs of the Clan Coel, Arthur's historical career is brought to a close, the interval between these events and the battle of Camlan being filled up with the fabulous narration of his foreign conquests.

From these combined statements of the traditionary history of these events, we infer that Arthur's exploits commenced with a series of successes against the Saxons of the Province of Deira, between the Humber and the Tyne, the rescue of the great city of York and the adjacent district from the Saxons, and the re-establishment of the Roman-British authority under the consul, as Geoffrey and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle term the chief magistrate of the Roman cities of Britain; that the battle of Mount Badon was fought in the same province, and the fruits of that victory were the occupation of the principal stronghold of the Saxons of Deira, whose locality, however, we do not pretend to conjecture, and the temporary destruction of the Saxon power in that region. In fact we hear nothing more about the kings of Deira till the time of Eadwine, born in 585, and one of the results of the battle of Mount Badon and the weakening of the Saxon power in Deira, probably was the annexation of that province by Ida the Bernician. On the restoration of British authority in Deira, the military genius of Arthur, who had perhaps carved out for himself a principality the seat of which was Carlisle, found an ample field in the country between the two walls where four hostile races were occupied in interminable war, carried on in ever-changing alliances of Scot with Pict, Pict with Saxon, Saxon with Briton, as passing events might dictate. In these perpetual conflicts a warrior of great personal prowess, and of great military and administrative capacity, one who was

“ In close fight a champion grim,
In camp a leader sage ;—”

a born leader of men, large of heart and free of hand, courteous and liberal, favoured by fortune with a long career of uninterrupted success, might well become the theme of song and the source of inspiration to a thousand legends exaggerating his deeds and magnifying his real greatness. The very reverses which befel his countrymen, the destruction of their nationality, their exile and flight to distant but kindred lands, served only to carry the name and fame of Arthur into countries which they would otherwise perhaps never have reached. For the Cymric tribes Arthur occupies the position which Fingal holds for those

of the Gaelic race, but the popular songs in which the latter hero is celebrated have been preserved, while those which told of Arthur have been lost, because the language of the Gael remains a spoken tongue to the present day, while the dialect in which the songs of Arthur were composed has altogether perished. We can easily understand how, while the songs written in an extinct dialect passed away from memory, the traditions which they had preserved, and the legends which grew up around them were carried down in the dialects of kindred tribes who gloried in the exploits of the great conqueror of their natural enemies the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons.

Do these Welsh poems then, the earliest collections of which Mr. Skene has printed, afford any evidence corroborative of the traditions which relate to Arthur, and to the British events of the sixth century, and can they be traced back to the time and place when the events occurred to which they are supposed to refer. Mr. Skene answers these questions in the affirmative, but upon what slight foundation we shall endeavour to demonstrate.

"Of a large proportion of the historical poems, the scenery and events lie in the north; the warriors whose deeds they celebrate were 'Gwyr y Gogledd,' or Men of the North. They are attributed to bards connected with the north, and there is every reason to believe them older than the tenth century. They are, in point of fact, the literature of the Cymric inhabitants of Cumbria before that kingdom was subjugated by the Saxon king in 946."

After the departure of the Romans, the northern frontier of the provinces was the scene of a struggle between the contending races for supremacy.

"Throughout the clash and jar of contending races a body of popular poetry appears to have grown up, and the events of this never-ending war, and the dim recollection of social changes and revolutions seem to have been reflected in national lays attributed to bards supposed to have lived at the time in which the deeds of their warriors were celebrated, and the legends of the country preserved in language which, if not poetical, was figurative and obscure. It was not till the seventh century that these popular lays, floating about among the people, were brought into shape and assumed a consistent form. The sudden rise of the Cymric population to power under Cadwallawn, and the burst of national enthusiasm and excited hope, found vent in poetry. The Cymry were stimulated to combined effort by the voice of bards, and poems were composed, and the more ancient lays either adapted to their purpose or embedded as fragments in their own compositions. It is in the seventh century that I place these poems in their earliest consistent shape, and I do not attempt to take them further back."

There are two modes of judging of the antiquity of these and

similar documents. One by the external evidence afforded by the MSS. themselves, by the handwriting and the language. In the case of these Welsh poems, the external evidence is clear; the earliest MS. in which they are found is of the twelfth century, and the language in which they are composed belongs to the same age. They are all written in the dialect and in the orthography, at the earliest, of the twelfth century. The other test is the internal evidence afforded by the documents, by reference to historical persons or events of known date.

Mr. Arnold, in his *Essays on Celtic Literature*, observed that the one interesting and fruitful question is, not in what instances the internal evidence opposes the claims of these poems to a sixth century origin, but in what instances it supports them, and what these sixth century remains, thus established, signify. The application of this test by internal evidence, where the external evidence is either wanting or contradictory, is, however, attended by considerable difficulty. The mode in which Mr. Skene deals with it will be apparent from the following example. Nennius names Urien, a Cumbrian prince, as fighting against Hussa, the son of Ida. He is, therefore, a truly historical personage, and there are extant some ten songs addressed to or relating to him. One of these, generally entitled "*Anrhec Urien*," after a mournful lamentation over the condition and prospects of the country enunciates a prophecy foretelling the disasters that will follow the battle of *Cors Vochno*. To obviate objections as to the meaning of the lines in question, we quote Mr. Skene's translation:—

"The affair of *Cors Vochno*, he that will escape from it will be fortunate,
There will be twelve women, and no wonder, for one man.
The age of youth will fare unbecomingly worse;
After the tumultuous extermination, a bearded man in a hundred will not be a warrior."

As the prophecy even of a Welsh bard must be taken to have been uttered after the fulfilment of the event, the affair of *Cors Vochno*, if it can be identified, gives us the date before which the poem cannot have been composed. That it was a battle is clear from the above lines, and from the Welsh prefix *Gueith* constantly used in the *Annales Cambriæ* for battle, as *Gueith Camlan*, the battle of Camlan. Now there is a place called *Cors Vochno* in Cardiganshire, and a battle was fought there against the Flemings of Pembrokeshire in the twelfth century, which is referred to by Gwalchmai, a bard of the twelfth century, in a poem written by him in praise of Owain Gwynedd, who reigned 1137-1169. Mr. Stephens and Mr. Nash therefore [Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. F

maintain that this poem addressed to Urien Rheged of the sixth century could not have been written before the twelfth.

Mr. Skene, on the other hand, is of opinion that the "affair of Cors Vochno" alludes to a tradition preserved in the Welsh Laws, that Maelgwn Gwynedd was elected supreme king of Wales in the sixth century, and that his election, which took place at Aberdovey, on the sands between the moss of Cors Vochno and the sea, was brought about by a fraudulent or magical device employed on his behalf. "Here," says Mr. Skene, "some transaction took place—some struggle hidden under the disguise of this fable—by which Maelgwn made himself supreme over the other three kings of Wales. This struggle I take it was the *Gueith Corsfochno*, or the affair of Corsfochno of the bards." As the legend neither speaks of nor suggests a battle or "a tumultuous extermination," Mr. Skene is obliged to supply them. The poem on the other hand does speak of the battle of Corsvochno, and if an historical battle of Corsvochno can be shown, the date of the poem is fixed after its occurrence.

There are in the "Black Book of Caermarthen" two poems, nearly side by side, being numbers 33 and 36. The first is a dialogue between Gwynn mab Nudd and Gwyddno Garanhir, which contains several stanzas on the death of Guallawg ab Lleenawg, mentioned in Nennius as a warrior of the sixth century. The second is an elegy by Cynddelw, on Madog the son of Meredydd, a prince of Powys who died at Winchester in 1159. These two poems are written in the same dialect, in the same orthography, and in the same metre. If the names of the personages above-mentioned were struck out, no one could say otherwise than that both were composed at the same date, and perhaps by the same person. The external evidence of difference in linguistic form therefore is altogether wanting; yet on the strength of the internal evidence alone, the names of the warriors mentioned, Mr. Skene places the first poem in his "more strictly historical" division, alluding to events subsequent to 560, and belonging to that class of poems which he considers were first brought into consistent shape in the seventh century. The external evidence places it in the twelfth century, and the internal evidence affords no better reason for believing it to have been composed before that date than there is for placing Mr. Tennyson's *Mort d'Arthur* in the sixth century.

When Mr. Skene claims for such a composition a seventh century origin, he should, we think, at the same time offer some explanation of the mode and the successive stages in which it has come to us in the form in which it first appears in the twelfth century. We know of no chain of transmission, no link to bind the seventh and twelfth centuries together by any reference to

the existence of these or other poems on the same subjects in the intermediate period. We do know that the form of the language must have been very different. In the eleventh century, compositions in the Irish language of the sixth required a gloss to render them intelligible; and the stanzas inscribed in the Cambridge Juvenius, by a Welsh monk of the ninth century, show a considerable difference in the form of the Welsh language at that time from that which it had assumed in the twelfth. The Welsh Triads compiled in the seventeenth century, perhaps partly from documents existing in the twelfth, state that there is a different dialect for each of the three divisions of Wales; and the Rev. Basil Jones, writing in 1859, asserted that the peasantry of the extreme north and extreme south of Cardiganshire, through which ran the dividing line between Gwynedd and Deheubarth, are not always mutually intelligible. Even if the dialect of southern Cumbria in the seventh century was similar to that of Gwynedd, or if these poems were first composed in the North Wales dialect of that era, we cannot doubt that they would now be almost, if not quite unintelligible. Prose legends and traditions passing by oral transmission may find their way into a foreign language, or gradually accommodate themselves to the gradual changes of the native tongue, contracting more or less obscurity in their descent; but compositions in rhymed lines consisting of a fixed number of syllables, and sometimes alliterative, intended to be sung or recited to the accompaniment of some musical instrument, refuse to accommodate themselves to verbal and grammatical changes, and must soon acquire a character of archaism which would unfit them for their obvious purpose. The present form of these poems, if they really represent in any shape compositions of the seventh century, must be considered as mere translations, or indeed paraphrases, of the original—something like Dryden's version of the tales of Chaucer.

In the absence of all external evidence to support a seventh century origin, Mr. Skene proposes a test, which, plausible in theory, altogether fails in practice. "If," he says, "we find that these poems do not re-echo to any extent the fictitious narrative of the events of the fifth and sixth centuries as represented in the Bruts, but rather the leading facts of the early history of the Cymry, it will be a strong ground for concluding that they belong themselves to an earlier age." We cannot find, either in the poems themselves, or in Mr. Skene's commentary on them, any ground for believing that they do represent the leading facts in the early history of the Cymry in any other sense than that they refer to the traditions relating to a very few of those leading facts existing at the time they were composed, be that time

what it may. Such references can give no date for the composition, other than one later than the event referred to. When the writer of a poem, found only in the dialect of the twelfth century, says that he had received gifts from Cunedda who lived in the fifth century, we do not believe this to be the statement of a fact, but a poetic license used by one who embodies in his poem the traditionary history of the fifth century chieftain.

There is a poem which contains these lines—

“A battle against the lord of fame in the dales of Severn,
Against Brochmail of Powys who loved my song,”

which according to Mr. Skene implies that the bard was contemporary with Brochmail, mentioned by Bede as present at the battle of Bangor in 613. In the next two lines the bard describes himself as present at a battle with Urien, who was slain about 580. This of course is possible. But when the same bard proceeds to say that he came to Deganwy in Caermarthenshire to contend with Maelgwn, who is known to have died in the yellow pestilence in 560, about the liberation of Elphin, and that he was with Bran in Ireland, we perceive that we have here only a string of allusions to well-known legends and romances. In fact the romance of Bran is probably one of the latest of the *Mabinogion*, as it mixes up two distinct classes of legend, those of the *Gwyddyl Fichti* and those relating to Cassibelaunus and Caractacus. We know from the *Triads* that there was a romance relating to Cassibelaunus and the causes of the Roman invasion, which has been lost. Such a romance must have been written after the composition of that history of ancient Britain from Brutus to Cadwallader, of which we have one form in the work of Geoffrey, and in all probability after the commencement of the twelfth century. Admitting that the writer lived in the seventh century, what is the historical value of the poem. It names, and only names, two persons who are named by Latin writers of the eighth and tenth centuries. So it is throughout, allusions only to something otherwise known, or expected to be known by the hearers of the poem. In his chapters on the history of the transactions of the fifth and sixth centuries these poems afford Mr. Skene no important materials for his argument; these are drawn from Gildas, from Nennius, from the Irish annals, the *Lives of the Saints*, and the *Welsh Triads*. When Mr. Skene proceeds to extract from the allusions to the romantic tales of the Irish Picts materials for history, when he asserts that the chief personages of these tales are to be connected with North Cumbrian events of the sixth century, that Llew Llaw Gyffes, the mysteriously born son of Arianrod represents Loth the

King of the Picts, that Arawn, King of the Deeps, is the Arawn the brother of Loth and Urien, and that the poems which refer to these legends shadow forth under the names of Llew and Gwydion that alliance of Picts and Britons which resulted in the insurrection of Modred and the death of Arthur, we can only express our astonishment at his adoption of a fallacy which is beyond the reach of argument. We see in these allusions references to well-known tales, the legacy of the Irish Picts of North Wales to their Cymric conquerors, the descendants of the followers of Cunedda. To these Cruithne, superior in arts, but inferior in arms, partly exterminated, partly reduced to bondage, the people of North Wales were indebted for those tales of sorcery and illusion, the native home of which is marked as well by the names of the legendary heroes of the conquered race as by the localizing of the scenery and the events of the tales in Mona, Arvon, and Dyfed, the ancient seats of their Cruithnian authors.

We should not expect the Welsh poems, even if written in the twelfth century, to re-echo the fictitious narrative of the Bruts; the collection of the "Black Book of Caermarthen" shows that already in that century the Welsh possessed a native Arthurian romance, upon which they neither could, nor would desire to engraft the altogether differently conceived and non-Cymric fictions of the Bruts. But we should expect, if this national Welsh poetry owes its existence to the temporary outburst of national joy and hope called forth by the successes of Cadwallawn's earlier career, that it should re-echo some report of the glory of that scourge of the Northumbrian Saxons. But we find little or nothing in this supposed national and contemporary poetry relating to the exploits of this great national hero. The Welsh at least might be supposed to have been more occupied with the great deeds of a native prince of North Wales than with those of a chieftain of a past generation and a remote region. Yet Mr. Skene can only find three poems relating to Cadwallawn, and these not in the oldest collection, in one of which Cadwallawn is not named but supposed to lie hid; in the second, all that is said of him is, that "when Cadwallawn came over the ocean of Iwerddon, he regulated heaven as high creator;" and the third, attributed by Dr. Owen Pughe to Llywarch Hen of the sixth, but only found in a MS. of the fourteenth century, mentions fifteen battles fought within the principality of Wales, but contains no allusion to the really historical actions of this monarch, the battle of Heathfield fought in 632, in which Edwin of Northumbria and his son Osfrith were slain, and the ravages which he committed in Northumbria. There are no songs extant in praise of Cadwallawn's ancestors up to Maelgwn Gwynedd, whom

Nennius notices as the Great King of the Britons in the sixth century.

When we look for some bardic remains relating to the career of the renowned Arthur, we find what is equivalent to an absolute blank. Mr. Skene produces four pieces, two of which are from the collection of the twelfth century, and in which he is merely named; three of them belong to fragments of an Arthurian romance, and the fourth, which has an historical character, is written in praise of Geraint ab Erbin, a Devonian chief, and relates to a battle at Longborth in Devon, where Geraint was slain. In this piece Arthur is introduced by name into one stanza, and is styled *amherawdr* or Emperor, a title which is certainly not Cymric, and points to a date later than the fictitious narrative of the Bruts.

In truth, these Welsh compositions do not satisfy the requirements of a national poetry, called into existence in stirring times, celebrating great actions and popular heroes. Setting aside the Gododin, which stands by itself and is little understood, there is not (with perhaps one exception, the piece called the Battle of Argoed) in the whole collection of these Welsh poems a single poem, ballad, or song, descriptive in a connected form of any adventure, battle, action or love passage, real or fictitious. There is nothing resembling the ballad of Chevy Chase, or those which tell of Robin Hood, or the Laird's Jock, or even the rude songs of a wild population such as Scott describes as sung by the minstrels before Marmion in Norham Hold. Had any such existed in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries it is difficult to believe that they should not have found their way into some one of the collections then in progress. References and allusions there are in abundance to legends, traditions, and events with which the bard evidently believed or expected his audience to be acquainted.

The actual state, what may be called the physical condition of these poems, demands a few observations. This condition is peculiar and remarkable. Many of them are not poems but fragments of poems, and not mere fragments, but a medley of fragments. We think Mr. Skene has not paid sufficient attention to the condition in which the greater part of these poems now exist, made up of unconnected fragments belonging to various subjects, parts of several originally different songs, joined together arbitrarily, and without reference to any one possible tale or legend. In a song called "The Song of the Sons of Llyr," we find the following allusions: to the sons of Llyr; to Brochmail Powys, who lived in the seventh century; to Urien, who lived in the sixth; to two mythological females, Ceridwen and Ogyrwen; to the last confession before death;

to a future catastrophe on the shores of Enlli; to the Saxons; to the Romance of Taliesin and the liberation of Elphin; to the legends of the Irish Picts; to a conference of Welsh minstrels and Irish; to the Romans; to the Romance of Bran; to the Romance of Pwyll, with other allusions to unknown matters, all in the space of fifty-five lines. It is evident that this is no poem or song, but a mere collection of fragments of various pieces on different subjects, which lived in the memory of the singer, and even in this condition served to amuse the rude audiences before whom it was sung, and by whom perhaps the jingle of the rhyme and the accompanying music were more appreciated than the words or sense of the song.

The explanation of this strange state of things is, that a great number of prose tales and legends were current in Wales, under the form of tales recited by professional *Storiawr*, were sufficiently popular and well known to be briefly alluded to in the songs recited to the accompaniment of the harp or *crwth*, and were in the fourteenth century collected, revised, and re-written in the form in which they now appear in the Mabinogion. When Einion the priest, or Hopkin Philip, whichever may have composed the Romance of Taliesin, compiled that tale, he adopted the form which we cannot doubt was the ancient one, and wrote all the descriptive and narrative part in prose, introducing rhapsodies or songs at intervals, to relieve the strain upon the attention of the audience, and to give breathing time to the reciter. Such was the form in which the old legends and traditions were preserved. In course of time the prose recitation would become everything, the song little or nothing as far as the story was concerned. In this state of things the singer brought together a number of lines as they occurred to him at the moment, without reference to their general connexion, and songs thus formed were transmitted from one singer to another, and at length written down in this shape in the twelfth century. It may also to some extent be the result of a bardic amusement which, under the name of Pennillion singing, prevailed in Wales at the commencement of the present century, and may probably prevail still, in which different singers recited in turn, stanzas either original or from memory, which, afterwards collected, formed a heterogeneous composition of stanzas on a variety of subjects.

In remarkable contrast to the rude compositions which allude to the romances or contain strings of unanswerable questions, are certain of the poems ascribed to Taliesin, which refer to Urien and his son Owain, and the poems ascribed to Llywarch Hen, a contemporary bard and warrior. They all are addressed to or refer to persons and events belonging to the sixth century. How many, or which of these poems can be assigned to the literature

of the seventh century? We do not hesitate to say, not one. The songs to Urien and Owain to which we refer, are all written in a style altogether different to that which characterizes the pieces which, in the mouths of the wandering minstrels, had become little better than unintelligible fragments, have the appearance of being written compositions, are smooth in metre, poetic in diction, and pursue with ease a subject connected throughout in idea and execution. The style alone of these compositions, if we had no other indication of the time at which they were written, would sufficiently justify our considering them the most modern of the poems professing to refer to the events of the sixth century. The same remarks apply to the poems attributed to Llywarch Hen. Some of these are lyrical and descriptive of the beauties of nature, others consist of stanzas which serve as the vehicle for moral and religious sentiments, and for proverbial sayings. Nothing but the name of the reputed author connects them with the seventh century. They appear for the first time in the Red Book of Hergest, compiled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To the same bard are ascribed three historical pieces,—an Elegy on the Death of Urien, an Elegy on the Death of Cyndyllan, and an Elegy on the death of his own sons, a fragment of the latter being contained in the Black Book. The localities mentioned in the Elegy on Cyndyllan are all in Powys, the eastern and central district of Wales; Cyndyllan himself was a chieftain of Powys, and seated in the vale of Severn, near Shrewsbury. The elegy on the death of Llywarch's sons belongs to the same district; the grave of one is stated to be in Llangollen, that of another at Rhiw Velen, near Bala in Merionethshire. The bard himself is said to have been buried at the church of Llanvor in the same neighbourhood. He is also the reputed author of the Elegy on Geraint, in which he states that he saw Arthur engaged in the battle of Longborth, and also of an Elegy on Cadwallawn, who died in 646. In order to make his active life embrace these events, he is supposed to have lived to the age of 150 years. If we enquire how this North Cumbrian chief who had fought in the wars of Urien against Theodric son of Ida, came to be located in Powys, we are informed that on the death of Urien his patrimony was seized by the Saxons, and that he with his sons and other warriors sought refuge in Wales. The death of Urien, however, had little effect on the kingdom of Strathclyde, which was then and for long after flourishing under the rule of Rhydderch Hael. An examination of the various lists of the British saints will show that very nearly every celebrated person in British history of the fifth and sixth centuries is reputed to have resorted to Wales for the purpose of ending his days in peace and the odour of sanctity. These poems

have been attributed to Llywarch as others have been to Taliesin, and there can be no doubt that the real era of the introduction of these North British traditions into Wales is the close of the ninth century, when, on the final breaking up of the Cumbrian kingdom, the Cumbrian Britons, called in the Chronicle of Llan-carvan, "the men of Strathclyde," settled in force in North Wales, in Flintshire and Denbighshire. At that time there existed in South Wales a region named Rheged, lying between the rivers Neath and Towy, and including the districts of Gower and Kidwelly, mentioned by Nennius as having been occupied by the Scots who were driven thence by the sons of Cunedda. And there was a persistent tradition in Wales that the expulsion of these Gwyddyl was to be ascribed, not to the sons of Cunedda, but to Urien of the north, and that from this cause he was called Urien Rheged. What more natural than that the descendants of the Cumbrian settlers of the ninth century, as the memory of the north grew dim, should ascribe to their national hero the conquest of the land which bore the same name as that over which he had once borne sway; a conversion of the legend peculiarly grateful to the men of Dyfed and the south, who bore a deeply rooted animosity to the chieftains and the men of Gwynedd. The Romance of Taliesin, written in the South Wales dialect, shows how popular in the south was the hatred borne to the memory of Maelgwn Gwynedd the conqueror of the southern provinces, even as late as the fifteenth century. These legends and traditions of the "Men of the North" were soon clustered around the central figure of Arthur in the Arthurian romance. Urien of Rheged figures in the compilation of Malory as Sir Urience of Gower; Owain, the son of Urien Rheged, is the chief knight of Arthur's court, his companion, and to some extent his rival. Gwallawg, the son of Lleenewg, who had fought against Hussa in the sixth century, became an Earl of Shrewsbury, and his grave was pointed out on the banks of the river Carrog, in Caernarvon. Alongside of these popular versions of old legends, the ancient traditions themselves of the great struggles of the sixth century in the north still lived in the memory of the descendants of the Cumbrian exiles. Tales there were, no doubt, of the exploits of Gwallawg and Urien, and the sons of Llywarch, upon which some of the existing fragments were founded, but they lacked the popularity of the tales relating to the Pictish sorcerers, and have not been preserved.

We have still to deal with the fact, which, indeed, forms the groundwork and strength of Mr. Skene's view of the subject, that the Welsh poems, though written in the dialect of the twelfth century, do refer to legends and events connected with the history of the fifth and sixth centuries, and do not refer to legends

and events of the period between the sixth and the twelfth. If Mr. Skene is unable to show how songs composed in the seventh century make their appearance for the first time in the twelfth, without a single external feature to indicate the method of their transmission, or an archaic form or expression to point to a halting place on the road, he still is able to say that the only poems referring to events earlier than the twelfth, refer to the sixth, and in no instance to any intervening period. He points out the fact and there he leaves us, without any attempt to explain it, and indeed, without appearing to consider that an explanation is required. To him it is only a proof that the poems really were composed in the seventh century. But from those who reject the seventh century origin of these poems, some explanation of this remarkable fact is imperatively demanded, and we shall proceed to state some circumstances connected with the history of the period which appear to throw some light on the matter.

The poems with which we are concerned may be divided into three classes: the Bardic; the Romantic, or those relating to the Gwyddel Fichti; and the Historical.

The "Black Book of Caermarthen," compiled in the twelfth century, contains 39 pieces. Of these one only refers to Gwallawg; there is no piece referring to Urien; there is a part of the poem of Llywarch on the death of his sons. The Book of Taliesin, compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century, about a hundred years later than the Black Book, contains two poems relating to Gwallawg, and twelve relating to Urien and his son Owain. The older collection has one piece only, in which the names of Llew and Gwydion, the sorcerer chiefs of the Irish Picts, are mentioned; the Book of Taliesin, compiled in the following century, contains six pieces referring to the adventures of these personages.

The Black Book contains none of those pieces which may be called Bardic, in which a string of insoluble questions propounded by the singer to his audience, and allusions to transformations and pretensions to have lived in former periods in other forms, occupy so large a space. The Book of Taliesin contains no less than twelve, in which these peculiarities are found. This of course may be merely the result of accident; but it can hardly be merely accidental that, if poems of the historical and romantic class abounded in Wales from the seventh century downwards, they should not have been collected before the twelfth century. The reign of Howell the Good, who became lord paramount of all Wales in 913, was peculiarly favourable to literary pursuits. The compilation of the Welsh code of laws testifies to the existence of learned and literary persons in his reign, and during the space of thirty-five years in

which he ruled, Wales was disturbed neither by domestic dissensions nor foreign invasion. The Code has preserved one or two curious traditions, and a stanza relating to an expedition by Rhun son of Maelgwn to the north. But between the close of the reign of Howell and the collection of these poems by the monks of Caermarthen, two events occurred in Wales which produced a very marked and permanent effect on Welsh literature, forcing into luxuriant growth the national genius of the people, if they did not give to it altogether a new direction.

In the year 1077 Rhys ap Tewdur returned from Brittany where he had spent some years in exile, and assumed the sovereignty of South Wales. He brought with him, say the Welsh historians, "the system of the Round Table, which at home had become quite forgotten, and he restored it as it is, with regard to minstrels and bards, as it had been at Caerleon upon Usk under the Emperor Arthur, in the time of the sovereignty of the Cymry over the island of Britain and its adjacent islands." "Jestyn the son of Gwrgan took the Roll of the Round Table by force and fraud to Cardiff Castle." Nest, the only daughter of Rhys ap Tewdur, had a son by King Henry I., Robert Earl of Gloucester, who by marriage with Mabli daughter of Robert Fitzhamon the Norman conqueror of Glamorgan, became possessed of that lordship in right of his wife. The Roll of the Round Table and the Norman Arthurian romance are thus brought into direct connexion with Geoffrey of Monmouth, and not remotely with the "*vetustissimus liber*" which Walter the Archdeacon obtained in Brittany. In the "*Black Book of Caermarthen*" we find a fragment of a native Arthurian romance, referring to the adventures of Cai the Tall, Sir Kay the steward of the Norman romance, who, in the Welsh romances, is a giant endowed with remarkable magical qualities.

Nearly contemporaneously with the influence exercised in South Wales by the influx of Breton and Norman poets and minstrels, a revival of Bardic literature took place in North Wales. In 1098 Gruffyd ab Cynan returned to Wales from Ireland, and brought with him a number of Irish bards and minstrels, to whom are attributed the introduction of the four-and-twenty measures of music, since used by the Welsh musicians. He caused a congress to be held of the Irish and Welsh bards, in which regulations were enacted defining the order, precedence, and remuneration of the bards and minstrels. In a poem which Mr. Skene treats as belonging to the seventh century, we have an evident reference to this period, and an expression of professional jealousy and national animosity.

"I heard the conference of the Cerddorion (*i.e.*, the Welsh minstrels)
And the Irish devils!"

Another undoubted memorial of this period has come down to us in the Death Song, or Elegy of Corroi mac Daire, a Welsh poem on a well-known legend of ancient Irish origin. The chieftain whose death it celebrates was head of the Clann Deagaidh in South Munster, and supposed to have lived in the first century of the Christian era. He was treacherously slain by Cuchullin, a most famous warrior, chief of the champions of the Red Branch of Ulster. Mr. Skene published a translation of this poem in his preface to the Dean of Lismore's book, treating it as a discovery of his own. In his chapter on Recent Criticism of Historical Poems, in the work now under consideration, he deals very severely with Mr. Stephens, who had imagined that by the Cuchullin of the poem was meant Quichelm, a West-Saxon king, A.D. 611-626. But Mr. Skene had not observed, or has neglected to mention the fact, that in Mr. Nash's *Taliesin*, published in 1848, this poem had already been in part translated, with references to the passages in Keating where the story of Corroi mac Daire and Cuchullin is related at length. There can be little doubt that this Welsh version of an Irish legend is later than the return of Gruffyd ab Cynan from Ireland to North Wales in 1098.

The bardic festivals and congresses continued to be held by the princes of Wales during the twelfth century. To one of these, held at Cardigan Castle in 1107 by Cadwgan ab Bleddyn, "he invited the princes and chieftains of all parts of Wales, and all the best bards, musicians, and singers in Wales, and set chairs for them, and instituted contests between them, as was the practice at the feasts of King Arthur." This last statement seems to imply that those bardic contests were then something new in Wales, and corresponds to the similar statement as to the introduction of the system of the Round Table in 1077.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries are the brightest and most active period of Welsh bardic literature, and within this period range nearly the whole of the composers whose works are preserved in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, with the exception of the three famous names of Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen. After the death of Llwyllyn ap Gruffyd, and the final extinction of Welsh independence, the bardic art gradually languished, and at length merged in a new order of ideas and a new civilization.

Thus at the same point in time, two foreign but markedly contrasting influences, were exerted on Welsh literature: in South Wales the introduction of Breton and Norman *trouweres* and minstrels; in North Wales the introduction of Irish bards and musicians. Each of the foreign plants thus introduced found a congenial soil. At the close of the eleventh century all South

Wales had been reduced by the conquest of Robert Fitzhamon into the possession of Norman knights, and brought into relation with Norman England and Norman France. North Wales, on the contrary, maintained a stormy independence for nearly two centuries later, and remained more thoroughly and nationally Celtic, and more free from the infusion of foreign ideas and foreign impulses, and the result appears in the fact that nearly all the extant poems by bards known to be of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries belong to North Wales. These are chiefly songs composed in praise of native chieftains, extolling their exploits in war, their liberality in peace. In South Wales the influence of the Norman civilization and the diminished importance of the native chiefs, dwarfed under the suzerainty of the Norman barons, turned the current of literature into a different channel. Hence in South Wales this literature took the shape of prose writings, historical and legendary, the translation and editing of the Bruts, the compilation of the historical and other Triads, and the collection in prose of the legendary tales and traditions of the heroes of the fatherland. To the same period, and probably to poets of Southern Wales, we ascribe those poetic versions of the old traditions in which the historical warriors of the sixth century are celebrated. They found in Powys the traditions of the Cumbrian Britons brought thither in the reign of Anarawd, 890, by the men of Strathclyde; legends of Urien, of Owain, of Gwallawg, of Llywarch Hen, and his four-and-twenty warrior sons, each decorated with a collar of gold. In South Wales the awakened poetic genius of the nation, roused from its long slumber by contact with the Norman minstrelsy, seized on these traditions of past glories and turned them into song. To give them more popular currency, and perhaps to add to their lustre in the eyes of the Norman and Breton bards, the names of the great singers of old, Llywarch and Taliesin were assigned as their authors.

To the same period, but to a ruder and less refined class of composers, belong those curious fragments, originally intended to be sung or recited in the assemblies of the bards, probably in competition for prizes, in which the singer propounded to his rivals questions which they, or indeed any other persons, would find it impossible to answer. A scene of this kind is depicted in the romance called the History of Taliesin, a composition which, whether it be of the thirteenth, fourteenth, or even, as Mr. Skene thinks, of the sixteenth century, is evidently founded on earlier pieces of a similar character, and gives a life-like view of the manner in which these bardic contests were conducted.

The fragments which contain allusions to the romantic tales of the Irish Picts of North Wales, are founded upon legends whose

antiquity it is impossible to determine, but which certainly belong to a period far beyond the sixth century.* They have no connexion with the Cumbrian traditions, and belong in their origin to a non-Cymric race. Yet they were more truly and nationally Welsh than the Cumbrian legends of Urien, and even than those of Arthur. The scenery and events of these tales were localized in Wales, in Anglesea, upon the heights of Snowdon and on the peak of Idris. Yet of these popular tales no poetic version exists, and the fragments which allude to them cannot be traced higher than the twelfth century. Are we to conclude that the profession of the wandering minstrels was introduced into Wales by the Breton and Norman followers of Rhys ap Tewdur in 1077? The bard is mentioned in the laws of Howell, but only as an officer of the household, and one such, no doubt, formed part of the household of every important chief. The wandering minstrel, the professional *storiawr* or reciter of tales, belonged to a different order, and the statements above noticed of the institution of bardic contests, "as in the time of Arthur," may very probably refer to their recent origin. If this be so we have at once the explanation of the circumstance that these fragmentary poems first appear in collections of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and are attributed to Taliesin, whose romantic history was a popular theme of these minstrels, and is alluded to in a great number of these poems.

We do not attempt to bridge over the chasm which has been supposed to exist between the Welsh literature of the sixth and twelfth centuries, because we believe no such chasm exists. Music and song belong to every age and every condition of society, and there is no reason to suppose that these were wanting in Wales during the period in question. But the rude songs of a rude age, not committed to writing, nor linked to the memory of any great national or historic event, pass away and are forgotten. It is not till a higher refinement and the cultivation of literary pursuits has created the desire to search into the past history of a people, that the old songs and traditions are sought out and collected, which, if the poetic genius exist, form the basis of a new and national poetry. In Wales this literary vivification and awakened historic consciousness took place in the twelfth century, under the stimulus of the introduction of a foreign literature. It is to this new life, to this newly awakened spirit in Wales in the twelfth century, when the Breton minstrels first brought into notice the forgotten, or before unknown, or perhaps the fictitious legends and traditions of the ancient Cymry, that we ascribe the origin of the poems of the Four Ancient Books of Wales. Thenceforth there is no blank in the history of Welsh literature; the poetic spirit, once awakened, has not slumbered

since, and from the twelfth century downwards a constant succession of poets and poetry has vindicated the claim of the land of the Cymry to be called a land of song. We have made no observations on the famous poem of Aneurin, the Gododin, contained in one of the Four Ancient Books, nor on the poems attributed to northern Merlin. The first we do not profess to understand; its character, the age to which it belongs, or the events to which it refers. Mr. Nash has endeavoured to show that it describes the battle in which Penda, King of the Mercians, in alliance with Cadwallawn and thirty kings of the Britons, was defeated and slain by Oswald of Northumbria at Winwedfield in 635, but we think he has not proved his case. To Mr. Skene's opinion that the battle of Cattraeth supposed to be described in the Gododin, was the *Bellum Miathorum* mentioned in the Life of St. Columba and the Irish Annals as fought in 596, in which Aidan, King of the Dalriadic Scots, in alliance with the Britons, was victor over the Picts and Saxons, we can give no credit. We think it remains to be shown that it describes any particular battle at all. As to the poems ascribed to the northern Merlin, they are so manifestly spurious, and of no earlier date than the twelfth century, that they require no comment. .

While differing from Mr. Skene as to the age and historical importance of these Welsh poems, we willingly acknowledge the value and merit of his work. It is undoubtedly a valuable addition to Welsh literature. A carefully printed copy of the original texts, thus rendered generally accessible is in itself no inconsiderable boon to those who are interested in these studies, while the translations of the text, however faulty, and in some places absurd, will be a great assistance to all who may in future attempt the investigation of this difficult subject. The introductory essays, though somewhat disfigured by an unnecessary parade of contempt for the opinions of others, contain much information, and many new and valuable suggestions for the explanation of hitherto obscure points in the history of the period to which they refer. We could wish that, should the opportunity occur, Mr. Skene would add largely to the notes appended to his second volume. In places these are copious and important; but the author has left untouched a multitude of obscure and doubtful passages in the poems, which a writer who professes to obtain from these very passages materials for reconstructing the early history of Britain, should not have passed over without comment.

ART. III.—LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

1. *On Labour : its wrongful claims and rightful dues, its actual present and possible future.* By WILLIAM THOMAS THORNTON, author of "A Plea for Peasant Proprietors." London : Macmillan and Co. 1869.
2. *The Fortnightly Review.* March, 1869. (Professor Beesley on the "Social Future of the Working Class.")
3. *The Fortnightly Review.* May and June, 1869. (Mr. J. S. Mill on "Thornton on Labour and its Claims.")
4. *Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions.*
5. *Les Associations Ouvrières en Angleterre.* Paris : Ballière. (Published anonymously by the Comte de Paris.)

UNDER any social organization the lot of the many must be a lot of hardship and toil. The highest ideals of polity aim only at such a distribution of work as well as of the wages of work as should diminish the burden of labour falling upon each of the toilers, and cause the drones to cease from off the face of the earth. But that the mass of men, under any conditions conceivable, must take their share of the world's stirring unrelenting activity, is a fact that the philosophers who would reform society, no less than the statesmen who guide it in the accepted grooves, have taken as the keystone of speculation and of policy. The labouring classes, as those are called distinctively who earn their daily bread by manual labour, are in the majority in every community, and into their hands throughout the Western world is passing the substance of political power. It is not strange, therefore, that "the labour question," as it is termed, should have pushed itself into the front rank of political controversies, for although properly a social problem in the strictest sense, it has been played upon in England, and in France also, by political parties, and has been tainted with the indiscriminating zealotry of partisanship. With an enfranchised body of workmen no longer knocking at the gates, but within the citadel, organized too for the most part under a strict discipline, and taught by a bitter experience to distrust the propertied classes, it is not possible any longer for the most apathetic or the least revolutionary of Parliaments to evade consideration of the claims of labour. Such consideration has been promised by the inquiry of which the Report of the Trades' Union Commission is as yet the only tangible result; it remains that the promise should be fulfilled.

That there should be a "problem" at all requiring legislative solution in the relation between the labouring classes and the possessors of capital, is an unhealthy symptom; it is a proof that there still subsist some paralysing influences, some causes of irritation, some unwholesome limitations of free action which have been handed down to us from the days when a privileged oligarchy legislated without disguise in their own interest, and without any regard for the interest of the masses. Even in England—and England it may be said in this respect, though it cannot be said of her in many others, has gone far ahead of her European neighbours—Governments have not learned the lesson of neutrality between castes. Rather, perhaps, Governments have not unlearned the lesson of parental rule; the ideal of an omniscient and omnipotent State everywhere intermeddling, controlling action and directing policy, is still present to the imaginations of many intelligent men; and they are afraid to let labour walk alone. What is most singular in the notions of those who grope after this policy—and of these the opinions of the majority of the Trades' Union Commission may be taken as a fair specimen—is that they appeal to the doctrines of perfect freedom to justify measures of repression.

It is necessary, however, for the security of property and for the maintenance—so far as we can cope with the antagonism of nature—of England's pre-eminence in productive industry, that this question should be settled once for all, and that principles should be laid down with authority by the representatives of the nation to regulate henceforward the conditions upon which labour and capital are to adjust their disputes, and enter into their compacts of mutual assistance. The labouring classes are the majority, and the utilitarian principle of "the greatest good of the greatest number" enforces the adoption of those social arrangements which will operate most to elevate and sweeten the lot of the toilers. And, so that this can be done without disturbing property—and by disturbing property is meant "cowering the rich and filling the poor with envy,"—it is wise of the prosperous and powerful, who enjoy a monopoly of the practical work of law-making, to concede a little gracefully in order to secure a great deal. There is nothing that breeds injustice like injustice, and the surest way to provoke the workmen to trespass on the rights of others, is to withhold from them their own. No impartial man can doubt that under the existing law of England the rights of the workmen are confined within boundaries invented by the shortsighted selfishness of capital; no observant man can doubt that the workmen, when they find out their power will break down those boundaries, should they still remain, and something else at the same time.

The true way to compose the controversy between labour and capital, or to set it in a way of composing itself, is to place both sides on a perfect equality of legal right, and to instruct both sides in the real character of the "rights" they ignorantly dispute over. It is rarely that the actual economic foundations of the relation between employers and employed are thoroughly investigated, and because this is so seldom the case a book like that of Mr. Thornton's, which challenges the champions of all theories of labour to give a reason for their faith, is especially useful. Admirable as the work is in itself, embodying the results of a lifetime of disinterested study, and full of new lights upon obscure questions of economical science, it has done most service perhaps by calling imperatively upon every man of note to revise and test his opinions upon this momentous subject. Mr. Mill has already answered the challenge, and his answer has shown that even in the judgments of our greatest thinkers there is much to be corrected and enlarged from time to time. If Mr. Thornton had done nothing else but provoke the controversy that has arisen, and especially elicit Mr. Mill's explanations and additions to his theory of wages, he would have conferred an important benefit upon the science of political economy. He has, however, done much more than this, for though there is a good deal in his scientific reasoning to which exception may be taken, and still more, perhaps, in his comments on social difficulties, dependent mainly on sentiment and prejudice, we cannot fail to recognise in his work the result of independent thought, high moral aim, and generous intrepidity in a noble cause.

Of course Mr. Thornton's volume is not the only one dealing with the vexed question of labour that has recently challenged discussion. There is the remarkable commentary of Mr. Mill, to which we have already alluded. There is the work, not less remarkable, of the Comte de Paris, so clear and cold—so English, we had almost said—in its argument, where Frenchmen have a prescriptive right to be fervid and fierce. There is the dashing picture of the social future of the workmen that Professor Beesley has drawn, a picture judiciously vague in its details of the paradise of positivist hierocracy into which the Proletariate are delicately invited to follow the English disciples of M. Comte. Lastly, not to mention a host of books and pamphlets on both sides of the dispute, there is the Report of the Trades' Union Commission, which contains a statement, sufficiently clear and succinct for the least attentive student, of the various aims and theories which influence the opinion of the friends of capital, the friends of makeshift compromises, and the friends of labour in their suggestions of practical legislation. The dissent recorded by the minority, and the conclusions drawn from evidence by the

thorough-going supporters of the workmen, bear the mark of Mr. Frederic Harrison's hand, and Mr. Harrison's views on the rights and future of labour are known to approach very closely to those of Professor Beesley. But responsibility has mitigated the fervour of Mr. Harrison's zeal, and the contributions of the minority to the Report are not less moderate than able.

From the earliest times probably when man commenced to accumulate wealth and to use it as a capital, to employ it in aiding further production by supporting the labourer during the period necessary for producing, or by furnishing him with materials or tools, the struggle between the possessor of capital and the hired labourer has lasted ; and just as for a long time the exaction of interest for pecuniary loans was deemed a legitimate subject of legislative restraint, so the law stepped in between the employer and the employed, imposing restrictive conditions. The material difference was that whereas in the case of the usury laws the limitation of his free action directly affected only the capitalist who had money to lend, in the case of the laws regulating labour, the burden of restriction was laid upon the workman who had his work to sell. In the latter instance the capitalist was allowed freedom of action, while in the former he was tightly bound in legal fetters. For this difference a historical explanation is readily suggested by the course of events that led to the repeal of the usury laws. When the practical supremacy in the State passed into the hands of the trading classes, and it was made clear by Bentham and others that limitation of interest was injurious to commerce, the usury laws fell to the ground. It is not unreasonable to suppose that now, when political power has been transferred to the workmen, a like result will follow. The labouring classes already perceive instinctively, and from the teachings of Mr. Mill, Mr. Thornton, and other enlightened as well as impartial men, they will learn scientifically, that the restrictions of the right of combination which yet subsist in England, are detrimental to all their social and material interests. Given the power to sweep away an obnoxious law, given also a determined hostility to that law on the part of those having the power, given moreover the consenting judgment of the most eminent economists that the law is founded on a vicious principle and has an injurious operation, and if under these conditions the law remains on the statute-book, the men who complain impotently and pocket their grievances are unworthy to be called Englishmen.

The settlement of the economic principles involved in the controversy respecting trades' unions is the most important step remaining to be taken in the progress of labour towards freedom. The workmen have unquestionably the power to enforce the

abolition of the restrictions and disabilities under which they chafe—though they seem a little tardy in learning the use of it—they have, as certainly, the will to sweep away those relics of a bad past; but they feel that their cause will be wanting in moral fibre and material backbone until it is plainly established that economic science sanctions their policy and their aims. A few of the far sighted may also feel doubtful and uneasy until they are sure of the goal to which they are marching under the flag of unionism.

The inquiry which Mr. Thornton has prosecuted goes far to settle the economic doubts that have been cast, and are still cast, by such teachers of political economy as *The Times* and Mr. Roebuck, upon the beneficial action of trades' unions on the rate of wages and the position of the working man towards the capitalist who hires his labour. It is quite essential to go to the root of the matter, because, as Mr. Thornton has urged, and as Mr. Mill has allowed, certain fundamental errors or oversights in the writings of eminent economists have passed into commonplaces with the mass of people who think about these questions at all, and the theories of unionist workmen have been taunted as heterodox and untenable, simply because they have contravened accepted doctrines that are now discovered to be rotten at the core. Before we examine the practical controversy whether or not combinations of workmen to raise or keep up the rate of wages are in an economic sense illusory and vicious, we must first ascertain—what is not so easy as one might suppose from economic textbooks and the teachings of *The Times*—the causes of variation in the reward of labour, or in other words the "laws" which regulate the rate of wages.

The relation of the labourer to the capitalist is variously described as that of "seller and buyer," or "letter and hirer;" the latter perhaps is the more correct phrase in strictness, as Mr. Thornton admits, but in reality the difference is quite an insignificant one, for the operation of letting or hiring is nothing more than buying and selling the usufruct of a thing, instead of the thing itself.* Whether the labour be said to be sold, or only the use of labour, there is nothing misleading in talking of wages as if it were the price of a commodity, and the question that meets us on the threshold of the discussion is nothing less than this: How is the price of labour, how indeed is the price of any marketable article, regulated? In our books of political economy the law is very rigidly and clearly laid down, and it is applied to

* It is to be regretted that in writing on these relations it is not possible to employ "phrase-words" analogous to the "*Emptio-Venditio*" and "*Locatio-Conductio*," familiar to students of Roman law.

the reward of labour with no more qualification than in any other case. Without going back to the cruder and commoner shapes in which this law meets us most frequently in the arguments of the capitalists' friends, we are content to take the formula as it is given by Mr. Mill himself.*

"Demand and supply govern the value of all things that cannot be indefinitely increased; except that, even for them, when produced by industry, there is a minimum value determined by the cost of production. But in all things which admit of indefinite multiplication, demand and supply only determine the perturbations of value during a period which cannot exceed the length of time necessary for altering the supply. While thus ruling the oscillations of value, they themselves obey a superior force which makes value gravitate towards cost of production, and which would settle it and keep it there if fresh disturbing influences were not continually arising to make it again deviate."

The question is whether this law applies to the case of the labour market; Mr. Thornton indeed contests its application at all as an economic principle, and supports his attack by cases of exception, which in his judgment break down the universality and invariability that are the marks of a scientific law.

It is not altogether material to the particular issues we are considering to examine here how far the particular cases instanced by Mr. Thornton are representative of the general law throughout the whole of its extent. According to some of his critics they may be summarily dismissed as insignificant fluctuations such as do not affect the scientific value of the general law; and even Mr. Mill, who takes a more candid view of the argument, recognises in them exceptions, but exceptions merely which, according to the old maxim, prove the rule. Whether this be so or not, is immaterial to the discussion of the labour question, for Mr. Mill frankly acknowledges that one of the exceptional cases pointed out by Mr. Thornton covers the whole process of bargain between employer and employed.

The examples cited by Mr. Thornton "in which, though demand exceed supply, price does not rise; in which at the price finally resulting from competition supply and demand, or the quantity offered for sale at a certain price and the quantity demanded at that price, will not be equal," fall under two heads. The former is represented by the typical case of what is called "a Dutch auction," frequent among the fishermen on the south coast of England, in which the seller, so to speak, makes the bids, lowering the price which he fixed at the commencement until he finds a buyer willing to accept his terms. In such a method of

* "Principles of Political Economy." Book III. chap. iii. sect. 2.

bargaining, supposing the price obtained to be twenty shillings, there might be a gain to the seller from his initiative in the negotiation which he would have lost had the ordinary English auction been adopted, and the biddings been entrusted to the buyers.

"The person who was prepared to pay the former price might very possibly be the only person present prepared to pay even so much as the latter price; and if so he might get by English auction for eighteen shillings the fish for which at Dutch auction he would have paid twenty shillings. In the same market, with the same quantity of fish for sale, and with customers in number and every other respect the same, the same lot of fish might fetch two very different prices."

Here manifestly there is a case in which the equalization of supply and demand is possible at two different prices, and equally clear it is that the initiative of the seller or the buyer constitutes the advantage obtained by the one over the other. With the second case of exception produced by Mr. Thornton we have much less concern; Mr. Thornton postulates circumstances in which the equalization of supply and demand at any price is impossible, by supposing that at one fixed point there is a demand for several times the actual supply, while at the most fractional advance in price there is no one ready to buy at all. This is a real case of an exception conceivable but not practical, and requires no modification of the general law to include it. But the former instance of exception pointed out by Mr. Thornton is of a very different kind, and requires to be dealt with very differently by economists.

With regard to the general bearing of Mr. Thornton's attack upon the received doctrine of price, we are inclined to defer to Mr. Mill's opinion that it has not been affected further than that an addition to it to meet the excepted case referred to is required. On one point at all events it is clear enough that Mr. Thornton has been caught tripping by Mr. Mill, and that is where he assails the common doctrine for a supposed error in assuming that goods are offered for sale unreservedly. He says, what is quite true, that most other commodities are offered for sale, not freely, but with a reserved price; and because this is so, he imagines that the adherents of the supply-and-demand doctrine have approached the question without consideration of its practical conditions. Mr. Mill, however, calls attention to the obvious fact that "reserving a price is for all intents and purposes withdrawing supply." So that after all the economists are correct in omitting from their calculations this element, because in strictness the goods subjected to a reserved price do not come into the market at all.

Leaving now the general question of price, we come to the remarkable and important exception which Mr. Thornton has the honour of being the first to distinguish and expound. When there is more than one price at which the equalization of supply and demand takes place, the ordinary law clearly does not operate; as we have seen from the case of the Dutch auction, in these circumstances the advantage in the bargain depends mainly upon the initiative; if the buyer has a chance of offering a price, he probably gains in this higgling process; if the seller, he obtains the profit of the difference. Mr. Thornton's contention is that the sale of labour is one of those cases in which supply and demand may balance equally at more points than one in the scale of prices. Some critics arrogantly deny this without attempting to disprove it; Mr. Mill admits and substantiates it.

Here there intervenes another economical bugbear against which Mr. Thornton wages war—the doctrine of the so-called wage-fund. Mr. Mill's statement of this part of the question is so clear, and so frankly concedes the admission of a grave error in reasoning into his great work, that it is worth while to quote it:—

"It will, of course, be said," he observes, "that these speculations are idle, for labour is not in the barely possible excepted case. Supply and demand do entirely govern the price obtained for labour. The demand for labour consists of the whole circulating capital of the country, including what is paid in wages for unproductive labour. The supply is the whole labouring population. If the supply is in excess of what the capital can at present supply, wages must fall. If the labourers are all employed, and there is a surplus of capital still unused, wages will rise. This series of deductions is generally received as incontrovertible. They are sound, I presume, in every systematic treatise on political economy, my own certainly included. I must plead guilty to having, along with the world in general, accepted the theory without the qualifications and limitations necessary to make it admissible. The theory rests upon what may be called the doctrine of the wages fund. There is supposed to be at any given instant a sum of wealth which is unconditionally devoted to the payment of wages of labour. This sum is not regarded as unalterable, for it is augmented by saving and increases with the progress of wealth, but it is reasoned upon as, at any given moment, a predetermined amount. More than that amount it is assumed that the wages-receiving class cannot possibly divide among them; that amount, and no less, they cannot but obtain. So that the sum to be divided being fixed, the wages of each depend solely upon the divisor, the number of participants. In this doctrine it is by implication affirmed that the demand for labour not only increases with the cheapness, but increases in exact proportion to it, the same aggregate sum being paid for labour whatever its price may be."

Mr. Thornton directly impugns this seemingly impregnable array of deductive reasonings, and here Mr. Mill gives way without compromise or qualification to the attack. Is there such a thing actually tangible and measurable as a wage-fund to be applied of necessity to the reward of labour, and to that purpose alone? The teachings of economists have so fixed in our minds the notion that there is such a determinate mass of capital apportioned by irresistible law to the payment of productive industry, that the difficulty of adopting a new view is great indeed. A recent periodical writer on these questions,* quoted by Mr. Thornton, insisting that wages are determined by the "law of supply and demand," or the proportion of labourers to capital, complains with interesting *naïveté* that "laws are of no avail unless means are provided for their execution," and that trades' unions "strain the law to their own advantage by forcibly cutting off supply." This complaint, if it were worth much as the testimony of an economist, might be used to prove that the workmen do, after all, reap a substantial benefit from unionism, inasmuch as they can, by processes however informal, break down the supposed irresistible barrier of "law;" but, as such doctrine is not what anybody is likely to quote as authoritative, the marvellous dicta of the writer is chiefly interesting as an example of the danger of putting the edged tools of ambiguous philosophical terms into the hands of the inexperienced. We should like to have the writer's notion of the "means provided for the execution" of the "law" of gravitation, which he probably would consider "strained to the advantage" of an aeronaut going up in a balloon.

In dealing with the hypothesis of a determinate wages'-fund, Mr. Thornton is more diffuse and less exact than he has shown himself in other parts of the controversy; but Mr. Mill makes up for it by the terse and lucid exposition which he has given of his conversion to the novel view. Is there a wages' fund? Does the demand for labour increase in exact proportion to its cheapness? No, answers Mr. Mill—

"Consumers desire more of an article, or fresh consumers are called forth when the price has fallen; but the employer does not buy labour for the pleasure of consuming it—he buys it that he may profit by its productive powers, and he buys as much, and no more, as suffices to produce the quantity of goods which he thinks he can sell to advantage."

What then does the capitalist do with the difference between the higher and the lower rate of wages, if he sees no reason to increase production because one element of it has been cheapened?

* *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1867, p. 446.

He may spend it on a better style of private living, may set up a carriage with it, or send his son to Oxford instead of keeping him in the counting-house; or he may choose to add the difference to his money in bank. In the latter case it will probably go elsewhere to employ labour, but in the former and equally common case, it will be so much clearly obtained by the capitalist in his struggle with his labourers, that the latter, if they had held out for the higher rate of wages, would have obtained. In fact—

“There is no law of nature making it inherently impossible for wages to rise to the point of absorbing not only the funds which he had intended to devote to carrying on his business, but the whole of what he allows for his private expenses beyond the necessities of life. The real limit to the rise is the practical consideration how much would ruin him, or drive him to abandon the business, not the inexorable limit of the wages fund.”

Thus labour in place of the straitened limit within which the current doctrine confines its action in the debate with capital, has a considerable stretch of ground to win, or to surrender inch by inch. According to the principles laid down in Mr. Mill's great work, the utility of trades' unions extended only to their obtaining for the workmen an occasional rise of wages at an earlier period than would have been possible without combination. This in itself was no contemptible advantage; for supposing a trade by force of united action to have obtained last year an advance of 10 per cent. on wages, which otherwise would not have been conceded until the present year, the workmen clear a profit of 10 per cent. for twelve months, that would otherwise have been totally lost to them, for it would have gone directly into the pockets of the masters. But now recognising that the notion of a determinate wages'-fund is a mere speculative figment, and that labour is a commodity which is excepted from the general law of price, a wider field of action for the combinations of workmen is thrown open with due scientific sanction.

The instance of a Dutch auction cited by Mr. Thornton is the type of that class of transactions in which the possessor of the initiative in the bargain possesses the advantage, and in which accordingly supply and demand may be equal at more prices than one. Labour, as a commodity, is in such a case; the wages fund has been swept away, and there is a margin within which price can and does vary, just as there may be a difference between the price obtainable at the Dutch and at the English auction. It is the capitalist who has the advantage of the initiative; he offers a certain rate of wages, which the workmen can accept or refuse at pleasure, but, without combination, it is difficult to see how they can modify these terms. Like the seller in the Dutch auction, the capitalist would be

compelled by degrees to approach nearer and nearer to the demands of a combined body of workmen, or would fail to come to terms with any; but it is quite a different thing with workmen who are ignorant of the advantages of united action and support. One by one the bundle of sticks is broken; one by one the workmen, under the pressure of external disadvantages readily conceivable, yield to the offers of capital, and if their wages are not screwed down to the lowest point, the provision of mere necessities, it is because capitalists are in part warned by "that early and provident fear which is the mother of security," in part actuated by generous motives, and a desire to make life pleasant as well as profitable. Nor, on the other hand, has it ever yet been found that unionism has succeeded in pushing up the rate of wages to the highest level, leaving to the capitalist, after the discharge of current expenses of business, only a bare subsistence.*

The peculiar circumstances which make it possible for capital to drive a hard bargain with labour when unorganized and uncombined, are well analysed by Mr. Thornton. There is in the first place the fact that the competition for labour is a competition of customers, which favours the fixing of the price at the lowest point attainable by the latter. But the second point is of greater significance. Most other commodities are offered for sale subject, for the time being, to a reserved price, while, from the nature of things, labour must be offered unreservedly. And this for two reasons, from the habitual poverty of labourers, and the fact that labour is a commodity which will not keep. The former

* One of Mr. Thornton's critics (*Spectator*, March 27th, 1869—"New Political Economy") in a contemptuous notice of investigations, which Mr. Mill has treated with consideration, and partially accepted as valuable additions to economical science, refers to the point here raised, and insists that the ultimate regulation of the reward of labour is "the cost of production"—that is to say, the minimum of necessities required by the labourer. That this should be fixed as the lower limit of wages is an obvious truism; but that Mr. Thornton should be arraigned for pursuing his investigations "without any reference to it," is rather silly. Mr. Thornton presupposes, as every one must presuppose, in his argument that wages cannot sink below the point at which they are adequate to support the workman at his normal strength. Whether we talk of this minimum of wages as regulated by "cost of production" or not, is a matter for economic pedants to debate, but how it actually regulates wages one fails to perceive. It is the lower limit of wages, as the higher limit is the outlay of the capitalist in his business, *plus* the "necessaries" of the capitalist himself. It cannot be said to regulate wages, except in the sense of limiting them, and in that sense only on one side. No one would say "France is bounded by the Pyrenees," without adding a word about the northern, eastern, or western boundaries. The critic frankly avows his opinion that "Mr. Mill is not everybody," which is indeed sufficiently obvious from the plain internal evidence that Mr. Mill is *not* the author of the criticism in the *Spectator*.

point admits of no dispute ; the masses who live by manual toil are and must be poor ; they seldom have even a few pounds of accumulated capital to fall back upon when out of work ; and employers know this perfectly, and act upon it in every transaction with their workmen. Their offers are, therefore, merely regulated by competition among themselves, and by tacit or express agreement they generally arrange that the rate of wages in a particular trade shall be such as they think it prudent and find it convenient to bestow. This fact of the habitual poverty of the labouring classes is in itself a sufficient reason for the unreserved manner in which labour generally comes into the market.

There is, however, a second reason, at first sight equally indisputable and equally cogent ; yet we find this part of Mr. Thornton's argument challenged by an English economist generally favourable to our author's views. Labour is a commodity that will not keep. Every one can understand that this is a good reason why labour should be offered unreservedly ; the sight of a large meat-market on a Saturday night in summer, when the butchers are obliged to sell off their stock at any price they can get, because if they do not sell they must throw it away before Monday morning, is a pointed illustration of this sort of pressure. To this class of commodities labour undoubtedly belongs. In speaking of the workman's bargaining for the sale of his work we must not forget that the work itself as a commodity is lost from day to day if it fail to find a purchaser. A country draper who reckons upon selling on the average a quantity of goods every day giving ten shillings profit, may have one dull week or so in which he sells nothing, but the goods are there intact, and the next week or the week after there is a run upon them, which recovers the lost ground. But if the labourer is a week out of work he cannot store up that week's work to be added to the work of the following week. The draper at the end of the time in which he has done no business is the richer, taking that as a starting point, by the average of the week's sales, than he would have been had he sold the regular quantity daily throughout. The labourer on the other hand, after a similar period of idleness, is in no better position, has no greater resources to draw upon—except what he may have obtained by his enforced rest—than he would have had if he had worked continuously.

The exception to which we have last referred gives room for an objection advanced against Mr. Thornton's argument on the point by a very eminent economist, Professor Cairnes. It may be conceded, as Professor Cairnes argues, that "a labourer's wages are not all clear profit. His net gain is no more than the difference between the quantity of comfort or enjoyment which he sacrifices by working, and the quantity of enjoyment which his

wages will procure for him." This difference is the labourer's real profit, and in theory it corresponds precisely, as Mr. Cairnes clearly points out, with the profit that a dealer in any commodity loses by a delay in effecting sales, although ultimately he may be able to sell at the same prices he would have originally obtained. But in the case of an ordinary dealer this "extra profit" is an insignificant part of his gains; in the presumed analogous case of the labourer, the difference between the enjoyment of what the cotton operatives, with painful but unconscious irony, call "playing," and the enjoyment procured by earning "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," covers the whole space between misery and comfort. In health and happiness, not less than in purse, the man that works is better off than the man that is idle—apart altogether from the fact that unless such a man works he will certainly not eat. The pressure of habitual poverty and of the certainty that the work will be lost at once unless it is employed somewhere, blend with each other to drive the labourer to accept almost any terms the employer may offer.

The conclusions of Mr. Thornton on this part of the subject are summed up very concisely and clearly in the close of his first chapter:—

"Briefly they may be stated as follows:—In the absence of combination on the side of the employers as well as on that of the employed, the price of labour is determined by competition, which competition, again, depends upon the estimates formed by the several competitors of prospective supply and demand. But, unlike the price of any other commodity, that of labour is generally determined not by the competition of the dealers, but by that of the customers. The reason of the difference is, that labour, in the circumstances supposed, is always, or almost always, offered for sale without reservation of price, which other commodities never, or scarcely ever, are. The consequence of the difference is, that the price of labour, when settled by competition, is almost always much lower than that of any other commodity would be, if similarly settled in a similar state of the market. In this manner, and with this result, is the price of labour determined in the absence of combination on the side either of employers or employed. But it is only very rarely, and when labour is at once very scarce and in very great request, that masters are tempted to compete with each other. At all other times they are in the habit of combining instead of competing, and it is their combination which then determines the price of labour, and determines it arbitrarily—not indeed absolutely without regard to the relations between supply and demand, but without any uniformity of correspondence with those relations. When labour is very abundant, masters sometimes, of their own accord, pay more for it than they need do. When it is very scarce, they generally agree among themselves not to pay so much for

it as competition would have compelled them to do. Masters seldom or never probably avail themselves to the utmost of the power which they might derive from combination; but combined masters really possess, whether they choose to exert it or not, almost absolute power of control over the wages of uncombined workmen. They cannot of course force the men to take less than they can live upon, but they both can and do force them to take as little more than the bare means of subsistence as it pleases them to offer. Thus, in a normal state of things—in a state, that is, in which labourers are too poor to combine (and throughout the world's history poverty has hitherto been, at most times, and in most places, the normal condition of labour)—the price of labour is determined not by supply and demand, which never determined the price of anything, nor yet generally by competition, which generally determines the price of everything else; but by combination among the masters. Competition in a small minority of cases, combination in a great majority, have appeared to be normally the determining causes of the rate of wages or price of labour."

Before attempting to follow Mr. Thornton in his exposition of the influence of combinations of labour, it is worth while to glance at the estimate he has given of the "rights of labour." He has gone very far afield, if not very deeply in his investigations, concerning the nature and meaning of abstract justice, and he receives Mr. Mill's commendations "for having raised the great issues respecting the foundation of right and wrong in a manner highly provocative of thought." Certainly Mr. Thornton has raised those issues, but he has left them in the end pretty much as they were, pretty much as they have remained for all substantial purpose of argument since Socrates and Thrasymachus and Glaucon debated them, as Plato depicts them for us in the *Republic*, at the house of Cephalus in the *Piræus*. Nor is it quite correct to say with Mr. Mill that Mr. Thornton "has laid down a definite doctrine of social justice." He had laid down nothing more than the principle, very sound indeed, but surely not very recondite, that in the discussion of economical questions, we cannot talk correctly of any other rights than those which are created by express or implied contract.

The doctrines of the "rights of man" as promulgated at the time of the first French Revolution by the Jacobin party, the followers of Robespierre and the disciples of Jean Jacques, were extravagant in their statement and impracticable in their demands; but they had in many ways a beneficial influence, by teaching the propertied classes the terrible danger of driving the proletariat to despair, by calling attention to many disregarded provisions in the special or general contracts which bind society together, and lastly by teaching some useful lessons in the art of amending those contracts for the greatest good of the greatest

number. The rights of labour, which were deduced from the philosophy of Rousseau, indirectly through "the rights of man" and the traditions of '89, have not been very successful in winning acceptance in England, and indeed before the cold gaze of utilitarian examination they speedily vanish into thin air. The workmen must learn that their lot is not to be bettered by appeals to visionary rights, but by the enforcement of substantial contracts with their masters. Of special rights, as distinguished from those of other citizens, labourers can claim none. The general rights of all citizens put into the peculiar formulas proper to the condition of the workmen are thus enumerated by Mr. Thornton:

"Exemption of the labourer from compulsory work; freedom to engage in any harmless pursuit for which he may possess the requisite means and materials; appropriation to the labourer of the entire proceeds of his own unaided industry; similar appropriation when the labourer has been assisted in his work, of whatever may remain of the produce of his labour after the deduction of the portion which he may have agreed to pay for the assistance rendered to him; and punctuality of payment to a hired labourer of his stipulated hire."

The last point touches the condition of the hired labourer, the most important in a consideration of the demands of the working classes.

How should the amount of the labourer's hire be determined? For this question, as we see, and as we may conjecture from the whole tenor of the previous argument, Mr. Thornton finds no answer in his category of "rights." "The dues of labour," he says, "have nothing to do with either its needs or its value; the only true criterion of wages is the agreement between the employer and the employed."

Applying this principle to the economical position of the labouring classes as we have already defined them, and conceding to capital an equal privilege of free action, Mr. Thornton comes to the conclusion that capitalists have the power, and the right also, to cut down wages to the lowest figure consistent with the maintenance of the workman;* and that this power can be held in check

* "Some of these latter observations are, however, merely parenthetical. The chief thing sought to be established in this chapter is, that, of the joint produce of combined capital and labour, the portion rightfully belonging to the former is whatever share may remain after deduction of the share, whatever it may be, and however large or however small it may be, which the latter has beforehand agreed to accept. That this is so has been argued on two separate pleas—1st. That capital, being under no previous obligation to enter into any arrangement with labour at all, is at liberty to reject any arrangement to which she objects, and is entitled to whatever profit may accrue to her from any arrangement to which labour and herself mutually agree. 2ndly. That the profit which thus accrues to capital may be fairly regarded as the produce of

only by combinations of labour. Out of these circumstances the policy of trades' unions has necessarily and inevitably sprung.

Mr. Mill traces the limitations of the action of labour in this direction very clearly:—

“What is true is, that wages might be so high as to leave no profit to the capitalist, or not enough to compensate him for the anxieties and risks of trade; and in that case labourers would be killing the goose to get at the eggs. And again, wages might be so low as to diminish the numbers or impair the working powers of the labourers, and in that case the capitalist also would generally be a loser. But between this and the doctrine, that the money which would come to the labourer by a rise of wages will be of as much use to him in the capitalist's pocket as in his own, there is a considerable difference.

“Between the two limits just indicated—the highest wages consistent with keeping up the capital of the country, and increasing it *pari passu* with the increase of people, and the lowest that will enable the labourers to keep up their numbers with an increase sufficient to provide labourers for the increase of employment—there is an intermediate region within which wages will range higher or lower according to what Adam Smith calls ‘the higgling of the market.’ In this higgling, the labourer in an isolated condition, unable to hold out even against a single employer, much more against the tacit combination of employers, will, as a rule, find his wages kept down at the lower limit. Labourers sufficiently organized in unions may, under favourable circumstances, attain to the higher. This, however, supposes an organization including all classes of labourers, manufacturing and agricultural, unskilled as well as skilled. When the union is only partial, there is often a nearer limit—that which would destroy, or drive elsewhere, the particular branch of industry in which the rise takes place. Such are the limiting conditions of the strife for wages between the labourers and the capitalists. The superior limit is a difficult question of fact, and in its estimation serious errors may be, and have been, committed. But, having regard to the greatly superior numbers of the labouring classes, and the inevitable scantiness of the remuneration afforded by even the highest rate of wages which, in the present state of the arts of production, could possibly become general; whoever does not wish that the labourers may prevail, must have a standard of morals, and a conception of the most desirable

the labour by which the capital was created and which it represents, and would thus in the absence of any agreement, belong entirely to capital, for the self-same reason for which unassisted labour is entitled to take as its reward the whole of its own produce. If these points have been made out, and if capital has thus been shown to be justly entitled to whatever portion of their joint produce may be awarded to her by her agreement with labour, it necessarily follows that the just dues, the rightful wages of labour, cannot exceed whatever under the same agreement may remain for her after capital has taken her share; and this is likewise the conclusion at which we formerly arrived when investigating the claims of labour independently, and with reference only to their own intrinsic merits.”

state of society, widely different from those of either Mr. Thornton or the present writer."

Such being the position of the labourer in relation to the capitalist, the former found in most cases that being habitually poor they had to deal not only with wealthy buyers of labour, enjoying the advantage of the initiative and seeking to purchase a commodity that cannot be held in reserve, but with buyers in tacit agreement to keep down the price. That such a tacit agreement exists was long ago perceived and pointed out by Adam Smith; and as soon as the workmen became in any degree possessed of education and intelligence they perceived it too, and began to imitate it. It was when manufacturing industry had collected in the great towns the *élite* of English workmen that the strength begotten of cohesion and conjoint action was slowly put into a new and formidable shape. Societies originally organized in all probability, as Mr. Thornton suggests, merely for purposes of insurance or other beneficiary provisions, expanded into serried phalanxes of workmen confronting the looser army of the capitalists with a resolution to exact more advantageous terms for the mass than it would be possible for any individual labourer to obtain. Within the limit of the "Trades' Union" so organized, a sentiment akin to that fierce zealotry of patriotism which was nurtured in the small city-republics of ancient Greece or mediæval Italy, sprung up. A common interest, and loyalty to a common cause, bound the members of a trades' union so closely together that individual aspirations merged in a fervent zeal for the welfare of the class, and more especially for the furtherance of the particular objects to which the union is pledged. In fighting for these each workman is ready to do and to suffer much, in a spirit of what the devotees of war would call heroism.

It was the fashion some twenty years ago to suppose that because trades' unions were of necessity secret societies they partook of the absurd mystery and theatric paraphernalia which Scott ascribes to the *Vehmgericht*. The imaginative will-o'-the-wisp, which supplies Mr. Disraeli with those brilliant fripperies that he passes off so gaily and airily in his writings and speeches as sober and substantial facts, inspired him with the amusing folly of painting in the glowing pages of "Sybil" the internal life of an organization of which he knew nothing whatever. "Sybil" is a novel that has fewer readers now-a-days than it deserves, and Mr. Disraeli's description of the admission of a new member to a trades' union in one of the manufacturing towns of the North is too good to be forgotten. There is nothing like it in modern literature for mad burlesque of actual facts, except, it may be, the proceedings of a Ribbon meeting, "reported" in the authentic pages of Mr. Trench's "Realities of Irish Life." The

clever writer, who is at present giving his own picture of unionism in the "*Cornhill Magazine*" in the guise of a novel, has at all events the artistic sense not to daub over the delineation of the life of English workmen with the scene-painter's garish colours.* Mr. Charles Reade is, for a very able writer, one of the most incapable of seeing two sides to any question, or of doing anything else but irritating both sides; but compared with Mr. Disraeli's Ratcliffisms, he is the most accurate of photographers.

"Mick found himself in a lofty and spacious room, lighted with many tapers. Its walls were hung with black cloth; at a table covered with the same material, were seated seven persons in surplices and masks, the president on a loftier seat; above which, on a pedestal, was a skeleton complete. On each side of the skeleton was a man robed and masked, holding a drawn sword; and on each side of Mick was a man in the same garb, holding a battle-axe. On the table was the sacred volume open, and at a distance, ranged in order on each side of the room, was a row of persons in white robes and white masks, and holding torches.

"'Michael Radley,' said the president, 'do you voluntarily swear in the presence of Almighty God, and before these witnesses, that you will execute with zeal and alacrity, so far as in you lies, every task and injunction that the majority of your brethren, testified by the mandate of this committee, shall impose upon you, in furtherance of our common welfare, of which they are the sole judges; such as the chastisement of Nobs, the assassination of oppressive and tyrannical masters, or the demolition of all mills, works, and shops that shall be deemed by us incorrigible? Do you swear this in the presence of Almighty God, and before these witnesses?' 'I do swear it,' replied a tremulous voice. 'Then rise and kiss the book.' Mick slowly rose from his kneeling position, advanced with a trembling step, and bending, embraced with reverence the open volume.

"Immediately every one unmasked; Devilsdust came forward, and taking Mick by the hand, led him to the President, who received him pronouncing some mystic rhymes. He was covered with a robe, and presented with a torch, and then ranged in order with his companions. Thus terminated the initiation of Dandy Mick into a TRADES' UNION."†

The revelations of Royal Commissions, though by no means favourable in many respects to the morality of trades' unions, have not yet convicted them of utter idiocy, and it may therefore be taken for granted that such unions as the one described in "*Sybil*" exist only in Mr. Disraeli's fertile fancy. In actual

* "Put Yourself in his Place." A novel, by Charles Reade (*Cornhill Magazine*, March—June). There is a singular suspicion suggested in the name of the Secretary of the Hillsborough Sawgrinding Union. Is "Grotait" (Grotôte ?) to be construed Broadhead ?

† "Sybil, or the Two Nations." By B. Disraeli. Book iv. chap. 4.
[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. H

fact the operations of the unions are much more commonplace, as their aims are decidedly more practical. Their growth has been rapid within the past quarter of a century, and their power is steadily increasing.

Aiming at the power of so terrifying capital by the mere threat of a suspension of production, a threat which is carried out in every strike, but which has its fullest effect perhaps when it is not exercised, the combinations of workmen, without wholly abandoning their beneficiary operations, organized a system of contributions from the mass of their members to funds expressly designed to support those who might be thrown out of work in the struggle. For, since the capitalist's advantage over his workmen consists mainly, as we have seen, in their habitual poverty, and the necessity in which they are placed of either selling their work at once, or losing the chance of selling it altogether, it is obvious they would be placed on something like an equality with him in breaking the bargain, or in resisting his attempt to break it, if they could afford to wait now and then, having a reserved fund behind them. It is true the control of this reserved fund should be placed in the hands of an executive representing the whole body of associated workmen, and should be applied only to furthering the general policy of the union, not to taking the part of men against masters in every personal quarrel. But within these limits the workmen would beyond question have the advantage of being backed in their fight with capital by a capital of their own; and although the absolute loss to the labourer by the stoppage of production would unquestionably be greater than the mere loss of profit to the capitalist, yet the position of the latter when his business is paralysed by a strike is certainly no enviable one. He may have, it is admitted, and he probably does in most cases possess, the longest purse; hence when strikes are fought out to "the bitter end," the capitalist usually conquers. But while he conquers, his capital is in part wasting away, in part it lies idle, locked up in buildings and machinery; he sees his rivals supplanting him in his business and outstripping him in the race for wealth. These are risks the capitalist does not care to provoke unless he is either very confident in his strength and in the support of his fellows, or is really driven into a corner, where he must fight or fall. He knows that if he does fall his ruin is all but irreparable; whereas the defeat of a strike means only a brief period of agony and disappointment for the workman, who takes his beating calmly, and when he is knocked down, picks himself up again smilingly, and walks off whistling, no worse a man than before.

"Taking this view of affairs," says Mr. Thornton, "trades' unions concerted measures accordingly, and that so judiciously, that they have never

found it necessary to deviate much from the course which they began by chalking out for themselves. Under great difficulties, and against frequent discouragement, through much of evil and very little of good report, they have gone on extending and developing and multiplying themselves till they have become what they are. What that is may be described in two words. Fifty years ago they had scarcely been heard of. Now they are already a distinct power in the State, and are rapidly advancing towards a foremost place among national institutions. Nearly two thousand of them are now spread over the kingdom, ramifying through every county, and ensconced in every town, and almost every trade. In every occupation dependent in any great degree on skilled labour, a large proportion of the labourers are by their instrumentality banded together in constant readiness to try conclusions with their masters. Not less than a tenth, perhaps, of all the skilled labourers in Great Britain are thus enrolled, many unions counting their constituents by thousands, and some by tens of thousands; possessing revenues, too, corresponding with their numerical strength. The very names of the societies are a legion in themselves. The list, as Mr. Harrison neatly says, omits no single trade of which one ever heard the name, and includes several of which few have heard the names; the 'Progressive Makers-up,' for example, and the 'Self-acting Minders.' The reason why these two are so little known to fame is doubtless that, in respect of size, they are very near the bottom of a graduated scale, growing small by degrees and beautifully less as it descends. For trades' unions are of very various dimensions, from the 'Miners' National Association,' which comprises 54,000 members, to some less numerous even than the 'Progressive Carpenters,' among whom Mr. George Potter is registered, and who have not progressed to a higher figure than 130. The one which, though not the largest, and though very far from being the oldest, is on the whole perhaps entitled to rank above all the rest, is that of the 'Amalgamated Engineers,' established in January, 1851, which now possesses 308 branches or lodges, with altogether 43,000 members, a number increasing at the rate of 2000 or 3000 yearly. From two-thirds to three-fourths of all engineering workmen are supposed to belong to this society. Of its lodges, 238, with 27,856 members, are in England and Wales; 33, with 3218 members, in Scotland; and 11, with 1371 members, in Ireland. There are also 14 branches, containing 626 members, in the British Colonies; 11, with 498 members, in the United States; and 1, of 30 members, all English, at Croix, in the north of France. Next in order of merit may be placed the 'Amalgamated Carpenters,' though this is only one, and only second in point of magnitude, among several associations in the same trade. It has 190 branches and 8261 members, 2500 of whom joined last year. Its rival, the 'Operative House Carpenters,' has 10,000 members, of whom 2504 joined last year, distributed amongst 1506 lodges. The 'Friendly Society of Operative Masons' consists of 278 lodges, and 17,702 members, having gained 4760 of the latter in 1866. The 'Iron Founders' Union,' which has been fifty-eight years in existence, numbers 11,150. These are specimens of what may be termed

national unions. Among provincial or otherwise local associations may be mentioned the Boiler Makers, 9000 strong; the London Bricklayers, numbering 6000; the Sheffield Bricklayers, 5242; and the Manchester House Painters, 3960, divided into 58 lodges, of which 14, containing 1209 members, were formed in 1866. Of all the Plasterers in the United Kingdom fifty per cent. are believed to be unionists.

"Then, regarded financially, some of the associations will be found to have resources sufficient, on occasions of great emergency, to admit of a single union's devoting 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.* to the requirements of a single season. The Amalgamated Engineers, indeed, do nearly as much as this habitually. In 1865, a normal year, their income was 86,885*l.*, and their expenditure 49,000*l.* They have, at present, an accumulated fund of about 140,000*l.* The receipts of the Operative Masons last year were 18,640*l.*; their reserve fund amounts to 10,000*l.* The average annual income of the Operative Carpenters is stated at 15,000*l.* Of their Amalgamated brethren the receipts and expenditure in 1865 were 10,487*l.* and 6733*l.* respectively. Their balance in hand at the end of the same year was 8320*l.*"

Such being the success, the triumphant progress of unionism, it is pertinent enough to inquire what are its objects and what its methods of action. And for those who look a little beyond the horizon of to-day and to-morrow, it is an interesting speculation whether this phase of industrial organization is likely to subsist permanently or to pass into something higher and more perfect.

Mr. Thornton enumerates the cases in which it is possible for unionism to bring about a permanent increase of wages:—

"Adding this to the cases previously cited, we have six in all, in which it is possible for unionism to bring about a permanent increase of wages. It may do so: 1st, in any trade of which, owing to some peculiarity in its nature or character, the employers in the same neighbourhood have virtually a monopoly: 2nd, in any trade for the prosecution of which one country possesses a marked advantage over others: 3rd, in any trade the demand for whose produce happens, owing to the growing wealth or growing number of customers, to be at the time increasing: 4th, to any trade in which, without any increase, and perhaps notwithstanding a considerable reduction in prices, the increased productiveness of industry places an augmented quantity of produce at the disposal of the masters, and increases consequently, their total sale proceeds: 5th, in all trades whatever, provided the rise take place simultaneously and equally in all trades: and 6th, in any trade in which the scale of business is such, that a greater aggregate profit can be made in it at a low rate than in others at a high rate. These several cases are so many exceptions to one or other of the two so-called general rules, that wages cannot be artificially raised without depressing profits, and that profits will not consent to be permanently depressed for the benefit of wages; and the

exceptions will, on further examination, be found to cover so much more space than the rules, that the latter, rather than the former, really deserve to be termed exceptional. The exceptions include many of the more necessary trades—those in particular which furnish us with shelter, and with the more essential articles of food and clothing. These last, for the same reason as the building trade, are very apt to be locally monopolized. Any one who likes to have his clothes or his boots made to measure, and is at all particular about the fit, will rather pay a good deal dearer for them in the nearest town, than send for them to some place fifty or a hundred miles off. Most of us would rather let the baker in the next street charge an extra penny for each of his loaves, than have to send from Belgravia to the City for our bread; and there are few London families who do not put up more or less quietly with the notorious extortion of London butchers, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of newspaper correspondents that they might save half the price of their meat if three or four of them would only club together, and order up from Wales or Devonshire a whole sheep, or half a bullock, at a time. The exceptions include all those numerous trades in the products of which this country is able to undersell others in their own or in third markets. They include, that is, most of the employments which have converted Manchester and Glasgow, Birmingham and Sheffield, Newcastle, Merthyr Tydvil, and Middlesborough, into perfect hives of industry. In an age like the present, when national wealth is everywhere rapidly increasing, and when customers consequently are everywhere becoming richer and more numerous, there is scarcely any trade which the exceptions do not, or may not, occasionally include. In the possible, however improbable and remote, contingency of unionism becoming universal, they might include all trades. In all these cases it is possible for unionism to raise wages permanently. The only cases in which it seems absolutely impossible for unionism so to do, without first gaining paramount control over the domain of industry, are the exceedingly exceptional ones of trades which are both completely unmonopolized, completely free and open, and carried on in periods of complete commercial and industrial stagnation. Under all other conditions, or, in other words, under all conditions of ordinary experience, one or other of the aforesaid exceptions becomes the rule. We knew before that in existing circumstances unionism is continually raising wages, and to all appearance permanently. We have now discovered that there is nothing in political economy to prevent its doing that which it manifestly is doing, and the discovery cannot fail to be acceptable to those tender consciences which, though their faith in theory is too firm to be shaken by facts, nevertheless prefer that facts should, if possible, be in accordance with theory."

In every case of a struggle between labour and capital, therefore, that may be classed under one of these heads, the workmen, if thoroughly united, ably organized, and supported by a sufficient fund, have the chance, at all events, not only of wresting from the capitalist a considerable part of the debateable land of

profits, but of annexing their conquest permanently to the domain of wages. But to effect this they must be prepared to fight, not to threaten uniting only, but, if needful, to come to blows in downright earnest. They must be prepared to strike.

Many excellent persons have a strange horror of the very name and notion of a strike. It is really nothing more than an act of war, a pitched battle between the employer and the employed; and those who shudder at strikes have often no objection to glorify military prowess and successes. But to the good people who are so horrified at the idea of workmen flying in the face of capital, and actually presuming to impose heavy penalties on employers, trade, we doubt not, is a far more sacred thing than human life; and while it is excusable for kingdoms to kill their thousands and tens of thousands on Italian or German battle-fields, it is altogether abominable for workmen to kill trade or to banish it across the Channel. That it would be very unwise of workmen to do anything of the kind no one thinks of denying; but that it is sacrilegious, and flagrant economic blasphemy, is a faith which we must leave to Mr. Roebuck and his congeners.

In early times the crime with which Unionism was especially charged was "restraint of trade." It ought to be remembered, however, that it was the capitalists who first began to impose restrictions, and that by the force of law. "The Statute of Labourers," which was enacted in 1350, fixed wages at the rates that had prevailed before the Plague of the preceding year. But still wages rose, and as they rose artisans of all classes combined to keep them at the level they had attained by the natural growth of industry and the competition of employers. To defeat this movement the massive barrier of the Combination Laws was erected—a code of penal statutes, which, in the words of Huskisson, "tended to multiply combinations, and greatly aggravated the evils they were intended to remove." The most rigorous penalties of the law were even directed against the nascent forces of Unionism, and in 1425 the *Masons' Combination Act* was passed, which established a certain rate of wages for the trade, and made it felony for any artisans to combine to alter it.

Four centuries later, in the year 1825, the most obnoxious provisions of these scandalous and mischievous laws were swept away, mainly by the exertions of Huskisson, and an act was substituted instead,* which, with a later addition, has substantially

* 5 Geo. IV. c. 96, and 6 Geo. IV. c. 129. For coercing masters or workmen by intimidation or violence, a penalty of three months' imprisonment with hard

governed the operation of the law towards combinations of workmen. It is true that generally when workmen have been attacked by process of law for their conduct or strikes, it is the ordinary law of conspiracy that has been set in motion, and a more mischievous legal doctrine never pervaded the jurisprudence of any nation. Mr. Thornton has entered into a long and critical examination of the ways and means of trades' unions, and has troubled himself with slaying the slain in denouncing the absurdity and injustice of the law of conspiracy as applied to combinations of workmen. He has, however, perhaps overshot the mark in asserting that the law has no right to condemn two or more persons for doing what one is free to do; and Mr. Mill's argument against him on this score appears quite conclusive, so far as the theoretical question is concerned. On the practical point there is no dispute between Mr. Thornton and Mr. Mill, nor indeed can there be any between two men of intelligence, unless one be a lawyer.

It may be pertinent here to say that a very considerable section of Mr. Thornton's book is occupied with an analysis of the doctrine of social justice, and that a proportionate share of Mr. Mill's criticism is directed to the same part of the subject. We cannot say that we regard these abstract controversies as either profitable or entertaining; and we are well assured that the general good would be more advanced if our social reformers were content to set aside these transcendental debates, and condescended to measure the worth of mundane institutions by the common but certain and convenient meteyard of utility.

How far unionism is of direct benefit to the unionists themselves, to the mass of the labouring classes and to the community at large, our author and his critics warmly debate. Unquestionably the unions commend themselves in the first instance to the sympathies of impartial men by the healthy discipline to which they inure the workmen, the feeling of solidarity which they develop, and the republican instincts that they foster. As we have seen, too, there are a number of cases in which Mr. Thornton proves that it is possible for combinations of workmen not merely to raise wages, but to raise them permanently. As a matter of fact, however, the ill-success of strikes is a proverb with the enemies of unionism, and while the failures of the unionists may be numbered by scores, their successes are few and far between. The history of strikes is a history of capitalist victories, followed by capitalist surrenders.

This remarkable circumstance may fairly be accounted for by

labour is provided, and the testimony of a single witness is sufficient to convict. An appeal to Quarter Sessions is allowed.

the fact that we have no record of the cases in which the employers, yielding before the threat of a strike, have accepted the terms offered by their workmen. The Greek sceptic whom a religious friend brought into the temple of Neptune, was asked to look at the long array of rudders vowed to the God of the Sea by sailors saved in their hour of peril by the power of prayer. "It is well," said the sage, "but where are the rudders of those who were drowned?"

In almost every case a strike occurs when a capitalist thinks himself strong enough to refuse persistently the demands of the workmen, and to defy their militant resolution. Probably the event proves that his confidence is well founded. The workmen strike, they suffer the most trying hardships, they are beaten. They return to their work, and in a very short time they are just as well off as they were before, and as well able to try another fall with capital. The employer on the contrary, although victorious, has suffered permanently in the struggle. His triumph is truly a Pyrrhic victory, and in most cases he will be indisposed to risk another such contest. And so, when the union makes the next demand, concessions are made quietly and gradually. This has been the course of unionist victory in several branches of industry. Notably was it the case with the Amalgamated Engineers, whose famous strike or rather lock-out provoked by them in 1852, the only one recorded in their history, was for its immediate purpose a disastrous failure. But since that time the employers have yielded one by one all the points for which the battle had been fought, and in the opinion of the men themselves it is the experience of the strike that has won for them these substantial advantages.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers is perhaps the best known and most highly respected of English unions, though the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters has lately taken almost as prominent a place in the public view.* It is with respect to the central working of these great federal bodies that the keenest interest is generally felt, and Mr. Thornton supplies some particulars of the internal constitution of the Amalgamated Carpenters.

"The central authority of the society is vested in a general council, consisting of a president and sixteen members, of whom six are elected by the metropolitan branches, and the rest by the country branches. Half the council retire every six months. But as the country coun-

* See Professor Beesley's most interesting paper on the latter society, in the *Fortnightly Review* for July, 1867. Mr. R. Applegarth, Secretary of the Society, is always ready most courteously to supply information to inquirers. The same must be said of Mr. W. Allan, of the Amalgamated Engineers, and generally of all the better order of Unionist office-bearers.

cillors could not conveniently attend frequent meetings in London, the ordinary management is entrusted to the six London members, and to a chairman elected by the London branches, who together compose what is termed the executive council. This ministerial cabinet is clothed with large but carefully-defined authority. Its business is to see that the branches conform to rules, to maintain the several branches in financial equilibrium, to decide appeals from them, to authorize the establishment of new branches, to initiate, sanction, and terminate strikes. It can require a rich branch to subsidize a poor one, or can insist on the latter making up a pecuniary deficit by extra levies on its own members. If a branch get its accounts into confusion, or give any other cause for suspicion, the executive council can order a special audit, or send a deputation to investigate. If a branch disobey rules or resist lawful requisitions, the same council may lop it off.

"But in the discharge of these functions the executive council must adhere as nearly as may be to written law. Where the law is silent, it may decide summarily, trusting to a subsequent act of indemnity; but it cannot alter or suspend a rule, or make a new one. These things can be done only either by a meeting of branch delegates, specially deputed for the purpose, or by the general council, which, in cases of adequate emergency, make a general collection of votes in all the lodges. A delegate meeting, being a slow and costly mode of procedure, has been resorted to only twice during the whole term of the society's existence. Usually the business of legislation has, through the medium of the general council, devolved upon the society at large, to whose decision, likewise, would doubtless be referred any question of practical policy of sufficiently extensive interest to warrant the reference. This would be done, for instance, in the case of a general strike throughout the trade, though industrial warfare has rarely, if ever, as yet, been waged on the scale that would be implied by a rising in mass of one of the larger unions. To the society at large is also, by the Amalgamated Carpenters, reserved supreme appellate jurisdiction. If any branch, by a majority of two-thirds, disputes a decree of the executive council, it has an appeal to the whole community. A statement of each side's case is printed and circulated through all its branches, and a majority finally decides. In short, the proceedings of both branch and central authorities are open to inspection, and liable to be checked at every step. Everything possible is done to keep the executive officers in their places as mere instruments for giving effect to the popular will."

Of course if we were to have regard to the working only of the best societies like those described by Mr. Thornton, we should be as far from a just conception of the realities of the unionist policy as if we were to judge them by the atrocities of the Sheffield Sawgrinders or the Manchester Brickmakers. Striking a fair average, an impartial man will be disposed to say that the influence of the unions upon the men is on the whole most healthy. And it must be remembered that all the advantages,

whether material or moral, which the unionist gains for himself, he gains also for his non-unionist fellow-worker. By maintaining a high social standard among workmen, unionism educates those without its own pale as well as those within it; by maintaining a high standard of wages, it obtains for the non-unionist better terms in his bargain with the employer than he could otherwise hope to win. It deserves, therefore, to be regarded as a system operating for the benefit of workmen as a class, and not merely for a few privileged individuals.

Those practices of the unions which are most strongly objected to by ordinary critics on economical or moral grounds, such as - the prohibition of piecework, the limitation of apprentices, the refusal to work with non-unionists, and similar weapons of offence, have been made a ground for limiting the recognition of unionism proposed to be accorded by the majority of the Royal Commissioners. The able and convincing reply of the dissentient commissioners consists in drawing a parallel, and pointing out that the masters might be subjected, and in common fairness ought to be subjected, to similar disabilities for similar practices. If the unions are to receive legislative recognition and protection at all, and it is monstrous that they should be held to be *hors de la loi*, it is futile and absurd to impose these petty restrictions. If the rules are founded on a bad principle they will sooner or later be abandoned, but it is no more expedient to prohibit workmen from agreeing not to work by the piece, than it would be to prohibit employers from letting out work by the piece.

Perfect freedom is the fundamental principle on which we must act in dealing with this question. "The doctrine of the common law," as the dissentient commissioners, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Harrison, and Lord Lichfield urge, "that all combinations are illegal must be broadly and unequivocally rescinded." No special laws are now required to regulate labour. If workmen break the peace they can be punished like other citizens, and in the eye of the law their rights should receive the same consideration as those of other citizens. Stringent punishment of crime, but freedom of action in all things not criminal, these are the only concessions that the unions demand, and towards these we may hope the Bill of Mr. Hughes now before the House of Commons, will go one step further.

Such being the aims, such the operation, such the power and progressive growth of unionism, it becomes a most important question whether this policy of arraying men against masters is destined to endure as the highest form of development to which labour can attain. With all its efficiency and all its beneficial influences in disciplining the workmen and training them to rise in their aspirations above the interest of the individual to the in-

terest of the class, the policy of Unionism is, after all, a policy of war. At the best, it permits of no more than an "armed peace," such as that which oppresses the European commonwealth with anxious suspicions of military aggression almost as painful as the sad reality. In our judgment the armed peace, varied only with disastrous strikes, which are battles bitterly contested and hardly won, appears an obstacle to steady national progress of no mean importance. There are some who think otherwise. A clique of clever men, who preach in England a somewhat Anglicised version of the doctrines of Auguste Comte, have advocated unionism as the type in which the industrial organization of the future ought to be moulded. Professor Beesley's very interesting picture of the social future of the working class artfully fills in the crude outlines of the Unionist programme with the warmest colours that ever tempted a workman to wish for "the good time coming." The working classes in England, or at least some of their leaders, are specially grateful for the support of Mr. Beesley, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Harrison, and other priests of the Positive Creed, but they are perhaps scarcely aware of the pretensions that lie behind this patronage.

Trades' unions, in Mr. Beesley's view, are industrial armies, drilled and marshalled, to use a phrase from Mr. Carlyle's vocabulary, under "Captains of Industry." And these captains are none other than the capitalists themselves. Because it would be unwise to have an army without generals, because it would be folly to place the control of the railways in the hands of the stokers and platelayers, Mr. Beesley objects to any plan yet devised, whether Socialism as preached in France, or co-operation as attempted in England, which has for its object the elimination of capitalists, as a distinct class, from the social system. Industry deprived of the energy, the knowledge, the practical skill of the capitalist, would go to ruin; the army without officers would break into fragments. What is more, argues the advocate of unionism, the establishment of such a system as co-operation, for example, would transfer the risk now borne by the capitalist to the workman. The true point to which the workmen should direct their efforts is not to depose capital but to make better terms with it; and then quietly to accept their lot as final. With a somewhat larger proportion of wages than he receives at present, and this fixed instead of fluctuating, with shorter hours of labour, and gratuitous instruction and amusement provided by the State, the lot of the English workman would be comfortable enough, as Mr. Beesley assumes, to induce him to leave all substantial power in the State to the capitalist captains of industry, as well as to resign contentedly all aspirations to change or amend the established order of society.

But to obtain these concessions from capital it is certain that the unions would have to struggle long and hard; nor is it less clear that when the concessions had been once obtained, a vigilant and militant energy would be needed to secure and preserve them. Therefore, supposing all achieved that Mr. Beesley hopes for, the necessity of the armed peace would be in no degree dispensed with, unless indeed we can promise ourselves some higher and more potent sanction than any revealed hitherto to the minds of ordinary inquirers. Mr. Beesley and his friends seem to flatter themselves with the vague but sublime outlines of such a sanction, although they are discreetly careful not to trace too clearly the features of an Evangel which the present stiff-necked generation of workers is scarcely prepared to receive. We are not left, however, wholly in the dark as to his meaning.

"Probably in no case," he says, and the words are full of meaning, "do trades unions exact from the employer anything like the wages he could afford to give, if he were disposed. I do not believe that unions, extend them as you will, will ever be strong enough to put such a pressure on the employers. I believe that an organized religious influence will hereafter induce employers to concede to their men, voluntarily, a larger share of their profit than any trade union could extort from them."

It appears then that industrial enterprise in civilized Europe is to be cast into the mould of unionism, until such time as the hierarchy which owns M. Comte as its spiritual founder shall be established in undisputed sway among "the five advanced nations of the West." To most of us, and assuredly to most workmen, the latter point of time would appear as little of a definite and fixed date as the Greek Kalends; but, taking our stand as well as we can on the elevation of faith from which Mr. Beesley looks down the vista of the future, we cannot see much to disturb the pulses of any lover of his kind. Mr. Beesley rises to a noble passion of fervid zeal when he tells us that "a greater cause than that of the workmen of Europe advancing to their final emancipation this world is not likely to see again." We respect the fervour, but we could wish to see more clearly the greatness of the cause and the quality of the emancipation.

It is necessary to turn to the *Politique* of Comte to come to an understanding of the sort of emancipation to which the workmen of Europe are advancing, if they follow, as Mr. Beesley believes they are doing, "the priesthood of humanity." Workmen commonly have got hard work to do, and are exempted from the duty, as even Mr. Beesley will doubtless allow, of reading M. Comte's voluminous exposition of the new faith. But there is a small book, in English too, "A General View of Positivism,"

which has the singular merit of being brief, and contains the *ipsissima verba* of the great master rendered by a faithful disciple and able man, Dr. J. H. Bridges.* If every workman who can read the *Beehive* were to get hold of this book, and clearly understand the place and the function in the new social order to which the English disciples of Comte destine what Mr. Harrison calls "the bright powers of sympathy and ready powers of action" of the labouring classes, perhaps Mr. Beesley's enthusiasm in the grand cause of emancipation would kindle less grateful sentiments than are now so naturally and comfortably begotten of it. Here and there perhaps an opinion may attract attention, recalling the sort of cheap Chartism still preached on occasion by men like Mr. Ferrand, as where M. Comte denounces "the deplorable influence which Malthus's sophistical theory of population obtained in England." "This mischievous error," adds M. Comte, "met with very little acceptance in the rest of Europe, and it has already been refuted by the nobler thinkers of his own country," referring doubtless to Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler, and the exquisite essay on "Superfecundity" on which Macaulay has conferred a most unenviable immortality.

Such familiar notes as these will sometimes penetrate to the ear of the unsophisticated student of M. Comte's "General View," but the harmony will be for the most part strange and marvellous to him. He learns in the first place that the cornerstone of the new social structure is the consolidated and strengthened power of the capitalist. To him the workman is to surrender his newly obtained political rights, for he is told "habitual participation in temporal power, to say nothing of its unsettling influence, would lead them (the workmen) away from the best remedy for their sufferings of which the constitution of society admits." What is the remedy? the workman will cautiously inquire. It is nothing less than the influence of the philosophical hierarchy, exercised by admonitions, not by commands, over the capitalists, who are permanently and exclusively to hold the power of government. Neither the philosophers nor the workmen are to have any political privileges whatever; through the influence of the former being supposed to be all-

* We quote the title, which is itself an index to the book and the system: "Republic of the West; Order and Progress; A General View of Positivism, or Summary Exposition of the System of Thought and Life, adapted to the Great Western Republic formed of the five advanced nations, the French, Italian, Spanish, British, and German, which since the time of Charlemagne have always constituted a political whole. Réorganiser, sans dieu ni roi, par le culte systématique de l'Humanité. Nul n'a droit qu'à faire son devoir. L'esprit doit toujours être le ministre du cœur, et jamais son esclave. By Auguste Comte, author of 'System of Positive Philosophy.'" (Trübner, 1865.)

powerful with the well-regulated capitalist's mind, the nominal holders of power will be, it seems, no more than puppets in the hands of the high-priesthood. This spiritual power, "developed and consolidated to a degree impossible for Catholicism," will be exercised, as Mr. Beesley promises, to protect the workmen from the tyranny of capital. How the promise is to be performed M. Comte himself instructs us :—

"This is the only real solution of the disputes that are so constantly arising between workmen and their employers. Both parties will look to this philosophic authority as a supreme court of arbitration. In estimating its importance, we must not forget that the antagonism of employer and employed has not yet been pushed to its full consequences. The struggle between wealth and numbers would have been far more serious, but for the fact that combination, without which there can be no struggle worth speaking of, has hitherto only been permitted to the capitalist. It is true that in England combinations of workmen are not legally prohibited. But in that country they are not yet sufficiently emancipated, either intellectually or morally, to make such use of the right as would be the case in France. When French workmen are allowed to concert their plans as freely as their employers, the antagonism of interests that will then arise will make both sides feel the need of a moral power to arbitrate between them. Not that the conciliating influence of such a power will ever be such as to do away entirely with extreme measures; but it will greatly restrict their application, and in cases where they are unavoidable, will mitigate their excesses. Such measures should be limited on both sides to refusal of co-operation; a power which every free agent ought to be allowed to exercise, on his own personal responsibility, with the object of impressing on those who are treating him unjustly the importance of the services which he has been rendering. The workman is not to be compelled to work any more than the capitalist to direct. Any abuse of this extreme protest on either side will of course be disapproved by the moral power; but the option of making the protest is always to be reserved to each element in the collective organism, by virtue of his natural independence. In the most settled times functionaries have always been allowed to suspend their services on special occasions. It was done frequently in the Middle Ages by priests, professors, judges, etc. All we have to do is to regulate this right, and embody it into the industrial system. This will be one of the secondary duties of the philosophic body, who will naturally be consulted on most of these occasions, as on all others of public or private moment. The formal sanction or positive order which it may give for a suspension of work, will render that measure far more effective than it is at present. The operation of the measure is but partial at present, but it might in this way extend, first to all who belong to the same trade, then to other branches of industry, and even ultimately to every Western nation that accepts the same spiritual guides. Of course persons who think themselves aggrieved may always resort to this extreme course on their own responsibility,

against the advice of the philosophic body. True spiritual power confines itself to giving counsel: it never commands. But in such cases, unless the advice given by the philosophers has been wrong, the suspension of work is not likely to be sufficiently general to bring about any important result."

The first objection that suggests itself in this pretty scheme for healing a great social sore with philosophic ointment, is that it presumes heroic virtue in the class which of all others, according to M. Comte's estimate, possesses least of it; and a more perilous adventure than that of erecting a social edifice on the presumption that capitalists will always be wise, always magnanimous, always generous, and always docile in receiving the instructions of the Comtist hierarchy, it would be difficult to imagine. What is amusing enough too, is the earnestness with which the promulgators of the Positivist Constitution protest against "co-operation" because "it supposes a degree of unselfishness and devotion which we do not find in average men," while they admit no doubt that they can generate these or even higher qualities in the most sordid of capitalists by the "influence of an organized religion."

The second objection addresses itself with peculiar force to those workmen, the main body of the unionists, who have in this country fought their way manfully, and with no doubtful success, to the possession of their political rights. It cannot be too clearly understood that the Comtist hypothesis of government demands as an essential condition the surrender of all political functions (which is perhaps the fairest word to use, as Positivism destroys the value in this discussion of the term right by the elusive formula, *nul n'a droit qu'à faire son devoir*), by workmen and philosophers alike, to capitalists, "the political leaders of modern society, whose office is consecrated in Positive religion as that of the nutritive organs of humanity." The workmen are perhaps not aware that Mr. Beesley and his colleagues demand of them the surrender of the practical fruits of a hardly won triumph; and we do not see that the preachers of the new faith give this article the prominence which its importance deserves. In exchange for political power, it is true, Positivism offers the workmen the protection of the hierarchy, whatever Englishmen may think that worth. But the plain fact remains that "the final emancipation," to which we are told "the workmen of Europe are marching," consists mainly in placing the control of their acts and their circumstances in the hands of the temporal power, capital, and the spiritual power, a philosophic Papacy. That Mr. Beesley, and those who think with him, are actuated by a sincere desire to make the lot of the working man brighter and happier, we do not question. But Mr. Beesley

is not the first man who gloried in the name of Republican, and yet desired to reduce the people to serfdom. Fletcher of Saltoun, a man of antique virtue and civic faith, saw no hope of raising "the dull common population" of his native country from their apathy and ignorance save by the rule of a beneficent order of guardians and a rigorous system of predial slavery.

These arguments we are well assured will weigh in nowise with Professor Beesley, who "rejects utterly" all arguments from the individualist point of view. It would be of course idle to appeal to him on behalf of the necessity of giving freedom to the fullest extent for the expansion and growth of the individual power and character of men. "The absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity," which Von Humboldt made the keystone of his political system, and which is the fundamental idea in Mr. Mill's noble essay "On Liberty," would not appear to Mr. Beesley, if he be a true disciple of his master, anything but an abomination and a snare. To regulate and to control all developments of human activity, political or social, industrial or intellectual, is the avowed purpose of the Positive faith. And the perfected dominion of the hierarchy over every motive and movement of the social organism is the goal to which "the workmen of Europe are marching" with the priests of the new Evangel.

Let the workmen take to heart the meaning of the final triumph of "the Religion of Humanity" pictured with calm assurance of victory by M. Comte himself.

"This, then, is the way in which the priests of Humanity may hope to regenerate the material power of wealth, and bring the nutritive functions of society into harmony with the other parts of the body politic. The contests for which as yet there are but too many motives, will then cease; the People, without loss of dignity, will give free play to their natural instincts of respect, and will be as willing to accept the authority of their political rulers as to place confidence in their spiritual guides. They will feel that true happiness has no necessary connexion with wealth; that it depends far more upon free play being given to their intellectual, moral, and social qualities; and that in this respect they are more favourably situated than those above them. They will cease to aspire to the enjoyments of wealth and power, leaving them to those whose political activity requires that strong stimulus. Each man's ambition will be to do his work well; and after it is over, to perform his more general function of assisting the spiritual power, and of taking part in the formation of Public Opinion, by giving his best judgment upon passing events. Of the limits to be observed by the spiritual power the People will be well aware; and they will accept none which does not subordinate the intellect to the heart, and guarantee the purity of

its doctrine by strict abstinence from political power. By an appeal to the principles of Positive Polity, they will at once check any foolish yielding on the part of philosophers to political ambition, and will restore the temporal power to its proper place. They will be aware that though the general principles of practical life rest upon Science, it is not for Science to direct their application. The incapacity of theorists to apply their theories practically has long been recognised in minor matters, and it will now be recognised as equally applicable to political questions. The province of the philosopher is education; and as the result of education, counsel: the province of the capitalist is action and authoritative direction. This is the only right distribution of power; and the people will insist on maintaining it in its integrity, seeing, as they will, that without it the harmonious existence of Humanity is impossible."

With such prospects of moral advancement as these, and Mr. Beesley's promises, that the capitalist, persuaded and subdued, will voluntarily give good wages for eight hours' work, and spend the public money on the amusements and education of the working classes, it will still be necessary, it appears, for the latter to maintain their disciplined array of unions, lest perchance here or there some rugged employer should refuse to listen to the Orphic teachings of the priesthood. Unionism, if not engaged in actual war, must subsist in "armed peace," and all the cost, the peril, the wasted energy, the irritated feelings of the prolonged and unceasing contest must continue to afford abundant opportunity for the exercise of priestly skill in the art of peace-making persuasion. The preachers of Positive doctrine are fond of playing with the analogy between the military organization and the perfect discipline of industry: but it may be suggested that the battle which it is the lot of industry to fight, is a battle with the struggling Titanic forces of nature, and that the contest in which unionism arrays the rank and file of the workers is a contest with their own "Captains of Industry," the capitalists, little better than a mutiny for pay.

However the continuance of this fatal belligerency may commend itself to the reason or the wishes of Positive philosophers, there are many, sincerely desirous to elevate the moral and social state of the workmen, who regard the permanence of unionism as an insuperable obstacle to real progress. Believing that the contest with capital has been a necessity in the past, they believe also that it ought not to be a necessity in the future; like Cavour, they "refuse to govern with a state of siege."

There is a development of industrial activity to which philosophers have looked long and wistfully as promising a solution of the labour problem by linking together employers and employed

in the bonds of a common interest, and finally even by fusing the two classes into one homogeneous active intelligent society. This process of fusion by alliance is included in its various forms under the term co-operation, which in times not so long past was regarded with suspicion by the propertied classes as little better than Socialism and Red Republican heresy—"flat burglary as ever was committed." But the tide has turned since 1848, and Co-operation has steadily made its way in England as well as in France, in scientific theory as well as in active development, in the teachings of Mr. Mill, Mr. Thornton, and other economists, as well as in the silent but emphatic testimony of the Rochdale Pioneers and their successful imitators. The Co-operative Congress,* which lately assembled under the presidency of Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. Walter Morrison, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Mundella, and other tried friends of the English working classes, bore testimony to the progress which has been made in the direction of "Self-help and fellowship in work." It was peculiarly interesting to notice the warm sympathy with the movement expressed by the men who have been leaders in the cause of unionism, and who are the best specimens of its training and experience. Mr. Allan, secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and Mr. Applegarth, secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, are types of the class which unionism in its highest form has disciplined, and to whom co-operative industry must look for its most substantial support.

By the capitalists, on the whole, co-operation at present is looked upon with apathetic indifference, from which a few are however awakening, some to jealous suspicion, but some also to kindly and provident appreciation. The most formidable battery of argument and attack that has yet been opened upon the principles of co-operation has been worked by the preachers of the Positive faith. Mr. Beesley has most concisely put into a definite shape the objections of his sect to the extension of the co-operative movement, or rather the reasons why its general adoption must be held impossible. That co-operation when applied to productive industry has in many cases broken down, is a practical point which, as may be supposed, Mr. Beesley pushes to its extremest consequence; it is not altogether true that everywhere, and under all circumstances, it has failed, but the story of the Rochdale Co-operative Manufacturing Society, which grew out of the splendid success of the distributive work undertaken by

* The Congress met at the rooms of the Society of Arts on the 31st of May and the three following days, and was attended by delegates from the various co-operative associations throughout the country.

the Equitable Pioneers, is certainly most discouraging. The shareholders in this society embarked fifteen years ago in the cotton manufacture, and by the working out of true co-operative principles attained remarkable success. The society weathered the terrible ordeal of the cotton famine, but in the course of time the shareholders became greedy of larger dividends, and passed a resolution for the division of *all* profits among themselves, withdrawing the bonuses previously paid to the operatives. The name Co-operative is still retained, without a shadow of pretext, and instead of co-operation, meaning production carried on by men interested in the profits of the business, we have merely what Professor Beesley calls with excusable contempt, "the old dogma of the economists," that is, the supply-and-demand doctrine of wages, "masquerading in Socialist dress."

But there are other and better examples of co-operative production recorded with enthusiastic sympathy by Mr. Thornton, M. Feugueray (the author of "*L'Association Ouvrière*"), and Mr. Mill, in the later editions of his "*Political Economy*." These are drawn chiefly from France, and we need not enter into any details of their history, for which we rather incline to refer our readers to the copious and interesting chapters that Mr. Thornton devotes to this part of his subject. In England similar associations have sprung up at Manchester, Rochdale, Wolverhampton, and elsewhere. With these may be coupled Mr. Gurdon's remarkable experiment in agricultural co-operation, still after nearly forty years of trial to be seen flourishing in vigorous life at Assington in Suffolk.

The plan of allying labour with capital by giving every workman an interest direct and pecuniary in the prosperity of the business is of no recent invention; in many insignificant and obscure industries, which the reader will find more particularly described or enumerated in the pages of Mr. Mill or Mr. Thornton, the idea had long been carried into effect. In the mines of Cornwall, Flintshire, and Cumberland, in the American China ships, the British whalers, the fisheries of the south coast, in the mercantile navy of Greece, and in the trade in manufactured goods in the Philippine Islands. From these examples, as early as 1832, Mr. Babbage, the mathematician, in that very suggestive little book, "*The Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*," which anticipated more than one of the popular notions of later days, drew with great clearness and precision the principles of the scheme of "*Industrial Partnerships*," which have since been practically carried out both in England and in France.

The eminent success of M. Leclair, the house-painter, who found the surest way to success in his trade by dividing his profits with his workpeople, is an instance familiar to the readers

of Mr. Mill's "Political Economy." The similar fortune that attended experiments in the same direction attempted by M. Paul Dupont and M. Gisquet, are recorded by Mr. Thornton. But, as he observes, it is respecting the English adventurers in the untried ways of industrial partnership that the greatest interest and curiosity will naturally be felt by Englishmen. The case of the Normanton Collieries, where the plan was adopted by Messrs. Briggs, the owners of the property, about four years ago, on the suggestion, as Mr. Thornton informs us, of "an article by Professor Fawcett, 'On Strikes, their Tendencies, and Remedies,' in the *Westminster Review* for July, 1860." The particulars of this most interesting experiment are given at great length by Mr. Thornton, and they deserve to be widely known.

Messrs. Henry Briggs, Son, and Company, owners of the Whitwood, Haigh Moor, and Methley Collieries, near Normanton, in Yorkshire, began to work the property about seventeen years ago, and for twelve of those years their relations with their workmen were of the most depressing kind. On both sides there was continual discontent, suspicion, and irritation. The owners were at one time threatened with assassination, and the popular sentiment regarding them was summed up in the coarse epigram of a pitman, "All coal-masters is devils, and Briggs is the prince of devils." Strikes were of periodical occurrence, and the unwilling work of the Unionists made the business anything but a paying one for the owners. How the change was wrought, and how great it was, Mr. Thornton can tell:—

"Such, not long ago, was the condition of society in the three collieries under notice, and not dissimilar it probably still is in most of those of the West Yorkshire coalfield. In their own immediate neighbourhood, however, steps were taken by Messrs. Briggs three years ago, which have wrought a complete revolution. In 1865 they transferred their business to a 'limited liability' joint stock company, retaining two-thirds of the shares in their own hands, but offering the remaining third in 10*l.* shares to the public, and specially inviting their own employes to become shareholders. At the same time they arranged, "that whenever the divisible profits accruing from the business, after a fair and usual reservation for redemption of capital and other legitimate allowances, exceeded ten per cent. on the capital embarked, all those employed by the company as managers, agents, or workpeople, should receive one-half of such excess profit as a bonus, to be distributed amongst them as a percentage on their respective earnings during the year in which such profit should have accrued.' They lay no claim to disinterestedness for having adopted this system, which, on the contrary, they admit to have been taken up by them as a business speculation for considerations of convenience, and in the belief, based on careful calculation of chances, that it would prove a

blessing as well to those who gave as to those who took. Among the many years in which they had had so much trouble with strikes and cognate annoyances, there had been only one in which they had made ten per cent. profit on their capital, and there had been two in which they had made only five per cent. The course they were meditating could not possibly, therefore, make their receipts lower than formerly, while it would very probably make them higher. Unless profits rose above ten per cent., the men would not be entitled to bonus—there would be no surplus for them to share in. Their conditional right of participation could not possibly, therefore, make the employers' receipts less than before, and it might easily make them more. For if profits did rise above ten per cent., only half the surplus would be taken as bonus on wages, the other half being added to dividend on capital. And if the men would only try to raise profits above ten per cent., their mere trying, even though it failed, would at least insure a nearer approximation to ten per cent. Besides, it was clearly in their power both to augment gains and to diminish expense. Of the cost of raising coal, not less than seventy per cent. had hitherto consisted of wages paid for manual labour, which, working with more regularity, with fewer interruptions, and greater attention, would certainly render more productive. Other fifteen per cent. had consisted of the value of various stores and materials (wood, iron, oil, &c.), of which they were habitually wasteful, and of which it rested with themselves to become proportionately saving. Now if anything could make them more diligent and painstaking, it was likely to be the promise of bonus; and if this had the desired effect, whatever bonus became payable in consequence, would be payable out of a fund which, but for the promise, would not have been created, and in which, moreover, the bonus-givers would share equally with the bonus-receivers. True, profits might possibly be raised above ten per cent. by causes unconnected with the work-people, in which case the latter's bonus would be so much dead loss to the employers; but of this the risk was too small to deserve to be much regarded in comparison with the more agreeable probabilities on the other side."

A similar experiment to that tried by Messrs. Briggs has been attempted by Messrs. Greening and Company, Limited, of Salford, manufacturers of iron and wire fencing, but the adventure has not met with the success it merits, partly, as Mr. Thornton suggests, from the recent depression of commerce; and he further points out that the stagnation of business in the cotton trade has, in like manner, prevented the Sabden Mills Cotton Company from dividing their profits with the work-people, simply because there were none to divide. It will interest many persons to learn that Messrs. W. H. Smith and Son, the great news-agents in the Strand, have adopted, with remarkable success, the leading idea of industrial partnership in the payment of their clerks in charge of book-stalls at railway stations, by

allowing them a per-centage on the receipts. In a restricted sense also the principle has been applied by Messrs. Crossley, of Halifax, in the carpet manufacture, and by the owners of the slate quarries of North Wales.

To return for a moment to the Normanton Collieries, "the only English example of an industrial partnership at once complete and flourishing," let us turn to Mr. Thornton's account of the financial and moral results of the enterprise commenced in July, 1865 :—

"Upon some such reasoning as this, with reference to themselves, Messrs. Briggs appear to have acted, though well aware, at the same time, that they were consulting equally the welfare of their servants. The event has shown that they reasoned well. Up to this time their experiment has been a brilliant success. All the expectations based upon it have been realized, and some unlooked-for advantages have accrued. It began to be tried on July 1, 1865, and had, therefore, on the corresponding day of last year reached its third anniversary. At the end of the first twelvemonth, the total of profits was found to be fourteen per cent., of which the shareholders took twelve and the workpeople two per cent. In the second year the total was sixteen per cent., the shareholders getting thirteen per cent. and the workpeople three. In the third year the corresponding figures were seventeen and three and a half. The totals of the workpeople's per centages have been 1800*l.*, 2700*l.*, and 3150*l.*, which, being divided among them rateably in proportion to their respective wages, gave them bonuses averaging 3*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* in the first year, 3*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* in the second, and 2*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.* in the third. The largest bonus in the first year was 10*l.* 18*s.* 10½*d.*, obtained by a miner whose earnings amounted to 109*l.* 8*s.* 9½*d.*; in the second, it was 9*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*, paid upon 108*l.* 15*s.* 5½*d.*, and in the third, 11*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*, paid upon 106*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* Last October, the total number of shares was 9767, of which 6393 were held by the original proprietors, 192 by a hundred and forty-eight pitmen and topmen, 262 by twenty-one agents and clerks, and the remainder by customers and miscellaneous subscribers. The market price of a 10*l.* share had then risen to 14*l.* 10*s.* These are material results, and they have been accompanied by moral changes which, 'in different ways, but with equal distinctness, have made themselves felt by the employer, the clergyman, the schoolmaster, the publican, and the policeman.' Formerly, the men could not be depended upon for working two days consecutively, but in the three last years not more than half-a-dozen play-days have been taken, and not one in the last year of the three. Once the men had arranged to have a holiday for the purpose of attending a public meeting in which they were interested, when a large order for coal arrived, accompanied by an intimation that it must be executed on that particular day or not at all. Thereupon, though with considerable hesitation, the manager ventured to represent to the men the importance of their giving up their intended holiday. Formerly the mere circumstance of the manager's particularly wanting a thing done would have been a sufficient reason

with the men for not doing it, so habitual was the notion with them that what was good for their masters must be bad for them; but on this occasion they at once consented to do as they were asked. Another time some forty of them were directed to remove for a month from one pit to another, in order to do some work of a sort to which they were not accustomed, and in which they would not be able to earn their usual wages. They did not at all like going, and in the olden days would have refused point-blank, but now, after being reasoned with, and having had the necessity of the thing explained, all except two or three went without further ado. On a third occasion the price of coal having fallen, notice was given that wages likewise would be reduced. The men who, some months before had had their wages raised because the price of coal had risen, now that circumstances had changed, submitted without remonstrance. On a fourth, the men at one of the collieries having demanded an advance without any of the usual pretexts for such a proceeding, the question was referred by the directors to the men at the other pits, who unanimously pronounced the claim unreasonable, and recommended that those who had made it should be left to strike if they thought fit, rather than have their application complied with. Formerly, men who had a piece of rail to put in were known to break a rail in two in order to get the right length, and, if they got the wrong length, then to bury the pieces in the dirt and break another new one. Nothing of the kind occurs now. Every one understands that the value of every bit of iron or timber wasted is so much deducted from the bonus fund. A new rector coming to Normanton noticed immediately the great difference between Messrs. Briggs' men and those of another firm living in rows of houses immediately adjoining—how much steadier and better the former were. What the rector observed, every passer-by might infer from the great difference in the appearance inside and out of the two sets of dwellings. Bonuses are paid in lump sums at the end of each year. After the first payment three men spent their bonuses in drink, but they are the only three out of nearly a thousand who have been known to do so, and the ignominious expulsion of those three took place amidst the acclamations of all those of their companions, a score or two in number, who happened to be within hearing when the sentence was pronounced. Money which the men would formerly have spent on liquor they now spend on the education of their children, the number of whom at school has of late greatly increased, or in the purchase of additional articles of furniture, among which a cottage piano quite commonly figures. An immense change has taken place in their manner to their employers. 'They used to shout to us,' say the latter, 'now they speak.' What the manner used to be, those who used to witness and endure it are best able to say. To what it is, others may testify. Whoever has, like myself, gone with Mr. Archibald Briggs over one of the collieries, down the pit, through the yard, and into the cottages, and has noticed how heartily 'Mr. Archie' is greeted by all he meets, can need no further proof that he and they are on the best of terms. 'Our village,' says Mr. Currer Briggs, 'has been transformed from a hot-bed of strife and ill-feeling between employers and employed into

a model of peace and good will.' Whoever has lately been on the spot can vouch for the accuracy of the latter part of this description."

In the form of industrial partnership probably will co-operation begin at the outset to win for itself a prominent place in the productive industry of the world. How far it may be found practicable to carry on production under co-operative management is a question which is still keenly debated, and upon which even the discussions of the Congress of last month have thrown little new light.

Mr. Beesley's cardinal objection to co-operation appears to be founded on an entire misapprehension of its meaning and methods. Holding fast to his analogy between industrial and military organization, he urges the mischief that would follow if we were to allow the rank and file a share in directing the operations of the army; as if any one had ever proposed to entrust the *management* of a society for co-operative production to the whole body of workmen. What Mr. Beesley wishes to do with his "Unionist privates" is to enact that they shall never be allowed to rise from the ranks, and shall have no interest whatever beyond their pay in the success of the war. Is this the scheme of military discipline which produces soldiers like Hoche or Kleber? But moreover, Mr. Beesley would stereotype mutiny, sullenly vigilant or fiercely exacting, in the form of Unionism; and in the presence of mutiny—be it for pay, as in Bouilli's regiment at Nancy, or in mere arrogance of conscious power—discipline, which, says Carlyle, "is at all times a kind of miracle and works by faith," is but a broken, forgotten spell. In truth, Mr. Beesley's Army of Industry, with no prospect of reward for the soldier beyond his shilling a day, and with elaborate provision for the exercise of the divine right of mutiny, does not seem the hopefulest array that might be marshalled in man's battle with nature. On the whole, we place more confidence in the Army of Co-operation, in which "every private carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack," although we may be compelled to hire our leaders, as contending empires were wont to hire the sword and the brains of Maurice of Saxony or Eugene of Savoy.

It is worse than idle, it is a mischievous mockery, to attempt to legislate for society, as if social perfection were attained or even attainable. This is the fatal error which runs through all M. Comte's constructive speculation, and especially through his scheme for the reconciliation of capital and labour. Those who desire to be more practical must begin with being more modest in their views, and more tolerant of the defective workings of any elevated conception. The thing that is most urgently needed at the present time is perfect freedom and tolerance for

Unionism, and this for two reasons. Not only is it needful to impress the workmen with a sense of their perfect equality before the law and in the face of society with the other classes of society ; still more important is it to preserve the unions as the germs of the higher industrial state to which we hope ultimately to rise. When we have abolished the last relics of that legislation which controlled combinations of labourers, at first avowedly in the interest of the capitalist, and afterwards in the name of misconceived economical doctrines, we can at length look the Unionists fairly in the face, and ask them to use their power, which is so great and so useful, under proper restrictions, for the advantage of the whole community.

Probably at no distant date the demands of the Unions may rise beyond the mere chaffering over the rate of wages with which they are usually occupied, and may follow the direction indicated at the Co-operative Congress by several speakers. The Comte de Paris has suggested in his valuable work that the trades unions should endeavour to transform themselves into co-operative societies, and this question was warmly debated at the Congress, but it was generally felt by the Unionist leaders that any such direct transformation would be hazardous and difficult. It is very possible, however, that the Unions, when further improved and extended, may be so far able to act upon the fears of capitalists for their margin of profit, as to induce them very largely to accept terms of industrial partnership such as those which Messrs. Briggs have found both profitable and pleasant in their management of the Normanton Collieries. Side by side with these partnerships of industry, we look to see here and there cautious experiments in co-operative production, increasing from year to year in numbers, stability, and prestige. Co-operative Stores and Co-operative Banks, established on the plan so successfully tried in Prussia by M. Schultze-Delitzsch, would at the same time assist the more enterprising and frugal workman in amassing a little capital for the investment of which the productive associations would ultimately afford the most attractive opportunities.

With the slow growth of these healthy and strengthening influences, we could look forward, without extravagant hopes or chimerical fears, to the social future of the labouring classes in England. Education pressing on steadily meanwhile, will render each step toward the crowning result more easy ; and moral influence, not forced upon the minds of the masses by any hierarchy of philosophers and priests, but springing from the practical experience of the worth and beauty of justice, will elevate the idea of duty to the loftiest place. Men will learn to take their share of labour for the love of it, because it is whole-

some and just that man should not be idle. None, or very few, will continue to live the life of drones; and when all work, no one will be deprived of the rest which is necessary as air or light to the health of the body and the soul.



ART. IV.—PATENTS, PATENTEES, AND THE PUBLIC.

1. *Inventors and Inventions.* By HENRY DIRCKS, C.E., &c.,
Author of "The Life of the Marquis of Worcester," &c.
London: E. and F. N. Spon. 1867.
2. *Parliamentary Debates.* 1869.

FIVE years ago we tried to give a conclusive answer to the question—"Should the present system of granting letters-patent for inventions be continued, amended, or abolished?"* The same question is now reiterated in various quarters. The House of Commons has put the subject to the ordeal of discussion. Mr. Macfie, who refines sugar at Liverpool, and represents Leith in the present Parliament, and who, as a manufacturer, has long agitated for the repeal of the patent laws, called upon the House of Commons to declare that the time has arrived when the interests of trade and commerce, and the progress of arts and sciences in this country, would be promoted by the abolition of patents for inventions. On a former occasion we analysed the arguments by which Mr. Macfie supported his views. He but said in the House what he had written in his pamphlet, entitled "The Patent Question." The difference between his speech and his pamphlet is, that the latter is more ample in detail and more candid in tone. But in both the same confusion of thought is apparent.

Some men live in perpetual dread of a catastrophe which will whelm the country in ruin. Haunted with this idea, they are miserable themselves and render others unhappy also. If they would listen to reason they might recover; but it is precisely because they cannot do this, if they would, that their case is hopeless. We fear that Mr. Macfie is almost beyond the reach of argument, because he constantly asserts that which it is impossible to prove, and denounces an imaginary bugbear

* See the *Westminster Review* for October, 1864, Art. IV., "The Patent Laws," p. 322.

as an intolerable grievance. In the House of Commons he protested against "property in ideas." This is his principle. His dislike to the operation of patents springs from his objection to what he considers their essence. Not only is this a fallacy, but it is a mischievous delusion. At the present moment a cry for the disendowment of "ideas" might be raised with success by a skilled and unscrupulous tactician. If patentees really obtained what Mr. Macfie alleges they get, they would deserve the summary punishment he would inflict on them. If they are the pests of the State, let them be exterminated. If they are the pillars of inventive industry, let them be upheld and honoured. In either event, they have a right to demand fair treatment, to decline unmerited honour, to protest against gross misrepresentations.

Excepting in the sense in which Sydney Smith described a brace of dead grouse as two ideas, which one idea had shot through the medium of another idea, patent-right cannot be said to have the slightest resemblance to the kind of property which kindles the animosity of Mr. Macfie. When an inventor goes to the Patent Office he finds that the authorities deal exclusively with the concrete and never recognise the abstract. A patent is granted for the mode of achieving a certain result. Suppose an inventor were to apply for a patent for boiling, and were to specify that he boiled by means of heat, his application would be refused. But if he hit upon a new method of boiling water, such as applying heat in a new way, or if he constructed a kettle of a new pattern, he might patent the method of applying the heat or the apparatus for containing the water. It is to the parts employed in working out the invention that the law accords protection. When Mr. Smith patented the screw-propeller, he did not become possessed of the sole right to the "idea" of propulsion by means of a screw. Other inventors have obtained patents for screws, varying in form from that of Mr. Smith, yet designed to serve the same purpose. So with the paddlewheel. Many years after vessels had been propelled by paddles, the feathering paddlewheel, which is so great an improvement on the ordinary one with fixed floats, as to have virtually superseded it, was invented and patented. The "idea" of propelling a vessel by means of a paddlewheel had not become the monopoly of the first patentee. It is necessary to bear this in mind, for it is a point on which not only Mr. Macfie, but other opponents of patents lay great stress. It furnishes them with a plausible pretext for discriminating between copyright and patent right. The former, they say, is justifiable, because the right relates to something tangible, visible, unmistakeable, something we may hold in our hands

or place in our pockets, lend to a friend or sell to the public. On the other hand, they allege that it is impossible to defend the latter, because it cannot be grasped, carried from place to place, passed from hand to hand. If other proof were necessary of the fallacy we have attempted to expose, it would be enough to produce one of the screw-propellers or paddlewheels to which reference has been made. Were this done, perhaps even Mr. Macfie would admit that the patented "ideas" were wanting neither in solidity nor weight.

Neither the motion of Mr. Macfie, nor the speech made by him in support of it, would have excited discussion in the Press, had not Sir Roundell Palmer seconded that motion in a speech of great force and originality. That much might be said against patents many members knew by experience. That the law was seriously defective has never been denied by any of the legal authorities who have spoken on the subject during the past few years. Members who had sat in Parliament for a generation, and members to whom a seat in the House was still a novelty, were prepared for some member of the Bar bringing the subject forward with a view to legislation. As a sincere though very moderate liberal, as a man of high character and of brilliant talent, Sir Roundell Palmer had won the confidence of his party and golden opinions from the entire House. He had recently distinguished himself by a self-sacrifice for conscience' sake. Rather than lend himself to a policy he deemed unjust, he deliberately declined to accept the Chancellorship. From such a man it was deemed incredible that any revolutionary measure would proceed. When such a man, then, deliberately stated that nothing short of the abolition of the patent laws would satisfy the requirements of the time, and put a period to the dissatisfaction which has been expressed, the declaration produced the effect of a thunderbolt, exciting apprehension in the minds of some hearers and startling all.

Nor was the impression made by Sir Roundell Palmer's speech one which faded away when, on resuming his seat, the orator's accents had ceased to charm. It has been read with attention by the large class whose minds are nourished on the Parliamentary debates. The arguments he used, the examples he adduced, the opinions he uttered, with regard to the impolicy of a Patent Law have already been adopted by many as their own, and repeated as if they were irrefutable. Daily newspapers and weekly journals have been influenced by the speech. Iconoclasts have been inspired by it. Unless, then, it can be distinctly shown that Sir Roundell Palmer has reasoned from false premises on imperfect data, has treated the subject, not as a whole, but has given prominence to one, and that the worst side of it, has mis-

apprehended and mis-stated the real point at issue and, in his desire to remedy a temporary abuse, has aimed an unintentional blow at the permanent welfare of the State, we may expect the policy he advocates to attract several, and the reform he contemplates to become the watchword of the many who take their reasons at second-hand.

The gist of Sir Roundell Palmer's objections to patents lies in the statement that, however beneficial they have been in times gone by, instead of serving as props to the arts and trade of the country now, they are "obstructions and hindrances to trade and the arts." He considers them impediments to industry, as pernicious as the Corn Laws were to native farming. He thinks the day has arrived in which there must be free trade in inventions, as in the commodities which merchants import and shop-keepers vend. In saying this we have fairly represented the meaning of Sir Roundell, without quoting his very words. That both he and others should use the language they do testifies, we think, to their imperfect acquaintance with the rules which govern inventions.

An invention is not a commodity which can be produced at will. If we wish to have bread to eat we must till the ground, sow the seed, reap the harvest, separate the wheat from the chaff, convert the grain into flour and the flour into dough, and bake the dough until the wholesome and life-sustaining loaf is produced. Each step in the process can be traced out and the result estimated beforehand. Should there be failure we can detect the reason and take precautions against it in future. As a matter of fact we know that the loaf cannot be procured at a low price unless the farmers of the world are permitted to compete with those of England in bringing grain to market. Hence, in order that we may have the cheap loaf, we declare freedom of trade, and this freedom of trade is extended not to the producers of the raw material only, but to the millers and bakers also. Since Mr. Lowe removed the duty of one shilling a quarter which has hitherto been levied on grain, free trade in grain is absolute. Whether the farmers like this or no is of little moment, seeing that they must bow to the will of the nation, and the national will is adverse to protection. The millers, however, think they have a grievance, and in this notion they are confirmed by Sir Roundell Palmer. For centuries flour was ground under unpleasant conditions. The miller in the time of Chaucer had to work amid a cloud of flour which obscured the air, filled his nostrils, irritated his lungs, and lessened his profits. The millers of this generation had the same difficulty to contend against and the same lament to make, until their chief grievance was removed by an inventor. Countless attempts have been made to

remedy the evil. These failed either because the flour was drawn away too rapidly, and the waste increased, or because the draught was insufficient, and the nuisance became worse than before. At last, the golden mean was achieved by Mr. Bovill. He succeeded in adjusting the several parts of the millstones so as to multiply their efficiency, yet prevent any flour from filling the air. For this he obtained a patent. Instead of being grateful to the inventor and ready to pay a royalty to the patentee, the millers of England combined together to procure the patentee's ruin by subverting his legal title to the fruit of his brains. What they want is free trade in this invention. Sir Roundell Palmer declares them justified in protesting against the act of him whose ingenuity has conferred a benefit on their trade. The plea is that in process of time each miller could have made the discovery for himself. The supposition is that if there is a demand for an invention the supply is as certain as is the supply of loaves when corn is abundant.

The difference between the two cases is a difference in substance as well as degree. Necessity may be the mother of invention in common speech, but without being so in actual experience. The most pressing demand for a particular improvement has no other effect than that of calling forth a host of suggestions, of which three-fourths are foolish and the other fourth is inadequate. All the millers in England had failed to make the change which Mr. Bovill made in their mills. Those who are constantly engaged in a pursuit have little time to consider how best to improve upon their system of procedure. Nor are they disposed to admit that improvement is possible, even while convinced that improvement is desirable. They cannot take an outside and impartial view of their position. The required change is generally made from without. There were engineers before the time of Watt, but none of them thought of making the improvements which he effected in the steam-engine, and some of them did their best to denounce those improvements as visionary. Sir Roundell Palmer may be perfectly justified in asserting that all inventions will be made some day or other, even if the patent laws are abolished. This we can neither disprove, nor accept without qualification. The qualification is that patent laws are good, not because of the direct effect they have in stimulating invention, nor yet because they act in any way as premiums to ingenuity, but because, when the State has to deal with the demands of inventors, and has to take into account the interests of every section of the community, patent laws offer the most equitable arrangement hitherto proposed for satisfying rival claims, while protecting the meritorious from plunder and ruin.

From this point of view we have free scope for dealing with another objection urged by Sir Roundell Palmer. He holds that the laws of nature are common property, and he contends that whatever knowledge is derived from a study of these laws should be added to the general fund of the world's wisdom. He maintains also that the patent system renders this impossible. A number of men applying their knowledge so as to produce something new, such as a screw-propeller, an hydraulic press, a steam-engine, or an electric telegraph, may now acquire the exclusive right to dispose of these inventions during fourteen years. That they should be thus favoured, Sir Roundell considers to be monstrous in itself, and opposed to the spirit of the times. This argument cannot easily be answered, if the answer be delayed till the import of the argument has been fully apprehended. Pushed to its logical conclusion, it means that no human being ought to derive any advantage from that which any other human being might discover independently, provided he were to pursue the same course of study, expend the same amount of energy, and bring to the task the same mental faculties. Stated thus the proposition is one to which we might assent. But our assent might be given as readily, and for similar reasons, to any abstract proposition whatever. When planning Utopia a writer may fashion his men and women on his own model, legislate for them according to his own ideas, and in theory make all of them happy or miserable. As we do not live in Utopia, and as our inventors are practical men, and our patent laws existing facts, we must disregard any doctrines which, if their imaginary premisses are apparently conclusive and sound, are yet utterly inapplicable to the circumstances of the actual case. The answer, then, to Sir Roundell Palmer is, Given a law of nature as a fixed quantity, those who interpret and apply that law differ in every respect. Even if all men were so equally gifted as to be able to arrive at the same results after studying those natural laws, it would still happen that some, 'working more assiduously than others,' would succeed in a short time, that some might never work at all. Should those who are indolent and slow profit by the labours of the industrious? If this were the rule, what motive would men have for exertion? For, whatever may be said about the sacrifice of the few to the general good, there is in reality no great or continuous labour undertaken and completed without some stimulus of a more special and personal kind than the self-satisfaction of contributing to the improvement of mankind. Do not men acknowledge that injustice has been done when some inventor of fame and worth dies unrewarded? According to Sir Roundell Palmer, such a case affords no cause for regret. He permits the man who, having investigated the

laws of nature, learns something new, and imparts this to his fellows, to be ranked first in the race of discovery, but denies his claim to special recognition or substantial reward. If he said that in a race everybody cannot be first, we should agree with him, while thinking that he had but stated a truism. But when he maintains that in the competition among inventors everybody may be first, and that the winner should receive no prize, he enunciates a doctrine at once startling and untenable, a doctrine to which he may make converts, but for which he certainly deserves no thanks.

Like nearly all who advocate the abolition of patents, Sir Roundell Palmer attempts to draw a distinction between patent-right and copyright. He but reiterates what has been advanced and refuted times without number. He says that copyright applies "to a creation. A man wrote a book; he thus brought into existence something which had no existence in the nature of things before. The rest of the world were not in the race with him to write that particular book." Had Mr. Macfie said this we should not have been surprised. It closely resembles his contention that a book should be protected because it is something tangible, whereas an invention is something which, if not invisible, is in the nebulous condition of an "idea." Nor are we able to follow Sir Roundell into those mental recesses where "the nature of things" resides. For our own part we cannot draw the line between the right, if there be a right, of A. to claim copyright in a history of the screw-propeller, and of B. to claim patent-right in the propeller itself. If the book be a creation, the invention is a creation also. If the inventor has the laws of nature to deal with, the writer has at his command the twenty-six letters of the alphabet, the one being as much the common property of mankind as the other, the power in either case to form novel and useful combinations being nearly equal. That no two men produce the same book is true. It is almost as difficult for two men to give to the world two inventions identical in every detail and equally well fitted to subserve the same end. Much has been said about the ease with which this may be done, but authentic proofs are lacking of this having been done on a large scale. Many of the cases of hardship due to one inventor being forestalled by another would not bear a moment's investigation. When an invention has proved a great success, hundreds are ready to claim a share in the credit, and to seize, if possible, a portion of the profit. How often is there the like competition when success is doubtful or when failure is imminent? Yet the chances of two imperfect inventions being produced simultaneously, are as great as those of two identical triumphs of mind over matter. We do not deny the possibility

of the occurrence. It may happen, just as two astronomers, by independent calculations, may fix the position of a planet. Yet these are the rare exceptions to the rule.

Practically, they are too unimportant to merit the legislator's attention. We must have a more solid argument in favour of the distinction between patent and copyright than the possibility in the one case and impossibility in the other of similarity in the product. We ought not to legislate for unexpected coincidences.

The points we have noticed are the most important in this speech. They are the pivots on which the argument moves. Less notable, but still not undeserving of a passing remark, is the distinction which Sir Roundell tries to draw between meritorious and unmeritorious patents. He would be a bold man who should pronounce dogmatically as to the real merit of an untried invention. The history of discovery is a history of surprises. That which was styled impossible by the majority, has been constantly accomplished. Men now alive can recall the ridicule passed upon those who proposed before a committee of the House of Commons to maintain on a railway an uniform speed of sixteen miles an hour. Those who proposed the scheme for steamships crossing the Atlantic were derided as visionaries. It is not many years ago since the practicability of uniting England and America by means of an electric cable was denied by the general public, and upheld in defiance of ridicule and contempt, by a small band of sanguine spirits. By way of example, Sir Roundell Palmer cites the original screw-propeller as belonging to the meritorious, and the improved screw-propellers to the unmeritorious class of inventions. On inquiry he would probably change his mind. The only test of merit in cases like this is commercial value. Now, what the inventor of the screw-propeller did was to prove the feasibility and advantages of propulsion by means of a screw. With the screw, he beat the paddle-wheel. This was a step in advance. But other makers of screws improved on his invention as materially as he had improved on that of his predecessors. They counteracted the "slip," which in the first screw led to a great waste of power. If, then, the improved screw surpassed the original as much as the screw had surpassed the paddlewheel, surely the merit of the last inventor was as great as that of the first, even although the last was but an improver and not an originator! We adduce this merely to prove the difficulty of determining between the two classes, and we do not deny that many patents are granted for unmeritorious inventions and for pretended novelties. This, however, is not the fault of the system, but a defect in its working. It is doubtful even if these objectionable patents do any real harm. An invention which will answer no purpose, is simply useless whether

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. K

it be patented or not. The misconception is that there is some virtue in the words "By Royal Letters Patent." If these words were legally affixed to machines constructed to produce perpetual motion, they would hardly suffice to overcome those drawbacks due to friction and gravitation which have always hindered such machines from working in practice as well as they do on paper.

We have now done with the noteworthy speech of Sir Roundell Palmer; but, before passing from the debate, we shall briefly notice what Lord Stanley said on the same side, and what other members said in defence of patents.

Lord Stanley's position is peculiar. At one time he was an ardent and able upholder of patent law; he has become, if not inimical to it, yet unable to support it unreservedly, because no longer able to justify it to his own satisfaction. Reluctantly, but inevitably, he has arrived at the conclusion that no change in the law would suffice to remove an evil which was really irremediable, because inherent in the very principle of the patent laws. Lord Stanley drew what he considered a line of demarcation between patent right and copyright. In his opinion it is an obvious fact "that no two men ever did, or ever would write, independently of one another, exactly the same book; each book, be it good or bad, would stand alone; whereas it might happen, and often did happen, that two or three men, quite independently of one another, could hit upon the same invention." This is a different argument from that used by Sir Roundell Palmer, who regards a book as a "new creation." Nevertheless, the objection to Lord Stanley's argument is similar to that we have urged against Sir Roundell Palmer's. There is as great subtlety and over-refinement in insisting on the clear dissimilarity between any two books, as in believing in the absolute originality of every book. Without taking advantage of the retort that many of the most useful books are so like each other as to be almost undistinguishable except by their title-pages, such as encyclopædias and dictionaries, let us point out that the publication of one book may virtually hinder the publication of another, written perhaps in different words, but dealing with the same subject. The majority of the works which issue from the press are not original in any sense of the word. They are compilations designed to meet a demand. A great man dies: bookmakers at once ransack the library of the British Museum for facts about his life; these facts they string together, and the whole is given to the world. Or the nation's interest is concentrated on some little known part of the globe—Abyssinia, for example. Again the book-maker sets to work, and supplies the desired information. In all these cases, the publisher who is first in the field has the best chance of success. A dozen works in which the same facts

are arranged in different order do not have a greater sale than any one would have, were it alone in the market, and were the price of each book the same. The first comer, then, has the monopoly. Competition with him is hopeless. This is due, however, as much to the fact of his possessing copyright in the book as to the alacrity he has displayed. But for copyright, he would be unable to sell as many books as would remunerate him for his outlay. An unscrupulous member of the trade would at once reprint the work and sell it at a much lower price. The pirate could do this because he had spent nothing in recompensing those who compiled the volume. It is true that with the same facts before him one man may write a book which will be attractive to those to whom the facts are familiar. How many of these books are produced yearly! A glance at the "Publisher's Circular" is hardly needed in order to frame a reply. The truth is that the production of books is as much a trade as the production of inventions, that if lines are to be drawn between copyright and patent right, the theory of literary products must not be pitted against the reality in the case of patentees. The truth must not be blinked that, if a multiplicity of worthless patents be an evil, if the profits of manufacturers are diminished owing to the battle they have to fight with patentees, if the bestowal of patent-right be the source of mischief and the occasion of pecuniary loss, the like complaint may be laid at the door of copyright, and its abolition might be demanded with as great a show of fairness.

An illustration or two embodying actual incidents will at once give point and enhanced value to our argument. If there be one book which is less an original work, and less deserves the title of a creation than another, it is the "London Directory." The notion of compiling such a work may not only occur to any man, but it may be carried into effect by any one who will bring to the task the requisite industry, and expend the required sum in carrying it into effect. Yet a competitor who attempted not long since to interfere with the monopoly of the compiler of that work was compelled to desist, after it had been shown that he took advantage of the work itself to produce his own version. We do not object to this. The decision of the law court was a just one. Still it is impossible for any one who attempts to uphold copyright on the ground taken by Sir Roundell Palmer, and at the same time objects to property in invention, to maintain that the proprietors of the "London Directory" are not monopolists in the same sense as Mr. Young when he claimed the monopoly of extracting paraffin from coal.

Another case furnishes an even more striking example of the hardship which the law of copyright, like the law of patent right,

may inflict upon the innocent man whose sole desire is to benefit himself without injury to his neighbour. The full particulars of what we are about to relate as concisely as possible were given in an article entitled "The Commerce of Literature," which appeared in the number of this *Review* for April 1852. We then told how the first edition of Wheaton's great work on "International Law" appeared in this country in order that its author might secure copyright in it. The sale of that edition was not large; the effect produced by it was not great. Undismayed, and undiscouraged by this failure, its author devoted himself to the completion of another edition which was so much enlarged and improved as to be virtually a new work. This was published in the United States. By accident, two copies of the second edition were forwarded in a parcel of books consigned to an English importer of American publications. The English importer being ignorant of the fact that the work had ever appeared and acquired copyright in this country, advertised it for sale. An agent of the holder of the English copyright in the first edition purchased a copy of the second, and thus placed the importer in the awkward position of a breaker of the law of copyright. The Court of Chancery was at once invoked to punish the man who, though technically guilty, was morally innocent. After great difficulty a compromise was effected, the aggrieved publisher abandoning proceedings on condition that the costs should be paid. These amounted to nearly 50*l*. Surely no man who weighs this case will contend that copyright is free from pitfalls quite as dangerous as any which the most malignant patentee can possibly dig to entrap and punish the unwary. These considerations have not yet had the attention accorded to them which they merit on account of their intrinsic worth and practical bearing. We have little doubt that if carefully weighed they would have much influence on the minds of such men as Sir Roundell Palmer and Lord Stanley, whose opposition to patent laws has been aroused on account of the supposed antagonism of these laws to private good, and to the nation's welfare. Indeed the latter, while supporting Mr. Macfie on the main issue, distinctly repudiated his leading arguments. He told the House that, in principle, property in ideas was recognised whether an author obtained copyright in his book or a schemer a grant of letters-patent for his invention. The several arguments used by Lord Stanley we shall discuss hereafter; when dealing with the policy of a patent law. At present we shall end our comments on the debate by commending the eminently sensible speeches of Mr. Howard, who, as an inventor, patentee, and manufacturer of world-famed agricultural implements had a right to be heard with respect when he unreservedly approved of the retention of the

patent laws, while vigorously urging that they should be thoroughly reformed, and of Mr. Mundella, whose claim to a hearing was equally great when stating that patents enable the working man to profit by the fruit of his ingenuity, that he, a manufacturer of twenty-five years' standing, was the proprietor of more than twenty patents, in each of which a working man was his partner, and that in one case his partner enjoyed an income of 2000*l.* a year.

If the history of patents were better known, there might be less dispute as to the propriety of upholding them. They are not relics of barbarism or legacies of the middle ages. As they now exist they are finger-posts of progress. They indicate at once the distance already travelled, and the direction in which we ought to advance.

From the earliest times down to a comparatively recent period, the Sovereign claimed the prerogative of regulating trade and commerce, of granting special exemptions and privileges to individuals and corporations, of giving charters to towns whereby they took rank as cities, of incorporating companies by charter, and of bestowing on the first discoverer the sole right to enjoy his discovery whether that were an invention, a new trade, or a new country. The great trading companies, such as the East India and the Hudson's Bay Company, were instituted by virtue of this prerogative. In exercising the function of conferring grants under the Great Seal, our Sovereigns were for a long time unchallenged, and when their power was exerted so as to produce general discontent, there were not wanting men of high station and vast learning to defend and uphold Royal prerogative. Bacon stood up in the House of Commons and tried to absolve Elizabeth from blame at the time of her unpopularity owing to the monopolies she created. When, in anticipation of legislative action, she cancelled the patents by reason of which the people were grievously oppressed, the members of the House of Commons were grateful to her for making a sacrifice of her prerogative for the general good. How grinding and intolerable these monopolies were can readily be imagined by those who read that in the case of one, the monopoly of salt, the price per bushel was raised from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 15*s.* The legality of these grants was a moot point. Some contended that Magna Charta forbade monopolies. Sir Edward Coke remarked with his usual force and shrewdness that, while monopolists had always been without law, they had never been without friends. To set these doubts at rest an Act of Parliament was passed in the reign of James I. This was the famous Statute of Monopolies. It declared all monopolies to be contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws

of the realm, and consequently "utterly void and of none effect." In the sixth section, however, special exception was made of letters-patent granted for introducing new manufactures, and for bestowing privileges for fourteen years "to the true and first inventor or inventors of such manufactures," provided these inventions were not in use at the date of the grant, and that the grant was "not contrary to law, nor mischievous to the State by raising prices of commodities at home, or hurt of trade, or generally inconvenient." •

Many of the grants of Letters Patent for inventions made subsequent to this statute were open to grave objection. A Court favourite or man of high rank could obtain a patent, while to the poor man the privilege was denied. Besides, the conditions of the grant were sometimes onerous. Gradually, however, a regular system was adopted, and all those who observed the stated forms, and made the fixed payments, obtained what they desired. Yet, till within the last seventeen years, the scale of payment was so high that patents were the luxury of the rich. A grant comprehending the United Kingdom cost, in fees alone, no less than 350*l*. In 1852, the Legislature remodelled the patent law, and put patent right within the reach of the whole body of inventors. The fees were reduced to 175*l*., while they were made payable in three instalments. Moreover, an inventor was allowed the option of securing patent right for the minimum term of three years, instead of being obliged to accept a grant for the maximum of fourteen. The fees for this are 25*l*. If he desire to prolong his invention for seven years, he can do this by paying 50*l*. immediately before the expiry of the first term, while by a further payment of 100*l*. before the end of the second term, he may enjoy patent right for the remaining four years. This arrangement has many advantages. It exemplifies the progress of legislation, and proves that the system is not an antiquated one, devised in bygone times for a state of society differing from the present, but has been adapted to the exigencies of the days in which we live.

The changes which have marked each step in the progress from the day when the Sovereign bestowed monopolies at pleasure, to the day on which a patent could be claimed as a right by every one fulfilling specified and easy conditions, have been changes towards greater freedom of action on the part of the State, and greater liberty of choice on the part of the people. Yet, while the advance has always been in the right direction, it has not been made by the shortest road. The result has been attained without a due consideration of the influence of the means employed. What is imperatively required now is a more perfect adaptation of means to ends.

Before 1852 there were loud and well-founded complaints about the costliness of patents, the complication of the law, the concealment of important information. When the fees alone amounted to 350*l.* it was difficult for an inventor of moderate means to secure a right to profit by his ingenuity. When a patentee was allowed to include a variety of inventions in one specification—when, for instance, he could simultaneously claim an improved method of propelling ships, making shoes, cutting turnips, it was difficult to ascertain the boundary of his patent right. This was increased by the obstacles which were interposed to defeat investigation of the official documents. He, who desired to search the record of the Patent Office was sure only of having to disburse many shillings, and was uncertain of ever finding the document which he wished to peruse. If by good fortune the parchment-roll was discovered, the chances were against his being able to decipher the handwriting. The character used was intelligible to none but those who had been specially trained to write and read it. In a former article on the “Patent Laws” we quoted a striking illustration of this. We shall reprint the passage, because it will produce more effect than a page of explanation. It is taken from the evidence of Mr. Bennet Woodcroft, the present Superintendent of the Patent Office, given before a Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1851. Having procured a patent for an invention which, as he afterwards learned, had been previously patented by another, and not wishing to make the same mistake a second time, Mr. Woodcroft went to search among the enrolled specifications:—

“The first search, I think, was for an improvement in looms for weaving. The index of the titles took me about two or three months to make. I found some of them in works in the college of the town in which I lived, some in the ‘Repertory of Arts,’ and in other published books on the subject of patents. I then went to London, and it took me about three weeks to make a search for those, various, for weaving, in the Enrolment Offices. There is one great evil I found to exist—namely, that the specifications are enrolled in three different offices, the Rolls Chapel, the Enrolment Office, and the Petty Bag Office, and at none of them had they a complete index of the enrolled specifications of patents; so that, when an inquirer asks for a certain specification, they will look in their index which contains the specifications only which have been enrolled there; and if they have not the specification asked for, they tell him, ‘We have no such enrolled specification, you must go elsewhere;’ then they say, ‘But you must nevertheless pay your fee for the search, that is necessary.’ Then he goes to the next office; if they have it not there the fee for the search is again demanded. He then goes to the third office, and it may not be even there, as the specification may not have been enrolled. So that the inquirer not only loses his time in running to all the three offices, but he is compelled to pay three separate fees.”

The Patent Law Amendment Act of 1852 was called for and framed in order to remove the three evils of costliness, complication, and concealment. When it was under discussion, the propriety of abolishing patents altogether was not seriously entertained. Since then it is that the cry to sweep patents away has been raised. Sir William Armstrong, whose fame and fortune are based on the patented inventions he has successfully worked, was the first man of mark who gave a signal for this cry. His grievance was that the stress of competition had become too great, and that a single inventor could not by taking out a patent act as the virtual monarch over one field of discovery. His complaints were accepted in many quarters as indisputable proofs of the iniquity of a Patent Law. Himself a patentee and inventor of eminence, it was considered improbable that he would call for the abolition of patents unless there were valid and weighty reasons against sanctioning them. Nobody who agreed with him seemed to have even suspected that the root of the evil and excuse for the complaint were to be found in the imperfection of the law itself.

The year before the Act of 1852 came into operation, 458 patents were granted; in the succeeding year the number was 2071. The annual average since then has been between two and three thousand. Of these grants a large number have related to inventions for alleged improvements, a smaller number for real improvements, and a considerable proportion for trifling alterations in patents already in force. As a necessary consequence of this, there has ensued a clashing of individual interests. Had it not been for the publicity given to every specification, the result would have been most disastrous, for patentees would have engaged in legal contests with each other and with the public, in utter ignorance of the extent and character of their rights and of their powers. From this fate they were saved by the arrangements made by the Commissioners of Patents. Every specification was published and sold at a low price. Complete indexes were compiled and published. The Patent Office Library was founded, and opened to the public free of charge. Thus the inventor, instead of acting in the dark, as he had to do in former days, was able to make himself acquainted with that which it behoved him to know. It was absurd to plead that a patent had been infringed in ignorance, when it was certain that the ignorance, if not wilful, was wholly inexcusable.

Yet these improvements gave scope to the perpetration of gross imposture. Men who could invent nothing were able to suggest a slight improvement on an invention which had sprung from the fertile and original brain of a true and first inventor; yet for these trivial changes a patent can be secured to them.

The market is now crowded with competing patents, few of which may be of any great value, but all of which may be productive of embarrassment. Here then is the real source of the mischief against which Mr. Macfie declaims. The Patent Law is too lax in its action. In order to be thoroughly defensible, it requires to be remodelled in such a way as to confer on a real inventor something more than a barren title, and to give to the sham inventor something less injurious than the power to coerce and annoy the honest manufacturer.

Members of Parliament and others who denounce property in ideas, have often hazy and ludicrous notions about the extent to which letters-patent give a monopoly in ideas. If a man discover the effect of the actinic rays of light on nitrate of silver, he becomes master of a new idea, and may by publishing his discovery make the public share in his knowledge. Another man gives practical effect to this, and produces a sun-picture on a piece of glass or a sheet of paper. Or one man discovers a bed of ironstone or a seam of coal, and another invents an apparatus for smelting the ore or winning the coal. In either case the one who practically applies the "idea" is alone in a position to become a patentee. On this head Mr. Dircks, in his able and useful volume, pertinently remarks—

"A suggestion, however acutely made or promising in appearance, is but an *idea*, which, with whatever amount of experience it may have been propounded, still retains an entirely mental form, open to some doubt, wanting in proof to convince sceptical minds, and is *not*, therefore, an invention. To suggest that water should be decomposed, and its elements, hydrogen and oxygen, employed to generate heat by the use of jets as in the oxyhydrogen blowpipe, to be lighted by an electric spark, does not amount to the *making* of an invention. It merely *suggests* to others what they may *make* and apply, the manner and means, with other details, being omitted. Ideas and opinions are not therefore, and cannot be classed as inventions."

Indeed, as Mr. Dircks justly says—

"Inventors becoming patentees soon learn that discoveries, not being inventions, can *not* become the subjects of patents, for the legislature has very properly determined that elementary principles, such indeed as are the results of discoveries made from time to time in science, shall not be patentable, but only any useful applications of such principles" (p. 33).

The inventor appears and renders the barren idea fruitful in great works. After many failures he succeeds in devising the process or constructing the machine which gives practical effect to the speculation. He removes the question from the cloudy

region of conjecture more or less plausible, to the solid ground of ascertained and demonstrated fact. The discoverer enlarges the sum of human knowledge; the inventor increases the compass of human power. An invention once made is a new instrument, which when placed in the hands of men, enables them to accomplish feats which they had deemed impossible.

The inventor fashions the instrument, but he need not part with it unless he think fit. He may conceal the circumstance of having it in his possession. When he dies the secret of its manufacture dies with him. In that case he has lived in vain, and his work has to be done over again from the beginning. Now, a patent law operates as an inducement to make a full disclosure of the invention. It makes the public the inventor's legatee. His reward consists in the profit he can make by possessing special and personal control over it for fourteen years. Almost every one who has given adequate attention to the subject is impressed with the force of this consideration. Mr. Dircks adverts to it as follows:—

“Invention and secrecy go hand-in-hand. Inventors, as such, are not an associated body; each doubts his neighbour, and scarcely dares to announce his possession of a secret. ‘Tell me the nature of your secret and I shall soon be near finding it out,’ is the warning voice that checks communication. Experimental operations are conducted in secret; and the inventor has often to grope in the dark for want of a judicious adviser; therefore secrecy is very often the great drawback to an inventor's progress, from his acting in too self-dependent a manner, with insufficient conference with those who could aid him, but by whom he fears he might be anticipated. It is only when he has obtained a patent that he can openly and safely test the entire properties and value of his invention” (p. 47).

Abolish patent law, and the inventor is not certain of having either inducement to make the disclosure or any hope of reward. He ought to be satisfied, it is said, with the consciousness of doing good and the gratitude of the public. The proposition is one which has never been made in the case of others than inventors. Suppose a member of parliament were to propose that contracts between landlords and tenants were the iniquitous relics of feudalism, and that the laws which sanction and give validity to them should be repealed. Would this suggestion be readily accepted, even when supported by the argument that the gratitude of the tenant would always insure the payment of an adequate rent to the landlord. Our public servants do not think the consciousness of doing good ample remuneration for their services to the State. Ministers of the crown, generals, and admirals are not lowered in public estimation because the return of quarter-day serves as a stimulus to their efforts.

It is a matter of fact that inventors will not disclose their secrets except in exchange for a substantial guarantee that they will be fairly dealt with. Mr. Dircks has compiled a most instructive list of the "secret inventions, employed from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, in substitution of letters-patent." The actual merit of these inventions cannot now be determined. Their owners merely disclosed as much as might tempt those to whom they applied for pecuniary help to pay for a full disclosure. Those who purchased them with a view to carrying them into effect had to resort to stratagems to carry on their manufacture. Probably many purchasers were by no means satisfied with their bargain. The quack and the impostor could sell his worthless secret on as profitable terms as the inventor of integrity and genius.

But, as pointed out by Mr. Dircks:—

"When, in 1852, patent charges were so considerably reduced that a comparatively small fee gave certain security to an inventor, it became evident to the body of possessors of '*secrets*,' that their field of operation was curtailed, and it was no longer of avail to promise to others thousands of pounds which might be secured by a small patent charge; or at all events, when an advance of a few pounds for a patent was all they could reasonably show, it was requisite for them to call on their dupes to advance as a preliminary step. The abolishing of the patent system would most assuredly bring about a revival of their infamous cheaterly in the sale of pretended *secrets*; and consequently, *the charlatan's best friend is the advocate of the abolition of all patent right for invention.*"

It has been proposed to replace letters-patent by grants from the national purse. This is to revert to an obsolete custom. During the eighteenth century it was fairly tried, and the result should serve as a warning now. Seventy thousand pounds were distributed among plausible inventors in the course of fifty years. The advantage to the public was *nil*. The encouragement given to imposture was the only tangible result. Johanna Stephens obtained 5000*l.* for disclosing the secret of her cure for the stone. A Mr. Blake got 2500*l.* to assist him in perfecting his scheme for transporting fish to London by land, while a Mr. Foden was greatly overpaid with 500*l.* "to enable him to prosecute a discovery made by him of a paste as a substitute for wheat-flour." Give a man a sum of money for his invention, and you run the risk of paying him either too much or too little. Give him a patent, and you secure the invention for the public, while his remuneration in money is absolutely determined according to its value. If the invention enrich him, it must also have benefited the nation. If the invention be a delusion, the public suffers no loss and the patentee reaps no gain. As a means

for providing that the reward shall be fairly apportioned to the service rendered, and shall be paid by those who profit by it, the grant of letters-patent takes precedence of any arrangement hitherto made, and of every proposition yet advanced.

Lord Stanley is not convinced of this, because among the three objections he made to the principle of patents one is the impossibility of establishing "any proportion between the public service rendered and the value of the reward, nominally for that service." But if the force of this objection can be considered adequate to justify the abolition of patent law, then inasmuch as by a parity of reasoning a like objection equally forcible may be urged against copyright law, it also ought to be abolished. We have good reasons for believing that that distinguished ornament of the English Church as well as of the republic of letters, the late Dean Milman, received a smaller sum for writing his "History of Christianity," than has been awarded to Dr. Cumming for his "Apocalyptic Sketches," or his "Millennial Rest;" and yet, while confessing our inability to compute the exact value of Dr. Cumming's writings we feel no hesitation in saying that "the public service" he has rendered by giving them to the world is certainly a *minus* quantity, whereas the public service rendered by Dean Milman's learned and elaborate work is a *positive* boon both to the present and to coming generations—a boon the worth of which it is difficult to over-estimate. Indeed in the history of literature the fact that intrinsically worthless books often procure large incomes for their authors, while books embodying the products of real genius or the life-long labours of scientific men, generally yield their authors nothing, and frequently involve them in loss, is so notorious as no longer to excite surprise. But any minister, who recognising this fact, and considering it a valid objection to the copyright law, should therefore ask parliament to abolish that law, would find himself in the midst of a literary storm from which he would soon be glad to escape by abandoning his proposal. Authors feel keenly, and we think justly, that there is no property to which men have such unquestionable titles as to that which is produced by their own brains; and seeing that inventions emanate quite as directly from the brains of inventors as books do from the brains of their authors, surely the title to the property is as good in the one case as it is in the other. While freely admitting that just as no conceivable copyright law will ever be able to insure the recompense of authors according to the amount of benefit they confer, so no conceivable patent law can ever reward inventors in due proportion to "the public service" they render, we nevertheless hold it to be an imperative duty of the State to maintain these laws, subject to such amendments from time to time as enlightened

experience may dictate. Whatever defects may then be necessarily inherent in them do but illustrate still further the well-known truth that as a rule human justice is fallible, and at best a mere approximation to the ideal right, but till a better method than what is now understood by copyright and patent right be proposed, it is expedient to employ that we possess, notwithstanding its imperfection. Nor can we accept the alternative of throwing inventors on the bounty of the nation, and making them recipients of public charity, to be such a counter-proposal as to fairly meet the difficulties of the case and dispose of objections on the other side. Another of Lord Stanley's objections is that the right man hardly ever gets the reward. As he puts it, litigation being costly, and the grant of patent right merely amounting to permission to take legal proceedings against infringers, the poor man has no chance of asserting and defending his rights. "If a poor inventor took out a patent, and the patent promised to be productive, in nine cases out of ten he was obliged to sell it to some one who could command capital enough to defend it in a court of law." We submit this proves nothing more than that the poor inventor, in nine cases out of ten, deserves our pity. But then, if these nine inventors are unfortunate, that does not justify the ill-treatment of the tenth. At the worst, the possession of a patent gives the poor man a power to make terms with a capitalist he would not otherwise have. Once the rich man has learned his secret, he may be dismissed with those empty thanks which are the most cruel of insults. The poor man has no redress should he be robbed of the fruits of his skill. With a patent in his possession he can at least make a bargain, and if he finds one capitalist niggardly he can try another. Even if he should not get all he ought to have, he gets something. But he may prove more successful in practice than Lord Stanley makes him in theory. Speaking after Lord Stanley, Mr. Mundella told the House of Commons that he always had a working man as a partner in the twenty patents he had successfully worked. In truth, this objection, even if well founded, does not really strike at the principle of a patent law. The State is not bound to take into account the incidence of legislation on particular individuals. If the community as a whole be more prosperous or better satisfied when under one arrangement than under another, the exceptional effects of that legislation should never be taken into account. Under any system, cases of individual hardship must take place. Whether railways are made or Corn Laws repealed, the many gain at the cost of the few. The poor man, to whom a patent is a white elephant, may be the proper object of our commiseration, but his misfortune cannot be accepted as the

basis of argument with regard to those who may be in a position to reap solid advantage as well as glory from that which renders him wretched and proves his ruin.

The third of Lord Stanley's objections brings us face to face with the practical changes which must be made in the law, in order that the principle of patents may not excite condemnation. He laments his inability to discover any arrangement to "prevent great injury and inconvenience being inflicted on third parties." This injury is said to consist firstly, in this, that if several men compete together, and one of them perfects and patents an invention a week before any of the others, he gains an unfair advantage over them; and secondly, in this, that when the successful working of a process depends upon several successive inventions, the last giving commercial value to it, the holder of the patent for the last invention has the game in his own hands. Now, we must reiterate our disbelief in the competition being so close as Lord Stanley supposes. A few well-authenticated facts would be useful in this matter. At present, disappointed patentees and jealous manufacturers may complain of the hardships they endure without fear of being detected. It is so much easier to assert that some one had anticipated some one else, than to prove that even had the successful patentee not pointed out the road, others would still have reached the goal. The facts we have before us point a different moral. During the past year or two the inventive industry of Europe and America has been employed in producing improved rifles and cannon. If A., B., and C. may simultaneously discover the same thing in England, why should not C., D., and E. discover it at the same time in France or Prussia also? Yet Prussia's needle-gun differs essentially from the Chassepot, the Snider rifle differs from both, while the Martigny-Henry, which is to be our national breech-loader, differs from all of them. The Whitworth and Armstrong guns are very different from the Rodman and Krupp guns. As for Moncrief's gun-platform, it is without a rival. Now, if the tendency to hit upon the same thing were so great as we are told it is, how comes it that in matters like these—matters which have occupied the minds of thousands at the same time, there should be such marked diversity? Again then, we ask for proofs of the allegation that six men are often on the track of the self-same invention.

The second form of the injury complained of, that which takes the shape of a final invention giving commercial value to the series of which it is the crown, is a more genuine grievance. It is due, however, to defects in the law, and not to the principle embodied therein. In France and Belgium this objection cannot be urged. The patent laws of both those countries em-

power the inventor to add what are called patents of improvement to his original specification, and they forbid any one, other than the patentee who makes the improvement and obtains a patent for it, to work it without the consent of the first inventor. If to this were added a system of compulsory licenses, the amount of royalty to be determined by a tribunal, in the event of the parties failing to come to terms, nearly all the really serious and valid objections to the working of a patent law would be obviated.*

The whole case stands thus: Some manufacturers complain that they are hampered by patents, that they know not what to do lest they should infringe the right of some monopolist, and are without legal remedy should the monopolist refuse to grant them a license to make his apparatus or work his process. We think these representations overcharged. If things were so bad as Mr. Macfie would have us suppose, then trade and manufacture would come to a standstill in the United Kingdom. It would be difficult to avert a deadlock for a week. What chiefly excites suspicion is the quietude with which the aggrieved manufacturers bear their sufferings, and the uniformity with which they give tokens that all has gone well with them. They live in fine houses, ride in splendid carriages, send their sons to the University, and secure for themselves seats in Parliament. Even Mr. Macfie, who went before a Royal Commission on the patent laws to give evidence as an aggrieved manufacturer, was constrained to admit that his grievances were wholly imaginary and prospective. Having said, in answer to Lord Stanley, "The only thing which I care for, speaking as representing a large class, is to get quit of the annoyance which patents are calculated to give us manufacturers," he was asked some other questions and he made some replies which are so curious and instructive that we shall quote them entire:—

"1945 (*Lord Overstone*). Do you find by actual experience that that annoyance is serious?—I cannot say that we have found it so. That is a thing which surprises me very much; but if there should be a reform of the laws which would multiply patents, and which would invest patentees with increased power, the state of matters would become very troublesome."

"1947. Do I understand you correctly, that your experience in the sugar trade does not lead you to say that the multiplication of useless patents in existence creates inconvenience and embarrassment in the prosecution

* Mr. Dirks suggests that it would be expedient to grant protection during a term not to exceed *five* years for "Improvements," and afterwards to extend that term in cases in which it should appear, on further consideration, that the "Improvement" was found worthy of being ranked as an Invention.

of your trade?—I wish to give the answer as bluntly as I can. Though they might be expected to be an annoyance to us, they are not; but any day they might become so. Judging from the reason of the case, one would say that they are mischievous. I know that they must be, and yet as a matter of fact patentees have neglected things of so little value, and they have so neglected to push their business, thereby saving us the trouble of satisfying them by proof that there is no use being made of their inventions, that we have not found the multiplicity of patents a great inconvenience.”

“1952. Of all the patents which you have enumerated, how many do you make use of in the prosecution of your business?—I doubt if we make use of a single one.”

“1953. There being 400 patents affecting your trade now alive, and none of which you make use of, are you seriously embarrassed in any way by the existence of those patents?—I do not think that we use a single patent taken out since the cheapening of patents. I may make this qualification. An individual has patented in his own name one or two things which he learned by executing a piece of work to our order, and has therefore patented what we consider our ideas; but it is not worth our while to go to him and say, ‘you have no right to patent this.’”

“1954. There being 400 patents now in existence affecting your trade, some of which are made use of by you, do you find that the existence of those patent rights creates impediment, and interruption, and inconvenience in the prosecution of your business?—Not in the smallest degree; but if patentees were troublesome, as they might become under a change of the law, and with a better organization, we should find our business so uncomfortable that it would be almost necessary to retire from it. Every one of those parties might come and allege that we were infringing some patent, and might bring us before a court, as that person did to whom I have referred.”

The foregoing evidence does not stand in need of much comment or explanation in order to heighten its effect. It was given in the presence of Lord Stanley, and it has doubtless been perused by Sir Roundell Palmer. We infer that when Sir Roundell complimented Mr. Macfie on his qualifications as a practical man for bringing the subject before the House of Commons, the praise was in reality veiled sarcasm. As for Lord Stanley, he did not hesitate to dissent from Mr. Macfie’s arguments, while giving a qualified support to his motion. Till the opponents of patents are more precise in their statements and more lavish with their details of actual hardships, we shall regard the outcry of the “practical men” as raised for interested purposes. Indeed, when the “public” that has declared against patents is analysed, it is found to consist, for the most part, of manufacturers who desire to be let alone, and who dread losing the monopoly of the market owing to the operations and energy of patentees. The few men of rank, influence, and unblemished

reputation, who take the same side, seem to have listened too exclusively to the representations made by these manufacturers. If the complaints of these men are as baseless as those of Mr. Macfie, if, like him, they desire the abolition of patents now, lest at some future time they may be inconvenienced by them; if, like him, they "call out before they are hurt," desiring a revolution in order to gratify a whim; then we can as little aid them in their projects as we can congratulate them on the choice of the spokesman who pleads their cause. We prefer to think that the true opinions of the great and enlightened manufacturers of England are expressed by such men of note as Mr. Howard and Mr. Mundella. What these men demand now, and what we desired five years ago, ought, we think, to be granted at once, and in large measure, and that is, a thorough reform of the patent laws.

By the suggestions proffered in this Review in 1864, we are still disposed to abide.* The lapse of time has but strengthened many of the objections we then advanced. The surplus yielded by patent fees amounted in 1867 to the enormous sum of 660,247*l*. Instead of this being employed in erecting a suitable office and museum, or in some way which directly benefits inventors, it has been paid into the Exchequer and treated as a part of the country's revenue. If but half the energy expended in denouncing patents were employed in reorganizing the Patent Office, the nation would have reason to be grateful. In the event of Parliament dealing with the subject, we hope that this branch of it will receive special and careful treatment.

Whatever changes are made in the law itself, the following points should be always borne in mind: A patent ought to be obtainable at a small cost by the first inventor; it should not hamper the action of a preceding patentee, and it should confer a title which, when disputed, can be substantiated with ease. The fees charged should be low for the first term of years. A board of examiners should say that an invention is old, if there be indisputable evidence before them to prove that it is not original. If the inventor should then choose to run the risk let him do so, but let the opinion of the Board be stamped on his patent. In order that preceding patentees should not be hampered, let facilities be given for patents of improvements, on the French or Belgian model being obtained at a nominal charge by the original patentee. The introduction of compulsory licenses, the amount of royalty to be determined by arbitration when differences of opinion could not otherwise

* "The Patent Laws," *Westminster Review*, October, 1864, pp. 355, 356, 357.

be reconciled, would remove many of the complaints now made. In order to render the title clear and the specification valid, the existing system of granting provisional protection should be abolished. When not a delusion, the provisional protection is a snare. Yet, after every possible improvement has been adopted, we cannot conclude that litigation will necessarily be rendered impossible. A tribunal should be instituted for the trial of patent cases. When the cost of trying questions relating to patents is now cited as an argument against their maintenance, it is forgotten that in the existing courts it is hardly possible for justice to be administered when the parties aggrieved are either patentees or patentees and the public.

Speaking on behalf of the public, we maintain that a patent law is necessary in any civilized community, because without its protection industry cannot flourish and ingenuity can have no scope for its triumphs. And as the wisdom of granting patents has been called in question by men whose opinions are entitled to respectful consideration, we think it expedient to show that, in so far as the weight of authority is concerned, it preponderates immensely in favour of holding out to inventors the prospect of such recompense as a wisely-framed patent law would give them.

Jeremy Bentham, quoted by Mr. Dircks (p. 87), expressed himself as follows :—

“There is one species of privilege certainly very advantageous—the patents which are granted in England for a limited time for inventions in arts and manufactures. Of all the methods of exciting and rewarding industry, this is the least burthensome, and the most exactly proportional to the merits of the invention. * * * With respect to a great number of inventions in the arts, an exclusive privilege is absolutely necessary in order that what is sown may be reaped. In new inventions, protection against imitators is not less necessary than in established manufactures protection against thieves. He that has no hope that he shall reap, will not take the trouble to sow.”

Mr. J. R. McCulloch, whose testimony is also adduced by Mr. Dircks (p. 87), observes :—

“The expediency of granting patents has been disputed; though, as it would seem, without any sufficient reason. Were they refused, the inducement to make discoveries would in many cases be very much weakened; at the same time that it would plainly be for the interest of every one who made a discovery to endeavour, if possible, to conceal it.”

The emphatic language in which Mr. J. S. Mill condemns the attempt to effect the abolition of the patent law is so appropriate as a comment on the recent debate in the House of Commons,

that it seems as if it had been written expressly in reference to that event.

"The condemnation of monopolies ought not to extend to patents, by which the originator of an improved process is allowed to enjoy for a limited period, the exclusive privilege of using his own improvement. This is not making the commodity dear for his benefit, but merely postponing a part of the increased cheapness which the public owe to the inventor, in order to compensate and reward him for the service. That he ought to be both compensated and rewarded for it, will not be denied, and also that if all were at once allowed to avail themselves of his ingenuity, without having shared the labours or the expenses which he had to incur in bringing his idea into a practical shape, either such expenses and labours would be undergone by nobody except very opulent and public-spirited persons, or the State must put a value on the service rendered by an inventor, and make him a pecuniary grant. This has been done in some instances, and may be done without inconvenience in cases of very conspicuous public benefit; but in general an exclusive privilege, of temporary duration, is preferable; because it leaves nothing to any one's discretion; because the reward conferred by it depends upon the invention's being found useful, and the greater the usefulness the greater the reward; and because it is paid by the very persons to whom the service is rendered, the consumers of the commodity. So decisive, indeed, are those considerations, that if the system of patents were abandoned for that of rewards by the State, the best shape which these could assume would be that of a small temporary tax, imposed for the inventor's benefit, on all persons making use of the invention. To this, however, or to any other system which would vest in the State the power of deciding whether any inventor should derive any pecuniary advantage from the public benefit which he confers, the objections are evidently stronger and more fundamental than the strongest which can possibly be urged against patents. It is generally admitted that the present patent laws need much improvement; but in this case, as well as in the closely analogous one of copyright, it would be a gross immorality in the law to set everybody free to the use of a person's work without his consent, and without giving him an equivalent. I have seen with real alarm several recent attempts, in quarters carrying some authority, to impugn the principle of patents altogether; attempts which if practically successful, would enthrone free stealing under the prostituted name of free trade, and make the men of brains, still more than at present, the needy retainers and dependents of the men of money-bags."*

Sir David Brewster expresses himself to the same effect,† and declares that—

"If the violation of the great charter of English liberty would

* "Principles of Political Economy," Sixth Edition, Vol. II. pp. 551-2.

† Quoted by Mr. Dircks from an Article in the *North British Review*.

justify the citizen in renouncing his allegiance to the Crown, the confiscation of man's intellectual property, given him by God, and consecrated by reason, would justify that extreme resistance which even loyalty is sometimes compelled to oppose to injustice."

In conclusion we beg to direct the special attention of our readers to the work the title of which stands at the head of this article. It consists of three parts, headed respectively—The Philosophy of Invention; The Rights and Wrongs of Inventors; and Early Inventors' Inventories of Secret Inventions, thirteenth to seventeenth century. The whole subject of the first part is treated in a lucid and comprehensive manner, and with remarkable discrimination and judgment. The author points out a broad and well-defined distinction between discoveries and inventions, a distinction which, if duly observed, would remove altogether one of the greatest objections often urged against patents. In discussing the rights and wrongs of inventors, Mr. Dircks shows himself thoroughly familiar with every aspect of his subject, and with every argument which has been used for and against a patent law. He strenuously advocates the maintenance of such a law, because he is firmly convinced of its justice. His collection of Early Inventors' Inventories of Secret Inventions is very curious and instructive; and the book, as a whole, is a very valuable armoury of facts and arguments. It entitles Mr. Dircks to the gratitude of the large body of inventors whose cause he has so ably pleaded, and is a work which every one interested in the maintenance of their rights ought to peruse with care.



ART. V.—MR. MILL'S ANALYSIS OF THE MIND.

Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind. By JAMES MILL. A New Edition, with Notes Illustrative and Critical, by Alexander Bain, Andrew Findlater, and George Grote. Edited, with additional notes, by John Stuart Mill. London: 1869.

WHAT is the general spirit that characterizes each of the two leading schools of philosophy? What keeps them in a state of perpetual war? Why is it that even in Psychology, a subject that seems concerned only with plain matter of fact, wholly irreconcilable views are given forth by the rival sects? Whether we look to the history of speculation, or to the theories prevailing at the present day, we shall find pretty much the same

answer to these questions. The two parties have been animated with different purposes, and have sought inconsistent ends. The impulse of the *à posteriori* or experiential school, from Locke downwards, has been to analyse the phenomena of mind into the simplest possible elements, tempered more or less by deference to the established beliefs of mankind. The desire of the *à priori* or intuitional philosophers, on the other hand, has been to conserve dogmas and accredited opinions at the risk of checking scientific curiosity—the mainspring of all intellectual progress. In resolving into their naked elements those complex states around which some of the strongest feelings of human nature are gathered, the psychologist is accused of destroying a worship, and of presenting instead the *disjecta membra* of an idol. The *à posteriori* philosophy subjects the moral and emotional to the purely scientific interest; the *à priori* philosophy subjects the scientific to the religious interest. When the result of a scientific analysis appears to come into collision with a cherished dogma, we can see, according as one or the other prevails, with which side in philosophy a man will probably cast in his lot. We may observe an example of this in the opposition between Dr. Priestley and Dr. Reid. Priestley carried into the study of mind the same inductive spirit that had led him to so many discoveries in physics; and when his philosophical opinions clashed with his religious beliefs, he modified or explained the latter in consistency with the results of his inquiries. He accuses Reid of multiplying beyond all endurance ultimate principles, primary and inexplicable beliefs, and of attempting to hem in scientific research within the limits permitted by the crude, unsifted, untested, unanalysed impressions of the common mind. Reid was at first a believer in the philosophical doctrines upon which Hume founded his so-called scepticism, and might have continued so to the end, had he not seen, or thought he saw, that those doctrines were founded on principles subversive of religion. If Hume had confined himself to Metaphysics or Psychology, if he had not audaciously trespassed on the sacred domain of theology, Reid would not have invented the philosophy of "Common Sense," speculation in this country would have run in a different channel, V. Cousin would have lost the material of his rhetorical platitudes, and Sir W. Hamilton would not have undertaken to restore, nor succeeded in extinguishing, the Scotch philosophy. More recently we find Dr. Stirling, in his book on Hegel, explicitly and avowedly asking adherence to the most daring scheme of transcendentalism, on the ground that it, and it alone, can furnish support to some religious dogmas in which he feels an interest.

Among those who, in the spirit of thorough-going analysis, and

in the sure path of inductive research, have endeavoured to embrace the facts of mind in a distinct and independent science, the name of James Mill occupies an honoured and distinguished place. In his own walk he has few rivals, and still fewer predecessors. The Cartesian school subordinated Psychology to Metaphysics. Even Locke, although he may be regarded as the Father of Inductive Psychology, made his analysis of the mind subservient to the metaphysical problem that stands in the foreground of his *Essay on the Understanding*. The grand service that he rendered was the destruction of that ancient superstition whose baleful influence repressed every attempt to penetrate into the constitution of the mind—the doctrine of innate ideas. It was held that we possessed from birth a set of notions or beliefs—the gift of nature—not amenable to criticism, but bringing with themselves the conviction of their infallibility—which gave us conclusive information regarding the World, the Soul, the existence and character of God, which told us what we ought to do in this world, and what would become of us in the next. If this were so, the psychologist would have little to do beyond making out an inventory or register of the unchallenged rescripts of nature. Locke set before himself a very different task. He sought to trace to their origin in the senses those complex ideas that had been the objects of so much unprofitable wonder and awe. He discovered the components of many abstract ideas, but he failed to show how these were welded together, the process by which the mind constructed out of so many pieces an apparently indivisible whole. The reason was that he did not avail himself of the Laws of Association; his chapter on that subject was an afterthought, and has no organic connexion with the rest of his work. In spite of the popularity of Locke's works, and the general spread of his principles, it was long before this deficiency was supplied. Hartley made the first attempt to trace in a systematic and exhaustive manner the laws of association through every department of mind; and sought them not only in intellectual acquisition, but in the genesis of the emotions, in the formation of habits, and in the very roots of the will. The expansive power of steam was known to all the world for thousands of years before Watt invented the steam-engine; so the laws of association were known to Plato and Aristotle; they had been the common but neglected property of all the schools of thought; they were occasionally invoked to explain particular acquisitions; but until Hartley, no one took them as the basis of a scientific exposition of the mind, or tried to solve, by their aid, the more recondite metaphysical problems. Hartley's work was imperfect; the pioneer is seldom able to lay down the exact geography of a country. Mr. James Mill, following in the path taken by Hartley,

with greater power as a thinker and writer, carried the association-theory to more successful results. He took up in its most comprehensive aspect the problem of the "original of our ideas," that had engaged the attention of Locke, but with the more powerful instrument of analysis discovered by Hartley. One of the improvements he introduced is of special interest. He signalized and illustrated the case of Inseparable Association, by which may be explained in harmony with the experiential philosophy the facts relied on by the opposite school as the foundation of their opinions.

The question may be asked, Can the "Analysis of the Human Mind" possess for us more than a historical interest? Does it deserve to be ranked along with the works of living psychologists as a text-book for instruction? Or rather, since inductive science is in its nature progressive, and the discoveries of yesterday are left behind to-day, may we not consider it as virtually superseded by the recent works coming from the same school? It may be doubted whether any great and original work on the mind can ever be so safely forgotten as old treatises on physical science. The science of ethics has passed through many phases since Plato wrote, and yet we shall nowhere find a more thorough exposition of some of the fundamental difficulties of the subject than in his "Republic." Especially in the descriptive anatomy of the mind, the individuality of the writer counts for something; no one can expect to be equally successful in delineating all the phases of our thoughts and feelings. The Analysis possesses a high value as a logical discipline. The author gives no quarter to vague and uncertain propositions; he defines his terms with the most praiseworthy care, and if he does not always command assent, he never fails to make clear his meaning. His book gives many beautiful examples of scientific inquiry, and his bracing vigour ought to be an admirable tonic to those whose tendency is to grow flabby in the enervating and cloudy regions of Metaphysics. He avoids the error of Reid, who mixes metaphysical discussion with his psychology, so producing an inevitable compound of bad Psychology and bad Metaphysics. Reid's psychology consists merely of a description of the more complex phenomena of mind, with scarce an effort, indeed often with an insurmountable repugnance to analyse them. The author of the Analysis begins where Reid ends, and tries to give a thorough dissection of those highly abstract operations that he is content barely to describe. In the application of scientific methods of research, and in logical exactness and perspicuity, the Analysis excels, and now that it appears in a new shape, ought, for purposes of philosophical education, to supersede Reid's humbler attempts

at mental analysis. There is another reason why we welcome this new edition. Of the two leading modes of exposition open to a philosophical writer—the analytic and the synthetic—Mr. Mill has chosen the former. Each possesses characteristic merits. The synthetic mode, beginning with the elements, and tracing their combinations up to the most complex wholes, is best adapted for scientific purposes. It is pre-eminently the order of exposition. It is not, however, the order of investigation or discovery. Nature presents us with concrete wholes, which science tries to resolve into the simplest elements, and from which it seeks to evolve the laws that regulate their connexion and aggregation. This—the natural sequence of our studies—is the order into which Mr. Mill has cast his book. He takes up the chief faculties of the mind, and, analysing them, works his way down to primary and indecomposable sensations. And since to obtain a perfect mastery of the mental operations we should be able both to analyse and to recombine, to separate into parts and to put these together again, there is an obvious advantage in being able to fall back upon the analytical exposition of Mr. Mill, as well as upon the synthetical exposition of Professor Bain. The full amount of this advantage is preserved in the present edition. The work is elaborately annotated, or rather, we should say, accompanied by a running fire of short dissertations, which bring it abreast of the most recent improvements, and which at every stage warn the reader where Mr. Mill's views are now considered defective or erroneous. The notes by the editor, Mr. J. S. Mill, are mainly concerned with logical and metaphysical points; the more purely psychological notes are from the pen of Professor Bain. Mr. James Mill seems to have trusted for his learning to Mr. Harris and Dr. Cudworth, and the consequent mistakes give rise to several dissertations (chiefly historical) by Mr. Grote. Some errors of Horne Tooke, also adopted by Mr. James Mill for purposes of illustration, are corrected by Dr. Findlater in a few excellent notes, into which he compresses some of the most interesting generalizations of Philology.

There is one defect in the *Analysis* that the editor could not supply: the author never availed himself of the results of *Physiology*. His only resource was his observations of his own mind, and of the words and actions of other men. It may be said that *Physiology* was, in his time, in a backward state, but he did not seek even such light as it was able to throw on his inquiries.

If mind and body, as in some form or other is universally admitted, reciprocally affect each other, it is impossible to give an adequate account of one which shall not include the other.

What makes philosophers shrink from this obvious truth is the dread of being landed in Materialism. Every attempt to explain a psychological problem by introducing physiological suppositions, is regarded as an effort to reduce mind to matter. The incautious remarks of some writers give a colour to the prejudice. Hume speaks of "that little agitation of the brain which we call thought," and of "the curious machinery of thought;" from which he might be supposed to mean that "thinking" and "cerebral activity" were identical phenomena. Karl Vogt, making use of a misleading analogy, says the brain secretes thought. Such expressions, if interpreted literally and strictly, involve an incredible blunder. That the various operations of the mind are connected with changes in the nervous system, is a true and important doctrine; that the operations *are* those very changes is an opinion that contradicts the clearest and best marked of all the distinctions known to consciousness—that between the objective and the subjective, between matter and mind. If what is called materialism affirms the identity of the mental processes with the changes in the brain, it embraces a gratuitous fallacy, and exposes itself to needless reproach. All that the doctrine, properly understood, is bound to make out, is the complete dependence of mind upon the material organization. To a certain extent the connexion is indisputable; all recognise that our sensations depend on the senses. But if those who generally assume the defence of the counter-proposition are asked to go further, to allow, for example, that ideas are related in a similar way to the nervous system, they exhibit reluctance owing to the ever-present dread of materialism.

It was not always so. The great fathers of Spiritualistic Philosophy—Plato and Descartes—never shrunk from physical hypotheses. Whether it was that they had more confidence in their opinion than their successors, or that they saw less clearly the hostile tendency of physiological explanations, they have left for the edification of posterity some very curious examples. The necessity of a double-sided treatment of mind was emphatically recognised by Aristotle; Lord Bacon indicates as a distinct subject of scientific study, the relation and interaction of mind and body. Malebranche attributed Imagination as well as sensation to the brain; he even suggests a physical basis for memory, for the reason why we forget our dreams is that they do not leave any images on the brain. Absurd as this notion is, it shows how ready was Descartes' aptest pupil to consider hypotheses that would now be considered to savour of Materialism. On the other hand, Locke, who was hostile to the school of thought represented by Descartes, distinctly refuses to embarrass himself with any physiological hypotheses. This is the

more striking, because Locke, like Hartley afterwards, was a physician, and must have been able, if any man was, to turn physiology to good account. The reason is to be sought partly in the backward state of the science, but still more in Locke's resolute adherence to the limited inquiry he prescribed to himself. He desired to learn how far the plumb-line of human thought could reach; to this object his inquiry into the mind was subsidiary, and he would not risk the safety of the greater object to attain more perfectly the less. Mr. James Mill has imitated the reticence of Locke without the same excuse. Perhaps the vibratory hypothesis of Hartley had discouraged him; but whatever the reason, he forsook the tradition of Hobbes and Hartley. This is an unfortunate deficiency in Psychology. Some problems, such as those concerning unconscious impressions, are hardly susceptible of intelligible statement without introducing the action of the nervous system. The author's account of the reflex actions is impaired by the want of sound physiology. From neglecting the physical concomitants of the feelings, he introduces some confusion into his explanation of the will, and he is unable to reach a satisfactory classification of the emotions.

The Analysis proceeds on the ancient division of the mind into Understanding and Will. This division ignores the peculiar and distinctive characters of the Emotions which, from their function as motives, were usually taken up as adjuncts of the will. It is now quite superseded. Mr. Mill, however, follows pretty closely the natural order. He begins with a brief description of the Senses, and then expounds the Laws of Association, which are the key to the intellectual operations. A short account of the phenomena of pleasure and pain, and a theory of the Will, conclude the work. The strength of the book lies in the application of the Laws of Association to explain what are generally regarded as ultimate faculties of the mind. The chief logical processes are discussed under the head of Naming. Then follow successive chapters on Consciousness, Conception, Imagination, Classification, Abstraction, Memory, Belief, Ratiocination, Evidence, &c. Each of the so-called faculties is shown to be merely an example of the association of ideas.

The author's account of the Senses is not meant to be exhaustive, but only to introduce the material upon which the Laws of Association work. It, however, takes notice of those classes of sensations that have generally received scant justice at the hands of psychologists. The common classification, recognising only the five senses, is demonstrably insufficient. It includes only those sensations that arise from without; it disregards those arising within the body. But the two kinds are distinctly parallel. In any of the

external senses, say the Ear, three things may be pointed out : (1) a peculiar sensation, for sounds are different from smells, sights, &c. ; (2) an assignable bodily organ—the Ear ; no other part of the body can give us the sensation of sound ; (3) a distinct object causing the sensations—undulations of the air. If now we take the internal feeling of suffocation, we observe similar circumstances : (1) the oppressive pain of suffocation is peculiar, and never confounded with pain of scalding, cramp, neuralgia, &c. ; (2) an organ—the lungs—which is the seat of the sensation ; and (3) an object or cause—a withdrawal of the air necessary for respiration. Mr. Mill fully recognises what we may call our internal senses, and distributes them into three classes : (1) sensations in the alimentary canal ; (2) “sensations of disorganization, or of the approach to disorganization in any part of the body.” These are of most interest in the diagnosis of disease ; the third class—Muscular Sensations—is the important one to philosophers. Mr. Mill has appreciated their importance, and has shown how the notions of Extension and Resistance arise from them in a manner that brings this part of the book abreast of the most advanced Psychology.

The chapter entitled “The Association of Ideas” is, as might be anticipated, full of interesting matter. Our space prevents us noticing more than a few of the leading points. And first, of the all-important instance of Indissoluble Association. It will be best to quote the author's statement of it.

“Some ideas are by frequency and strength of Association so closely combined, that they cannot be separated. If one exists the other exists along with it, in spite of whatever effort we make to disjoin them.

“For example : it is not in our power to think of colour, without thinking of extension, or, of solidity, without figure. We have seen colour constantly in combination with extension, spread as it were upon a surface. We have never seen it except in this connexion. Colour and extension have been invariably conjoined. The idea of colour, therefore, uniformly comes into the mind, bringing that of extension along with it ; and so close is the association, that it is not in our power to dissolve it. We cannot, if we will, think of colour, but in combination with extension. The one idea calls up the other, and retains it, so long as the other is retained.

This great law of our nature is illustrated in a manner equally striking, by the connexion between the ideas of solidity and figure. We never have the sensations from which the idea of solidity is derived, but in conjunction with the sensations whence the idea of figure is derived. If we handle anything solid, it is always either round, square, or of some other form. The ideas correspond with the sensations. If the idea of solidity rises, that of figure rises along with it. The idea of figure which rises is of course more obscure than that of ex-

tension; because, figures being innumerable, the general idea is exceedingly complex, and hence of necessity, obscure. But, such as it is, the idea of figure is always present when that of solidity is present; nor can we, by any effort, think of the one without thinking of the other at the same time."—I., 93.

"When we perceive a chair, a tree, a man, a house, they are always situated so and so, with respect to other objects. As the sensations of position are thus always received with the other sensations of an object, the idea of Position is so closely associated with the idea of the object, that it is wholly impossible for us to have the one idea without the other. It is one of the most remarkable cases of indissoluble association; and is that feeling which men describe when they say that the idea of space forces itself upon their understandings, and is necessary."—II., 36.

A good example of the same law is winking or wincing under the threat of a blow on the eyes. As observed in a note by Professor Bain, children have at first no tendency to perform the act. They soon, however, learn to shut the eyes on the approach of danger, and when those two things have been frequently associated, the tendency of the first to bring on the second is so strong as to be irresistible.

The law of Indissoluble Association is the best answer to the criterion of necessity by which Leibnitz thought he had demolished the leading position of Locke. The argument is this. Those of our beliefs that are stamped with the character of necessity—that must be always and everywhere valid, cannot be based upon experience, because the foundation would be too narrow for the superstructure. Take, for example, causation. By experience we may learn that certain consequents have uniformly followed certain antecedents, that, to take a single instance, within the limits of this earth, and within the memory of all generations of men, water has boiled say at 112° and solidified at 32° ; but from the mere fact that it has been so in the past, we cannot infer, we cannot indubitably prove, that it must be so in the future, and not only in this planet, but in every possible planet. The argument is not that the past affords an insufficient guarantee for the future, because the number of examples within human experience is small compared with the infinite total of possible examples, but that, in the eye of reason, it affords no guarantee whatever. If we desire, the argument runs, to obtain cognitions that shall apply to the future, and to such part of the past as is beyond our memory, cognitions that shall be valid without limitation of place or time, we must look not to experience, but to those necessary beliefs that enter into the structure of our minds. We find ourselves, to take a single instance, totally incapable of believing or even of conceiving, that two straight lines can anywhere or ever enclose a space. Such is the reasoning by which

the *à priori* philosophers, at once, to their own satisfaction, extinguish the rival system, and establish their own.

It is truly marvellous that men who employ that argument should not see (as Kant saw) that it rebounds with fatal effect on their own position. They are bound to prove two things: (1) that events and phenomena are actually linked together in the manner we believe them to be; and (2) that we can know the fact. The *à priori* theory does not even touch the first point; it tries only to account for the second. Admitting all that is alleged, it proves what? That the world must be constituted in a certain way? Not at all, but only that we must believe it to be so constituted. Is the world constructed in harmony with our beliefs? If so, how do we know it? There seem only two possible inlets of knowledge, actual experience and instinctive belief. Now as the argument against the experiential school can succeed only by impeaching the authority of experience, it is in vain to appeal to experience to vouch the harmony of our beliefs with fact. Experience can only satisfy us that hitherto our beliefs have been found to correspond with the actual constitution of the world; it cannot show that they must do so everywhere and at all times. Still less can an instinctive belief get us out of the difficulty, for it is the validity of all our intuitive beliefs that is in question. It is, therefore, impossible really to know whether such beliefs do correspond with fact. It is no answer to this reasoning to call it scepticism, or to say that it makes the root of our nature a lie. That is mere rhetoric; and the philosopher that descends to rhetoric forgets his vocation. But if it were substantial, it would tell as much in favour of one side as of the other. The Laws of Association are surely natural, and opinions bred in us through them are as much entitled to be called natural as any others. Seeing then that neither school can vindicate the *objective* validity of our necessary beliefs, the only question between them is a question of fact, How do we come by those beliefs?

The answer of Mr. James Mill is based on the law of Indissoluble Association. He shows how an incapacity to separate certain ideas may be produced. If our so-called innate beliefs appear at so late an age that there is sufficient opportunity for the required associations to be formed, the law of parcimony requires us to ascribe them to indissoluble association. This would be the ultimate explanation, even if we were to accept the theory of Mr. Herbert Spencer, which regards some beliefs as innate to us, as the gathered-up experience of bygone generations transmitted to us by inheritance. That theory makes our beliefs dependent upon experience, but not upon *our* experience. With or without this modification, the theory of the Analysis

gives as profound an answer as this country has offered to the fundamental question regarding the nature of knowledge, which exercised and perplexed the minds of Plato and Aristotle, and which for so long has been a bone of contention in the philosophical world.

While it has been generally admitted that the Laws of Association explain Memory, it has been seldom remarked that they are sometimes the cause of oblivion. When an antecedent is of no importance except as introducing the consequent, the latter absorbs the whole attention, and the former is instantly forgotten.

"Of this a very intelligible illustration is afforded by what happens in ordinary discourse. A friend arrives from a distant country, and brings me the first intelligence of the last illness, the last words, the last acts, and death of my son. The sound of the voice, the articulation of every word, makes its sensation in my ear; but it is to the ideas that my attention flies. It is my son that is before me, suffering, acting, speaking, dying. The words which have introduced the ideas, and kindled the affections, have been as little heeded as the respiration which has been accelerated, while the ideas were received."*

A remarkable case illustrating this law is pointed out in a note by Professor Bain. The perception of visual magnitude is the most accurate of all the judgments of the mind; in proportion as other discriminations can be reduced to this standard do they become more delicate and certain. Our sensitiveness to degrees of heat is immeasurably surpassed in accuracy by the thermometer. Visible magnitude varies according to the size of the image made by the object upon the retina, and this varies with every degree of distance from the eye. If a boy three feet high is seen at the distance of six feet, he will appear to the eye twice as tall as a man six feet high at a distance of twelve feet behind the boy. Yet of this wonderfully exact discrimination an adult man is wholly unconscious; to him the man appears to be twice the size of the boy. The visual or retinal magnitude has ceased to obtrude itself on our attention, and, without occupying any share of consciousness, serves as a sign to introduce the true magnitude.

The law is also exemplified in certain trains of ideas. Occasionally an idea reminds us of something with which it was never, so far as we remember, associated. At first we suspect it to be an exception to the laws of Association; but on pressing our memory, we generally recollect the missing links. If A, B, C, and D are connected in such a manner that A reminds us of B, B of C, and C of D, it sometimes happens that, without

exciting the intermediate ideas B and C, A immediately recalls D. The question then arises how, consistently with the laws of Association, the absence of B and C is to be explained. Mr. Stewart surmised that B and C were recalled, and were present in consciousness, but for so short a time that they were instantly forgotten. Sir William Hamilton discards this explanation, and thinks we are never conscious of B and C, that these exist as modifications of the mind that do their work without coming into consciousness. Such language is very strange. If "unconscious modification of mind" is not a contradiction in terms, it is at least wonderfully hard to understand. The difficulty would, however, be removed, if we were permitted to introduce physiological considerations. Mr. J. S. Mill observes,— "Though a feeling cannot exist without being felt, the organic state which is the antecedent of it may exist, and the feeling itself not follow." A third suggestion is made by Mr. Mill in the same note, and it is both ingenious and probable. He suggests that in some cases B and C, the intermediate ideas, are wholly extruded, and a direct association is established between A and D. If A remained some time in consciousness after it had recalled B, and similarly B with C, and C with D, A and D might be brought together in time, and so become united by Contiguous Association. Considering the rapidity of the trains in question, and that every mental state remains for a brief time after its cause is removed, this suggestion will often be the true explanation. But, as Mr. Mill justly observes, all these hypotheses are admissible, and each may, under different circumstances, supply the *vera causa*.

The author's attempt to reduce the Laws of Association to their simplest expression is one of the least felicitous in the book. Ever since Aristotle first enunciated the law of contiguity, or co-adjacency in space and time, it has taken rank as one of the principal bonds of connexion among our thoughts. But Resemblance, Contrast, Causation, &c., have given rise to greater diversity of opinion. Mr. James Mill reduces Resemblance to Contiguity :—

"Resemblance only remains, as an alleged principle of Association, and it is necessary to inquire whether it is included in the laws which have been above expounded. I believe it will be found that we are accustomed to see like things together. When we see a tree, we generally see more trees than one; when we see an ox, we generally see more oxen than one; a sheep, more sheep than one; a man, more men than one. From this observation, I think, we may refer resemblance to the law of frequency, of which it seems to form only a particular case."—I., 111.

This analysis is refuted by the editor in a very good note. The

author has been led astray by a love of simplification, and the neglect, not usual with him, to look out for negative instances. He has fallen into a similar error, when in speaking of likeness between two sensations or two objects, he says, "undoubtedly the distinguishing differences and similarities is the same thing; a similarity being nothing but a slight difference" (II., 15). Professor Bain corrects this, "More properly Similarity is agreement in difference." This would make the language right, but we suspect more than the language is wrong.

The fundamental property of the Intellect is Discrimination, and every act of discrimination involves two things—the perception of diversity and the perception of likeness. The perception of Differences and Resemblances constitutes the two ultimate and indecomposable powers of the Intellect. To these two all the categories of thought may be reduced, but they are not susceptible of further analysis. To the perception of differences there does not correspond any associating principle; but Resemblance is also a mode of association. A portrait recalls the original solely by the amount of likeness. When, however, the absent object is reproduced in the imagination, the associating principle may be said to have done its work; whether the likeness is seen to be good depends on the firmness of the hold over the absent object, and the delicacy of the perception of Resemblance. Thus it occasionally happens that a portrait suggests several persons before we hit upon the right one; the laws of association working upon a less amount of similarity than is required to satisfy the judgment. Whether the perception of likeness and Association by likeness are at bottom the same property of mind, we shall not undertake to say—there is at least a difference in their action; some men are distinguished by a profusion of ideas, others by accuracy of judgment. Both are involved in scientific discovery, and the second not least. In regard to both, the author of the *Analysis* has gone wrong, and the effects of the error may be traced in the chapter on Classification, and in other parts of the work.

The plan of exposition adopted in the *Analysis* led the author to consider the chief operations of Logic—Naming, Predication, Ratiocination. Under the head of Naming, he gives a psychological analysis of the mental processes corresponding to the different parts of speech, Noun, Adjective, &c. Here he naturally illustrated his views by the grammatical and philological theories of Mr. Horne Tooke, which were accepted in his day, although they are now discredited. The proper corrections are supplied in the very interesting notes contributed by Dr. Findlater, the editor of "*Chambers's Encyclopædia*." One of them bearing on predication ought to be mentioned. Mr. James

Mill explains, in his chapter on Predication, the twofold meaning of the copula;—the verb *to be*, which denotes existence, is employed, he observes, in all languages as the copula in predication. The notion of *existence* thus suggested in every sentence, becomes associated with the subject of the sentence in such a manner that, if it be a fiction, it comes to be regarded as really existing. It is but one step to personify abstractions, and to make chance, nature, fate, and the like, real entities. This conclusion is too sweeping. It holds good of the Indo-European class of languages, but it does not apply to the monosyllabic class of languages, in which a third part of the race express their thoughts. These languages have no verb or copula, nor indeed any distinctions in the parts of speech. "In Chinese, for example, the word *ta* expresses indifferently great, greatness, to be great, to make great or magnify, greatly. It is only position that determines in each case how the word is to be understood; thus traditional convention assigns to *ta fu* the meaning of 'a great man,' and to *fu ta* that of 'the man is great.'" Such facts ought to make us cautious in accepting the forms of speech of a few languages as embodying fundamental differences in the nature of the mental operations. While the substance of predication may remain unchanged, the modes of expressing it may vary widely. The difference between an assertion and a mere juxtaposition of words—between *fu ta*, the man is great, and *ta fu*, a great man—is that the former is a subject of belief or disbelief, the latter is not. In other words, one kind of phraseology is appropriated to represent conjunctions of the imagination, and a different species to represent those that are to be believed or disbelieved. The difference between imagination and belief is fundamental and inerasable, and the same for all human beings; but the form of speech expressive of the distinction admits great variety. In the Indo-European family of languages, the copula is employed for the purpose; and, if we had no negative instances, we might be tempted to think that the natural and even indispensable form. Such negative instances are worth their weight in gold; they curb the overweening disposition to erect the widely-spread accidents of humanity into universal and unchangeable laws.

The author's treatment of the general notion is characterized by his usual clearness and lucidity. Our first acquaintance is with individual objects. These we first name. But if every individual object had a distinct name, as every word has a distinct written character in the Chinese language, we should never be able to learn but a fraction of the objects we desire to know. This paralysis was avoided by the invention of class names. Such, in a few words, is the theory of Mr. James Mill. It is somewhat narrow. Class names do, indeed, economize the use

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. M

of names, but they do far more. They render predication possible. Without general names, we should be unable to construct a sentence, unable to reach the unit of knowledge. The author seems to be aware of this, when towards the end of the chapter on Classification, he accepts resemblance as the principle upon which classification reposes.

It has been a long controversy what is the nature of the ideas represented by general names; are they mystic entities, as Plato thought? Or non-entities, as Hobbes (*Nominalibus nominalior*) said? Or do they consist of the properties common to the class exclusively, according to the opinion attributed to Locke? We prefer to give the author's answer in his own words:—

"The word Man, we shall say, is first applied to an individual; it is first associated with the idea of that individual, and acquires the power of calling up the idea of him; it is next applied to another individual, and acquires the power of calling up the idea of him; so of another and another, till it has become associated with an indefinite number, and has acquired the power of calling up an indefinite number of those ideas indifferently. What happens? It does call up an indefinite number of the ideas of individuals, as often as it occurs, and calling them up in close connexion, it forms them into a species of complex idea. . . . When the word man calls up the ideas of an indefinite number of individuals, not only of all those to whom I have individually given the name, but of all those to whom I have in imagination given it, or imagine it will ever be given, and forms all those ideas into one,—it is evidently a very complex idea, and therefore indistinct; and this indistinctness has doubtless been the main cause of the mystery which has appeared to belong to it. That this however is the process, is an inevitable result of the laws of association."

This account is accepted by the editor with a slight modification. It is not necessary, and is often impossible, for a general name to recal all the individuals of a class. It is enough that the class name recal some individual of the class, and it may be any individual. Mr. Grote finds fault with the exposition on other grounds:—

"I agree with the Analysis that Classification, up to a certain point, grows out of the principle of Association and the exigencies of the human mind, by steps instructively set forth in that work. But such natural growth reaches no higher standard than that which Sokrates tested and found so lamentably deficient, even among a public of unusual intelligence. It does not deserve the name of a 'mighty operation' (bestowed upon it by Mr. James Mill, p. 270). It is a rudimentary procedure, indispensable as a basis on which to build, and sufficing in the main for social communication, when no science or reasoned truth is required: but failing altogether to realise what has

been understood by philosophers, from Sokrates downward, as the true and full purpose of Classification."

The weakness of Mr. Mill's exposition, on which Mr. Grote has laid his finger in this passage, arose, perhaps, from the slender hold Mr. Mill had of the principle of Resemblance, in both its aspects—in Association, and in Perception. The reproductive phase of similarity is brought largely into play in classification; but the power of judging resemblances is not less essential.

The note from which the above passage is extracted is mainly occupied with a correction of Cudworth's mistakes. Cudworth states that the intelligible ideas, which formed so conspicuous a feature in the philosophy of Plato, were alleged by him to exist nowhere but in the mind, and he cites the authority of the *Parmenides*, which calls them *noēmata*. Mr. Grote has no difficulty in upsetting this assertion—a strange one to come from a man so highly lauded for his learning. The opinion in question is contained in the *Parmenides*, but only to be refuted and dropped. In other dialogues the ideal theory is reiterated with every form of illustration. The other error of Cudworth is this: He says Aristotle erroneously attributed a wrong opinion to Plato. Aristotle accused Plato of holding that universals exist apart from individual sensibles. As Mr. Grote takes great pains to show, the difference between the two great philosophers of Greece on this point was, that Plato did, and Aristotle did not, ascribe self-existence and independence to the universals.

Consciousness is a great word in the philosophy of Reid and Hamilton; in the eyes of Mr. James Mill it is a very little thing. It is held by some to be a distinct and unique faculty of the mind, by others, to be a mere name. A rose produces in us the sensation of smell. Dr. Brown and Mr. James Mill say this is all that takes place. Dr. Reid says there is something more; we not only have a sensation of smell, but we are conscious of having the sensation. The mind watches and takes note of all its operations. Consciousness, as the faculty is named, is a kind of inward eye, or an interior light that illuminates every corner of the soul. The other view is that consciousness is simply the whole series of states of mind as distinguished from the individual, momentary, successive states. It is not any new state additional to the stream of thought and feeling, but merely a short way of expressing what is common to all our mental states. It is a general term denoting states of mind, and connecting the quality common to all. This is the opinion of Dr. Brown and Mr. James Mill. They recognise no difference between having a feeling and attending to it. The editor,

Mr. J. S. Mill, thinks there is a difference, and points out in what he conceives the distinction to lie. It is one thing to have a feeling, it is another thing to refer the feeling to one's-self, "to regard it in its relation to the series of many feelings which constitutes our sentient life." This is, literally, self-consciousness.

This self-reference is not however an inherent property of every sensation or feeling, for the notion of self arises from, or is necessarily implicated with, memory, and we can imagine a being gifted with sensation, but devoid of memory. The difficulty we experience in believing that a "sentient being can exist without the consciousness of itself . . . arises from the irresistible association which we, who possess memory, form in our early infancy between every one of our feelings, and our remembrance of the entire series of feelings of which it forms a part, and consequently between every one of our feelings and our self." The process of self-reference is, except in the beginning of life, inseparably connected with every feeling, but, adds Mr. Mill, "it often takes place too rapidly to be remembered at the next instant."

Another question is discussed by Professor Bain : Is knowing the basis of consciousness or feeling? Do we feel only as we know that we feel? Seeing that, from the nature of the case a pleasure or pain cannot be procured in isolation from the intellectual processes, we cannot apply the methods of Agreement and Difference, we must resort to the only other mode of settling the question, namely, Concomitant Variations. If feeling rises as knowledge rises, and falls as it falls, we might suspect a causal connexion between them. But if feeling decreases as knowledge increases, and *vice versa*, we ought to regard emotion and intellect as two distinct and independent, although inseparable, properties. The facts are certainly in favour of the latter view.

We now resume the question, whether self-consciousness is a distinct faculty? Is it a unique phenomenon, or may it be resolved into the general powers of the intellect? Reid does not consistently uphold the opinion we have ascribed to him. When he says "All men are conscious of the operations of their own minds, but there are few that *reflect*," he appears to believe that self-examination is only a rare and occasional act of mind; but at other times he speaks as if all our thoughts, feelings, and actions were known twice over, once in themselves and once as states of mind. It was doubtless this erroneous view that drove Dr. Brown and Mr. James Mill to the opposite extreme. Reid had virtually said, every act of mind is accompanied with self-consciousness; Brown and Mill said, self-consciousness is nothing but a psychological fiction. These distinguished psychologists thus missed the recognition and analysis of one of the most subtle phenomena of the mind. Professor Bain explains its real character,

not as an ultimate faculty, but as a special and peculiar case under the general properties of the intellect.

"But we may add to the mere fact of pleasure, the *cognition of the state*, as a state of pleasure, and as a state belonging to us at the time. This is not the same thing as before: it is something new superposed upon the previous consciousness. When we take note of the fact that we are pleased, we proceed beyond the bare experience of the present pleasure, to an intellectual act of comparison, assimilation, or classification with past pleasures; we probably introduce the machinery of language to express ourselves as pleased; all this is so much *extra* consciousness. These knowing operations are not involved in mere feeling; we may feel-without them. Indeed, if the cognitive powers are brought into very active exercise upon our feelings, as in the self-dissection of the Psychologist, the feelings themselves are apt to subside."

If self-consciousness be a distinct activity of mind, a nice question presents itself. Self-consciousness is, so to speak, a doubling of consciousness on itself, literally a reflexion, a bending back of the mind upon itself. Every self-conscious state implies a two-fold activity of the mind; (1), the pleasure, pain, or idea observed; and (2) the observation of it. Do those acts go together? Are we at the same moment both observer and observed? The presumption from the analogy of other mental phenomena is rather against the supposition of two simultaneous mental processes. Two states of mind cannot coexist with the same intensity as each might attain if the other were absent. Toothache will relax its torture for a few seconds if the attention be suddenly withdrawn; serious wounds have been received without being noticed till the excitement of battle was over. The picture in which Heraclitus represents the world as in a perpetual flux, nothing being allowed to usurp the privilege of existence for any time, bears a similitude to the mind; the uppermost impression lives by stifling its successors, but soon succumbs to the law of ceaseless succession of ideas. If, then, self-examination be a distinct activity of mind, it can only exist by lowering or extinguishing the conscious state that it observes. Other frames of mind exclude one another; this excludes, or tends to exclude, the condition of its own existence. Saturn devoured his children; here the child lives by consuming the parent that tries to give it birth. The paradox is verified by observation. No pleasure is ever felt at its greatest height unless self-scrutiny is in abeyance; and, conversely, any strong feeling excludes introspective cognition. Our attention is never fully concentrated, if we are conscious of attending, for we cannot well do two things at once. Self-analysis has this in common with vivisection that the means of investigation destroy the phenomenon to be examined—

"Pursuing life in creatures we dissect,
We lose it in the moment we detect."

Self-consciousness includes several varieties. In the narrowest sense of the word, it occurs when we identify a present pain or pleasure with the class to which it belongs, which is the case referred to by Professor Bain in the note quoted above. This is in many respects parallel to the perception of likeness among the objects of sense. The differences are mainly two: (1), The objects compared being states of mind, cannot be placed side by side; we cannot, so to speak, have two mental states contiguous in place. (2), External objects remain as long as we wish, we can repeat the trial; if, at the first test we are unable to identify a wine, we can take sip after sip, till we satisfy ourselves. But mental states are incessantly shifting, and they cannot, as a rule, be recalled at will.

In a wider signification, self-consciousness may be characterized as a break in the continuity of any conscious state by the intrusion, either through similarity or contiguity, of a subjective train of association. The states reproduced in memory are in some, by preference, objective; in others, by preference, subjective. A landscape may suggest to us other scenery, or it may bring up an emotional train of recollection. The imagination of Homer was objective; that of Wordsworth, highly subjective. In this wider sense, self-consciousness lies at the root of the egotistic feelings. If we dwell complacently on our intentions or dispositions, it is because they remind us of the praise bestowed on them by mankind. Remorse and self-pity have a similar origin. Self-analysis is also an important element in moral culture. The tendency of the highest morality has always been intensely subjective. Epictetus, curiously perverting the words put into the mouth of Socrates by Plato (*ὁ δὲ ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπῳ*), quotes the father of Greek Philosophy as an authority for the practice of self-examination, so sedulously inculcated by the Stoics. Those who set before themselves an ideal of moral perfection, must often take stock of their spiritual condition, both to measure their progress, and to impress on themselves the necessity of continual advance. The same spirit predominates in the more serious forms of evangelical religion; and there is nothing from which, if it be ill-regulated, the religious mind draws less profit or more suffering.

The chapter on Belief is one of the boldest and profoundest in the book. In none does the author show more ingenuity, or display more strongly his passion for analysis. If he succeeds here, he has gained the last stronghold; judgment and belief, as well as memory and imagination, fall under the all-embracing sweep of the laws of association. The subject is extremely

difficult, and we need not be surprised if it gives occasion to great difference of opinion. The question at issue is in metaphysics fundamental; it touches on one side the existence of an independent world, and on the other, the nature of Self, of Permanence of the mind, of Personal identity.

We shall begin with the author's theory of the external world. It is stated very briefly, but it contains the germs of the opinions advanced by Mr. J. S. Mill, in his discussions on Sir William Hamilton. Mr. James Mill starts with the proposition, that we know nothing of objects but what we learn from our sensations. A rose, for example, is a bundle of associated sensations of colour, figure, hardness, smell, &c. It is all that, but is it nothing more? The popular belief does ascribe more to it. Every kind of sensation is attributed to a quality as its cause, and all those qualities are again referred to a single cause, called a substratum. But why stop here? Why should not the substratum have a cause as well as the qualities? There is no good reason, says Mr. Mill; but mankind do not unswervingly obey the rules of logic, the Indian thought the world required for its support the back of a great elephant, and the elephant the back of a great tortoise, but he left the tortoise to stand upon itself, without the support of any imaginary entity. The only sense in which the author admits a substratum, is, "that if there be sentient organs at such a time and place, there will be such and such sensations." This is highly creditable, and in the line of the best thought of the present day. It supplies the notion of contingent or conditional sensations, which form the groundwork of Mr J. S. Mill's psychological theory of the external world. This theory professes to account for our belief that there are things that have a fixed and permanent existence distinct from our thoughts;—that exist whether we perceive them or no; and whether they ever come within the range of human cognition. It does not profess to vindicate the metaphysical validity of our beliefs, or to demonstrate that the popular notion of the external world is philosophically accurate, but it tries simply to discover the origin and generation of those beliefs.

When I say there is a fire in the next room, part, if not all the meaning of the statement is, that if I go into that room, that is, if I perform certain movements, I shall experience the sensations of heat, and the visual appearance of a fire. My conception of the world is made up, to a small extent only, of sensations; it consists chiefly of such possibilities of sensations as a fire in another room, or any other absent object. Moreover those possibilities of sensation are mostly joined in groups. Our idea of a room is composed of a great many sensations so linked together that the presence of one is a mark of the presence of all. Again,

those groups are connected in a Fixed Order, and they are the property, not of ourselves alone, but of all other men. Such are the leading *moments* of the psychological theory. It traces our knowledge of a present external Reality, not to intuition, but to a complicated operation involving both Memory and Expectation. If we could suppose a person equipped with the senses, and with a developed intelligence capable of expressing itself, exposed for the first time to the external world, his interpretation of what took place would be very different from ours. This theory postulates Memory and Expectation, and it is not complete until we resolve these components into simpler operations, or admit them as ultimate factors of the human mind.

Taking the psychological theory as proved, we have, on the one hand, a coherent, orderly series of possibilities of sensation ; on the other, a different series, consisting of objects purely mental or imaginary. How do we know whether any particular impression belongs to a group of conditional sensations, or is a mere idea ? In other words, how do we distinguish between perception and imagination, between a sensation and an idea ? If our knowledge of externality is the product of a somewhat elaborate education, how comes it that we can tell, with the rapidity and sureness of an instinct, whether an impression does or does not belong to the external world ? The answer is that although the properties of the external world be many, one alone may be enough as a practical criterion. We are familiar in chemistry with the selection of a single property as a test : it is not theoretically perfect, but it is practically sufficient. If we were bound to know that a sensation had all the marks of externality before we attributed it to the outer world, we should rarely be able to come to any decision. Now it happens that we do possess a ready, easy, good criterion of externality. It is the vividness or intensity of sensations as compared with ideas. This alone, in the great majority of instances, is a decisive test. It fails in dreaming, in delirium, and in some forms of insanity ; but even when it leads astray, it produces an almost overpowering belief in the reality of the objects imagined. Hume recognised the value of this test, but he erred in holding that vivacity or intensity of sensations exhausted the meaning or import of an external world.

Mr. James Mill and Mr. J. S. Mill seem disposed to regard the distinction between a sensation and an idea as an ultimate fact. "A sensation is different from an idea only because it is felt to be different." Is the distinction simple and ultimate as that between sweet and bitter, or is it one of degree merely ? We can hardly suppose that an infant is conscious of the same difference between sensations and ideas that we are. At first

a child lives a life of sensation ; in the absence of stimuli from without or within, its mind is probably a blank. When ideas begin to appear, it should seem as if the only characteristic they could have for a child would be their faintness. It is difficult to believe that a child can at first distinguish its dreaming from its waking state ; its dreams being as lively and nearly as orderly as its sensations, would appear equally real. Some of the lower races of mankind are said to believe that dreams correlate with a distinct class of real objects. To every material thing they conceive there is an immaterial counterpart, which is the object perceived in dreams. Nay, we can imagine a case where the most sceptical philosopher would admit the reality of the Dream-World. The puzzle of the King and the Beggar illustrates what is meant. A certain King dreamt every night that he was a beggar. His begging life had a consistency and continuity of its own ; where he left off in the morning he began again in the evening, and the interval was merely a blank in the current of his dreams. Every night, when he fell asleep, he remembered where he was the night before, and looked forward in the morning, with hope or apprehension, to what would befall him in the evening. A certain beggar dreamt every night, in a similar manner, that he was a king. The question generally put upon those two suppositions is, which was the happier ? It is easy to see that the King and the Beggar would regard their dreams as equally real with their waking state. They would believe in two independent worlds, constituted of similar material, but governed by different decrees of fate. The psychological theory enables us to give a rational explanation of dreams, but we cannot help thinking that its consistency is marred by admitting a primordial distinction between Sensations and Ideas.

If, however, we deny that the difference between Sensations and Ideas is unassignable, we must postulate Memory. For unless our strong impressions were united by memory in an orderly series, and our faint impressions in a different series, we should never attach to Sensation the significance of Reality as opposed to ideas. Is, then, Memory susceptible of analysis ? Mr. J. S. Mill's opinion has already been given in the negative. To this he adheres in several notes in the present edition. He regards the difference between Memory and Imagination as ultimate. According to that view, we distinguish intuitively between a combination of ideas put together by ourselves, and one that represents a past experience of our own. Imagination arranges ideas in an arbitrary manner ; Memory implies an order that we believe to have actually occurred. Mr. James Mill had said that memory involved two ideas, the idea of the thing, and the idea of my having seen it ; to which Mr. J. S. Mill adds, there must

also be the *belief* of my having seen it. "In what does Memory differ from Imagination, except in the belief that what it represents did really take place?" Again,

"The difference between Expectation and mere Imagination, as well as between Memory and Imagination, consists in the presence or absence of Belief; and though this is no explanation it brings us back to one and the same real problem, which I have so often referred to, and which neither the author nor any other thinker has yet solved—the difference between knowing something as a Reality and as a mere Thought; a distinction similar and parallel to that between a Sensation and an Idea."

There is another difficulty in Memory. It involves the notion of Self. Memory implies the belief that we are the very same persons that formerly felt or perceived what we now remember.

"Memory, therefore, by the very fact of its being different from Imagination, implies an Ego who formerly experienced the facts remembered, and who was the same Ego then as now. This explanation at once leads to the further question, if Memory depends on the notion of Self, does not the notion of Self depend upon Memory?"

"Suppose a being, gifted with sensation but devoid of memory; whose sensations follow one after another, but leave no trace of their existence when they cease. Could this being have any knowledge or notion of a Self? Would he ever say to himself, *I* feel; this sensation is *mine*? I think not. The notion of a Self is, I apprehend, a consequence of Memory. There is no meaning in the word Ego or I, unless the I of to-day is also the I of yesterday; a permanent element which abides through a succession of feelings, and connects the feeling of each moment with the remembrance of previous feelings. We have, no doubt, a considerable difficulty in believing that a sentient being can exist without the consciousness of Itself. But this difficulty arises from the irresistible association which we, who possess Memory, form in our early infancy between every one of our feelings and our remembrance of the entire series of feelings of which it forms a part, and consequently between every one of our feelings and our Self."

We seem now to have fallen into a singular paradox; Memory is a consequence of Self, and Self is a consequence of Memory. Let us hear Mr. Mill's explanation:—

"The phenomenon of Self and that of Memory are merely the two sides of the same fact, or two different modes of viewing the same fact. We may, as psychologists, set out from either of them, and refer the other to it. We may, in treating of Memory, say (as the author says) that it is the idea of a past sensation associated with the idea of myself as having it. Or we may say, in treating of Identity (as the author also says), that the meaning of Self is the Memory of certain past sensations. But it is hardly allowable to do both. At least, it must be said, that by doing so we explain neither. We only show that the

two things are essentially the same; that my memory of having ascended Skiddaw on a given day, and my consciousness of being the same person who ascended Skiddaw on that day, are two modes of stating the same fact: a fact which psychology has as yet failed to resolve into anything more elementary." (II. 174.)

We now proceed to examine the psychological nature of Belief. What makes the state of Belief? Is it a unique state of mind? Does it belong to the intellect, the emotions, or the will? The author resolves it into purely intellectual elements. He found a hint in Locke tending to resolve Belief into an association of ideas. In that way Locke explained those absurd and unreasonable prejudices that were somewhat vaguely attributed to education. There is, he says, a connexion of ideas wholly owing to chance or custom. Ideas that have no natural connexion come to be inseparably united.

"The ideas of goblins and sprights have really no more to do with darkness than with light. Yet let but a foolish maid inculcate these often in the mind of a child, and raise them there together, possibly he shall never be able to separate them again so long as he lives; but darkness shall ever afterwards bring with it those frightful ideas, and they shall be so joined, that he can no more bear the one than the other.

"That which thus captivates our reasons, and leads men blindfold from common sense, will, when examined, be found to be what we are speaking of. Some independent ideas of no alliance to one another, are, by education, custom, and the constant din of their party, so coupled in their minds, that they always appear there together; and they can no more separate them in their thoughts, than if there were but one idea; and they operate as if they were so. This gives sense to jargon, demonstration to absurdity, and consistency to nonsense; and is the foundation of the greatest, I had almost said, of all, the errors in the world."

Wrong belief, therefore, comes from a wrong association of ideas, producing a connexion in our minds between ideas that have no corresponding arrangement in nature. If that be so, argues our author, then right belief must arise from right association, and Belief is then reduced to a case of inseparably united ideas.

One of the most signal Illustrations in support of this view is Berkeley's Theory of Vision. All that the untaught eye perceives is mere varieties of colour; and if we include, as we may, the sensibility to movement, surfaces. Distance is, strictly speaking, never perceived at all; it is, however, so instantaneously suggested, that we are never aware of the interposition of an inferencé. But this, a perfect example of belief, is wholly due to association. Even when we know that the usual signs of

distance deceive us, we cannot divest ourselves of the usual belief. When we look through the right end of a telescope, we believe objects to be nearer; when we look through the wrong end, we believe them to be farther off than they really are.

"We are all of us familiar with that particular feeling, which is produced, when we have turned ourselves round with velocity several times. We BELIEVE that the world is turning round.

"The sound of bells opposed by the wind, appears to be farther off. A person speaking through a trumpet appears to be nearer. Our experience is, that sounds decrease by distance. A sound is decreased by opposition of the wind; the idea of distance is associated; and the association being inseparable, it is belief. A sound is increased by issuing from a trumpet, the idea of proximity is associated, and the association being indissoluble, it is belief.

"In passing, on board of ship, another ship at sea, we believe that she has all the motion, we none: though we may be sailing rapidly before the wind, she making hardly any progress against it.

"When we have been making a journey in a stage coach, or a voyage in a ship, we believe, for some time after leaving the vehicle, that still we are feeling its motion; more especially just as we are falling asleep.

"Nobody doubts, that these, and similar cases of belief, which are very numerous, are all to be resolved into pure association. What the associations are, we leave to be traced by the learner; so many repetitions of the same process, though a useful exercise to him, would be very tedious here.

"The Belief which takes place in Dreaming merits great attention in this part of our inquiry. No belief is stronger than that which we experience in dreaming. Our belief of some of the frightful objects, which occur to us, is such, as to extort from us loud cries; and to throw us into such tremors and bodily agitations, as the greatest real dangers would fail in producing. Not less intense is our belief in the pleasurable objects which occur to us in dreams; nor are the agitations which they produce in our bodies much less surprising. Yet there is hardly any difference of opinion about the real nature of the phenomena which occur in dreaming. That our dreams are mere currents of ideas, following one another by association; not controlled, as in our waking hours, by sensations and will; is the substance of every theory of dreaming. The belief, therefore, which occurs in dreaming, is merely a case of association; and hence it follows that nothing more is necessary to account for Belief."

Our belief in the Past is explained by the author in the following passage:—

"The associations included in Memory we have already endeavoured to trace. It is a case of that indissoluble connexion of ideas which we have found in the preceding article to constitute belief in present existences. When I remember the burning of Drury Lane Theatre, what happens? We can mark the following parts of the process. First, the idea of that event is called up by association; in other words,

the copies of the sensations I then had, closely combined by association. Next, the idea of the sensations calls up the idea of myself as sentient; and that, so instantly and forcibly, that it is altogether out of my power to separate them. But when the idea of a sensation forces upon me, whether I will or no, the idea of myself as that of which it was the sensation, I remember the sensation. It is in this process that memory consists; and the memory is the Belief. No obscurity rests on any part of this process, except the idea of *self*, which is reserved for future analysis. The fact, in the mean time, is indisputable; that, when the idea of a sensation, which I have formerly had, is revived in me by association, if it calls up in close association the idea of myself, there is memory; if it does not call up that idea, there is not memory; if it calls up the idea of myself, it calls up the idea of that train of states of consciousness which constitutes the thread of my existence; if it does not call up the idea of myself, it does not call up the idea of that train, but some other idea. A sensation remembered, then, is a sensation placed, by association, as the consequent of one feeling and the antecedent of another, in that train of feelings which constitutes the existence of a conscious being."

Our belief in the future is accounted for in a similar way. When we expect an event to follow on another, as consequent to antecedent, we have, in our experience, always found them united, and in that order. This is the well-known resolution of causality into an inveterate association of ideas. Professor Bain, while recognising the part played by association, believes that an animal has a tendency to go on in certain courses without the support of experience, and that experience rather chastens our primitive disposition to act than gives rise to it.

Belief upon circumstantial evidence is illustrated with great felicity in a passage that deserves to be quoted as throwing light on the author's theory of Belief:—

"The sailor, who is shipwrecked on an unknown coast, sees the prints of a man's foot on the sand. The print of the foot is here called the evidence; the association of the print, as consequent, with a man, as antecedent, is called the belief. In this case, the sensation of one event, the print of a foot on the sand, induces the belief of another event, the existence of a man. The sailor who has seen the mark, reports it to his companions who have not quitted the wreck. Instantly they have the same belief; but it is a remove farther off, and there is an additional link of evidence. The first event to them, is the affirmation of their companion; the second, the existence of the print; the third, that of the man. There is here evidence of evidence; the testimony, evidence of the print; the print, evidence of the man.

"The companions of the sailor, having themselves gone on shore, perceive, indeed, no man, but see a large monkey, which leaves prints on the sand very much resembling those which had first been perceived by their companion. What is now the state of their minds? Doubt. But doubt is a name; what do we call by that name? A

phenomenon of some complexity, but of which the elements are not very difficult to trace. There is, here, a double association with the print of the foot. There is the association of a man, and there is the association of a monkey. First, the print raises the idea of a man, but the instant it does so, it raises also the idea of a monkey. The idea of the monkey, displacing that of the man, hinders the first association from the fixity which makes it belief; and the idea of man, displacing that of monkey, hinders the second association from that fixity which constitutes belief.

"When evidence is complex; that is, consists of more than one event; the events may be all on the same side, or not all on the same side; that is, they may all tend to prove the same event; or some of them may tend to prove it, some may have an opposite tendency.

"Thus, if after discovering the print on the sand, the sailors had seen near it a stick, which had any appearance of having been fashioned into a club, or a spear,—this would have been another event, tending, as well as the print on the sand, to the belief of the presence of men. The evidence would have been complex, but all on one side. The process is easy to trace. There is now a double association with the existence of men. The print of the foot excites that idea, the existence of the club excites that idea. This double excitement gives greater permanence to the idea. By repetition, the two exciting causes coalesce, and, by their united strength, call up the associated idea with greater force.

"In the case of the appearance of the monkey, in which one of the events tended to one belief, the other to another, we have just seen that the effect is precisely contrary; to lessen the strength of the association with the existence of a man, and to hinder its becoming belief.

"These expositions may be applied with ease to the other cases of complex evidence, which can only consist of a greater or less number of events, either all tending to the belief of the same event, or some tending that way, some another; but all operating in the manner which has just been pointed out. Thus we may complicate the present case still further, by the supposition of additional events. After the appearance of the monkey, the sailors may discover, in the neighbourhood, the vestiges of a recent fire, and of the victuals which had been cooked by it. The association of human beings with these appearances is so strong, that, combined with the association between the print and the same idea, it quite obscures the association between the print and the monkey; and the belief that the place has inhabitants becomes complete. But suppose, further; that after a little observation, they discover an English knife, and fork, and a piece of English earthenware near the same place. The idea of an English ship having touched at the place, is immediately excited, and all the evidence of local inhabitants, derived from the marks of fire and cookery, is immediately destroyed. In other words, a new association, that with an English ship, is created, which completely supersedes the idea, formerly associated, that of inhabitants existing on the spot."

The first objection to the author's bold and ingenious analysis, is that it does not explain what belief is, but only generalizes

the circumstances under which it is produced. The causes of fear are distinguishable from the state of Fear; the objects of veneration from the sentiment of reverence. The causes of belief are one thing, belief itself is another and different thing. Mr. James Mill would answer that belief is simply the effect of its causes, it is simply a condition of mind generated by Inseparable Association, and that it has no other meaning or significance. From this position both Mr. J. S. Mill and Professor Bain dissent.

The chief, and, if it be true, conclusive objection to his father's theory, brought forward by Mr. J. S. Mill, is that inseparable associations do not generate belief in everybody. Many philosophers, for example, convinced by Berkeley's reasoning, cease to believe that they see distance, although they labour, so to speak, under the same optical illusion as other people. In looking through a telescope the objects seem nearer, but we do not believe them to be nearer. In the illusions of the senses our conviction is not led astray; we know them to be illusions, and thus believe in the teeth of two inseparably connected ideas. Moreover, this theory would deprive Belief of all rational foundation, since it makes no difference between connexions found in nature and those arising from accident or caprice. An association between two ideas is no proof that the corresponding facts are united in nature.

The answer to these objections would be that the illusions *do* create a momentary belief at variance with the fixed and permanent belief, and in this opinion Dugald Stewart concurred. But it is unsupported by evidence. Indeed, there is, perhaps, no proof for it, except the fact that, if admitted, it would tell in favour of the author's doctrine. Besides, such an hypothesis involves an inconsistency, for it implies that there are two conflicting inseparable associations alternating with each other.

The positive views of Mr. J. S. Mill have been already anticipated. Belief exists in three cases: the Past, the Present, and the Future. Belief in the Present is the distinction between a Sensation and an Idea. In regard to the Past, the problem is to separate Memory from Imagination. The problem of the Future is the distinction between Expectation and Imagination, a distinction involving substantially the same point as that between Memory and Imagination.

Professor Bain states shortly a theory of belief that differs materially from both those we have discussed. The great error, he says, into which psychologists have fallen is making Belief a phenomenon of Intellect. Belief is properly affiliated on the will, and not on the Intellect or Emotions. Belief and Disbelief, as psy-

chological states, are the same. The contrasting state is Doubt. In a state of Belief we are ready to go forward ; in Doubt or Hesitation we can see no course open to us assuring us of the object in view. Doubt implies inaction or half-hearted action ; Belief implies a disposition to act. The test universally applied to the reality or genuineness of belief is action. When a government keeps up its war establishment, it is because they believe war to be a possibility for which they must be prepared. The criterion of Faith is Works. We can easily connect, in a general way, the state of belief with action ; but we must try to define the relationship more closely.

The state of Belief, according to Professor Bain, is one of a series of complex states—Desire, Deliberation, Resolution, that arise under the pursuit of an Intermediate End. We Desire, something out of reach ; we Deliberate, about a distant object ; we Resolve, when present action is decided against. In like manner, Belief arises when a pleasure in view cannot be attained but by some means. There is an assumption, confidence, trust, expectation, that our actions will lead to the desired pleasure. It is not based on Reason, but is amenable to Reason ; the state of Belief may be tried by the intellectual canons of sound or right belief.

If Belief is a complex phase of volition, its sources must be as numerous as the sources of our activity. The primary source, one that for the first time has had its place in psychology properly recognised by Professor Bain, is Spontaneous Activity. The old view was that all action begins with impressions on the senses, sensations give us the start in volition. Professor Bain's opinion, founded on observation of large classes of facts, is that the active energies of the system do not require the stimulus of sensation, but liberate themselves. Spontaneous activity does not need the support of belief, or the prospect of pleasure. If unchecked, an animal, in a fresh state, will go on till its energy is expended. But, if it encounters a painful check, its progress will be slackened or stopped. A repetition of the same experience will probably be sufficient to restrain its ardour in the same direction. If the experience were pleasant, the animal would on the contrary prefer a repetition. Here we have vigorous action, unsupported by belief ; the mind proceeds, as if with the fullest confidence, until it meets obstacles. Hence the natural credulity of the mind. The logician requires us to show cause why we should believe ; the natural man requires to show cause why he should doubt. Our belief in the order of nature is but a chastened and subdued copy of our primitive confidence : we should act unhesitatingly upon a single example if we were not familiar with the evil consequences of such a proceeding.

This ingenious theory, it must be admitted, renders a very plausible explanation of our Belief in the Future. But how about Belief in the Past? "To the logician," says Professor Bain, "the past, however recent, is divided by a deep gulf from the present; the idea and the actuality can never be interchanged." The psychologist is not, however, bound to draw the same hard and fast line: "we really make no radical difference between a present and a proximate past." For many purposes, a sensation just passing away has an effect equal to the actual sensation. Another consideration must be added. Our sensations are embedded in certain groups, quite different from those connected with the ideal. We often determine by its setting, so to speak, whether a thing belongs to actual experience, or is merely the creation of imagination. We are often unable to recollect whether we actually did or only intended to do a particular thing; and unless we can recal the collateral circumstances we can come to no decision. This opinion regarding Memory agrees with Mr. James Mill's.

Our space forbids us entering into the topics of the second volume. The first part of it contains, under the modest title of "Names Requiring Explanation," a discussion of some of the most difficult metaphysical problems. The author's account of Privative terms, of the Infinite, of Space, gives little occasion for the critical correction of the editor and his accomplished co-annotators. On the subject of the Will, or the growth of voluntary control over the muscles, he has followed and improved upon Hartley.

The chapter on the Moral Sense compels a brief notice. Those who have observed the unflinching perseverance with which the author attempts to bring even the most stubborn phenomena under the sweep of association, will not expect him to spare the moral sentiments. He did not share in the antipathy, which refutes a scientific analysis by the epithet "cold-blooded." Such a prejudice is easier to understand than to justify. When a class of feelings is considered primordial or natural they are not asked to give an account of themselves; they are considered their own sufficient justification. This absolute character of the feelings is, or is supposed to be, taken away, if they are resolved into simpler elements. But nothing appears plainer than that describing the origin of a feeling cannot take it away or destroy its distinctive peculiarities. On the contrary, from the analysis of a feeling, we may often draw useful hints for its education and control.

The author selects for analysis the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Bravery, Justice, Beneficence. Prudence and Bravery are, in the first instance, self-regarding; their effect upon others is secondary and collateral. Justice and Beneficence, on the

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. N

other hand, look in the first place to the good of others. With those virtues there are two distinct classes of association : (1) when the virtuous acts are performed by ourselves ; and (2) when they are performed by others. First, then, of virtuous acts performed by ourselves. Prudence and Courage are of the highest value as media of obtaining pleasure and warding off pain. If money, an instrument that can purchase a certain range of pleasures, becomes, by the force of association, the object of a craving more intense than the desire of any pleasures it can buy, why should not Prudence and Courage become, in a similar way, the objects of a strong and disinterested affection ? Two pleasant consequences attend our performance of virtuous acts. Such acts are agreeable to others, and as the pleasure they derive is beheld by us with pleasure, we indirectly find a pleasure in acts that are in themselves disagreeable. But the most important reward is the active good-will of our fellow men.

When our own virtuous acts are in question, the associations are not wholly on the side of pleasure. But the virtuous acts of others are accompanied by no drawback ; such acts cost us nothing, and benefit us much. The good conduct of our neighbours is a primary necessity of life. Without a general regard to justice, life would be intolerable. The most selfish man, although he may be reluctant to deny himself, and to repress the motives that draw him away from well-doing, must be sensible of the overwhelming importance of inducing others to obey the laws that he himself wishes to violate. The best inducement is to be just ourselves. There is, in human affairs, a latent, but ever-active sense of reciprocity, which quietly adjusts the burden of duties. The maxim favoured by independent nations in their dealings with one another is, reciprocity for benefits, and reprisals for injuries. A second way of influencing others is by manifesting a disposition to act virtuously. We praise acts that are beneficial, and condemn those that are pernicious. The sense of shame, the painful susceptibility to the bad opinion of our fellows, is justly esteemed one of the most valuable elements in moral education.

The analysis of Praise and Blame has no direct bearing on the composition of the moral sense, but it has to the psychologist a sufficient interest of its own. The author's opinion is that originally we are indifferent to praise or admiration ; but we become attached to it by connecting it with many agreeable consequences. With this Mr. J. S. Mill disagrees. He believes that Praise has become, by association, in itself pleasurable. It is desired for itself, not for its consequences. May we go farther, and ask whether even this theory explains all the facts ? Children

differ most widely in this susceptibility to reproof and commendation. If this be due to association, only two explanations seem to be admissible. (1) They differ in sensitiveness to considerations of distinct good and evil; or (2) they are distinguished by the rapidity of the process whereby a means is converted into an end. Children do unquestionably differ much in both respects; but whether such diversity fully accounts for the phenomenon in question, we hesitate to say. If it did not, we might fall back on Mr. Herbert Spencer's central idea—that means which by association have become independent ends to the parents, may be transmitted as independent ends to the children.

Both Mr. J. S. Mill and Professor Bain suggest additions to the author's analysis of the moral sense. The former briefly reiterates the substance of his admirable analysis of Justice. Professor Bain would add an element of disinterested action. Allowance must be made for the author. The moral sentiment is so fluctuating that no description can be expected to recognise and give due prominence to all the relative facts. The author has done his duty in laying bare the solid basis of the moral sense, and in explaining the governing causes of its production.



ART. VI.—PROSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE NATIONAL HEALTH.

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Contagious Diseases Act, 1866; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. Session 1867-8

WE purpose in this article to examine a disease which is at once social, moral, and physical, and, especially, to exhibit the nature and extent of its agency in destroying the health and vigour of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the British islands, tainting their blood with an ineradicable poison. Of all the maladies with which humanity is afflicted, prostitution is, we believe, the worst: its causes are the most

persistent, its physical effects are the most terrible, its social and moral complications are the most numerous and inextricable, its whole aspect is the most saddening, and its cure is the most difficult. Among the social problems which it behoves philanthropists and statesmen to solve, this—how may prostitution be annihilated?—stands pre-eminent; and though, together with the several subordinate ones related to and grouped around it, urgently demanding solution, it is seemingly the most insoluble. The mere statement of the elements of the question is beset with almost insuperable difficulties; how much greater, therefore, must be the barriers opposed to its exhaustive discussion? By conventional agreement society is forbidden to speak on the subject unless in whispers; and he who ventures to write upon it in a journal for general readers must either suppress many of the most important facts and arguments relating to it, or run the risk of damaging the medium which he uses.

Women, who ever, as a rule, shape their conduct conformably to the views and wishes of men, offer the most powerful conservative resistance to any agitation of this momentous topic: many observe and impose the silence of hypocritical ignorance—feeling constrained, while wholly conscious of the vast importance of the evil in question, to act and speak as if unaware of its existence; and many more, from genuine delicacy, avert their eyes and resolutely ignore it. But surely this ostrich-like cowardice or timidity cannot continue much longer! It seems impossible for English women to persist in ignoring a social evil, the disease incidental to which is undermining the strength and indirectly destroying the lives of a large proportion of the adult male population—of their brothers, their sons, and their husbands, and which is directly destroying their infants, both before and after birth. We trust that social propriety and true feminine delicacy will always be held sacred; but there is a false delicacy which is alike hostile to needful physiological knowledge and physical well-being, which is incompatible with a healthily-constituted mind, and which ought to be resolutely put away; and there are occasions when even true delicacy must suffer violence if the lives and welfare of others, or self-preservation, cannot be otherwise insured. When, as a genius of beneficence, Florence Nightingale encountered the horrors of the military hospitals during the Crimean war, she gave practical recognition of this duty.

But it is not on behalf of others only that we now appeal to English women—it is equally and still more urgently on behalf of themselves. Thousands upon thousands, chiefly of the lower classes, but partly of the higher, are the innocent and defenceless victims of a pestilence whose march is so secret, and whose

attacks are so insidious, that none can be certain of escape : many a trusting maiden radiant with happiness, health, and beauty, who gives herself in marriage, speedily finds her joy turned to mourning, her health to disease, and, it may be, her beauty defaced by its loathsome poison ; many a mother has to deplore the contamination, not only of her own constitution, but that of her child, to which, either before or after birth, in countless instances that poison proves fatal. Thus the social malady which we now propose to discuss is vitally interesting to woman : it affects her both as a wife and as a mother, and while destroying the health of herself and of the dearest objects of her affections, too often blights those affections themselves. Suffering as she does from its effects, shall she be restrained by conventional prohibitions, or even by her own sensitive delicacy, from manifesting her interest in it, from exerting her influence at once to repress it and to remove its causes, or from labouring in every possible way to place herself and those related to her out of danger ? On the contrary, we believe that this is precisely one of those subjects which it is her most solemn duty to examine for herself. We believe that only through the resolute co-operation and influence of women is any great and permanent diminution of the evil in question possible. If the sexual relation is to be ennobled, if passion shall ever be so restrained as to become only the intensest expression of affection, if love shall ever be so purified and hallowed as never to degrade and sacrifice, but always to exalt and bless its objects, women will assuredly be the chief agents of the change. So greatly do our hopes of social amelioration depend on the co-operation with wise and earnest men of intelligent and beneficent women, that we entreat their attention to the facts we are about to describe. We shall say nothing but what the most delicate and refined woman might listen to from her physician, nothing but what every woman, if she be capable of understanding it, should, in our opinion, know. On this subject we believe the language of simplicity to be the purest and the least calculated to offend the most delicate nature. But the contemplation of disease, of which we shall have much to say, is always painful, and not seldom revolting : no painting can make the pictures of it pleasing ; and especially would the attempt be futile with reference to those diseases the character and magnitude of which it will be our duty to portray.

The most saddening and most appalling feature of the literature of this terrible subject is the despair which nearly every writer exhibits, and which seems to deepen in proportion as his knowledge of it is at once extensive and exact : the doctrine that prostitution must

ever continue an inseparable accompaniment of civilization has become a fixed article of faith. We have met with "respectable" Christians who because it was once said, "The poor ye have always with you," complacently regard them as a Divine institution for the development of their benevolent affections; and so, in like manner, many believe the final cause of prostitution to be equally well ascertained, and acquiesce in it with equal satisfaction: we were once deeply impressed by the pious gratitude of the wife of a dissenting minister, who was thankful that prostitution afforded an outlet for passions which otherwise might jeopardize the virtue of her own daughters. A French writer thus applauds what he regards as a providential arrangement: "This sensual traffic is the compulsory aid (*l'auxiliaire obligé*) of the city police, the immoral guardian of public morality, the sad and indispensable tributary of the brutal passions of man." He adds, "We cannot hope that it will completely disappear but we may certainly foresee that it will one day hide itself at the bottom of the public sinks, and that it will no longer afflict the sight of respectable people."* The enlightened and benevolent Duchatelet makes use of these hopeless words: "Under forms which vary according to climate and national manners prostitution remains inherent in great populations; it is and always will be like those congenital maladies against which experiments and systems of medicine have contended in vain, and the ravages only of which we now strive to limit."† One of the most authoritative English writers on the subject, Mr. Acton, avows his belief as follows: "I am one of those who look upon prostitution as an inevitable attendant upon civilized, and especially closely-packed, population. When all is said and done, it is, and I believe ever will be, ineradicable."‡ Dr. Sanger declares still more unhesitatingly that, "it is mere absurdity to assert that prostitution can ever be eradicated."§ Dr. J. Jeannel, Professor in the School

* "Histoire de la Prostitution," par Pierre Dufour, i. 7-8.

† "De la Prostitution dans la Ville de Paris, considérée sous le Rapport de l'Hygiène Publique, de la Morale et de l'Administration; ouvrage appuyé de Documents Statistiques puisés dans les Archives de la Préfecture de Police." Par A. J. B. Parent-Duchatelet. Troisième édition, complétée par des documents Nouveaux et des Notes par MM. A. Trébuchet et Poirat-Duval; suivie d'un Précis, Hygiénique, Statistique, et Administratif sur la Prostitution dans les principales Villes de l'Europe. Avec Cartes et Tableaux. Paris: 1857. Vol. II., p. 338.

‡ "Prostitution, considered in its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects, in London and other Large Cities, with Proposals for the Mitigation and Prevention of its Attendant Evils." By William Acton, M.R.C.S. London: 1857. P. 15.

§ "The History of Prostitution: its Extent, Causes, and Effects Throughout the World." By William W. Sanger, M.D. New York: 1858. P. 19.

of Medicine at Bordeaux, has just issued a learned and elaborate work, in which he says:—"La nécessité de cette plaie chronique de l'humanité reconnue par les philosophes et les poètes anciens, est avouée même par saint Augustin; elle n'est point mise en doute par les moralistes, ni par les hygiénistes."* Even in the pages of this Review (before the commencement of the present Series), the author of a very valuable paper on "Prostitution" published nineteen years ago made the following admission: "Without going so far as some writers, who maintain that prostitution is necessary, and that it contributes to the maintenance of order and tranquillity, we feel obliged to admit it as a constant fact—a social datum which we have to deal with—an evil inseparable from the agglomeration of large numbers in one locality."† And we may add that the opinion expressed in these several passages, is distinctly echoed throughout the evidence concerning the Contagious Diseases Act, given last year before the Select Committee of the House of Lords.

Such conclusions from such men—men whose knowledge and experience seemingly qualify them beyond all others to judge rightly—are calculated to destroy the faith of even the most confident believers in the moral progress of the human race. But against the practical infidelity which these conclusions imply, all our best feelings rise in rebellion. So strongly do we shrink from this desolate and paralysing scepticism, so awful and hopeless is the contemplation of the eternal procession of countless generations of human beings through the same circle of loathsome sin and suffering, that we are impelled to hold fast to our conviction, which being interwoven with the whole texture of our thought assumes the nature of instinct, that, sooner or later, time will reverse the judgments cited above by effacing the foul blots of moral and physical corruption which are now fermenting, and spreading their baneful influence, throughout every civilized community. If we should ever be permitted to discuss this pre-eminently difficult part of a very difficult subject, we should be able, we believe, to give good reasons for the faith that is in us.

Prostitution may for our present purpose be defined as a public and promiscuous traffic of their own persons carried on by women for the sake of gain. Its extent is dependent on a variety of causes, which, operating at different times with different degrees

* "De la Prostitution dans les Grandes Villes au dix-neuvième Siècle, et de l'extinction des Maladies Vénériennes." Par le Docteur J. Jeannel. Paris: 1868. P. 137.

† The Great Sin of Great Cities. Being a reprint, by request, of an article entitled "Prostitution," from *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* for July, 1850.

of force, keep the number of women who resort to it continually fluctuating. Of course the number of those women who only prostitute themselves occasionally, in order to eke out their scanty means of existence when inadequate to sustain life, is that which fluctuates the most. Of such women, including milliners, dress-makers, "needlewomen," and domestic servants out of employ, there is always a great, and greatly suffering, crowd in large cities. It is this large, constantly changing class, the individuals of which are unknown, though its presence is recognised by the police, which has caused the extraordinary discrepancies exhibited by the various calculations of the number of prostitutes in London—discrepancies ranging between 6849 and 80,000! We believe that the only numbers which can be safely trusted are those which represent the lowest class of abandoned women, or so called "regular" prostitutes—women known to the police, whose traffic in their own persons is their chief business, and who rely on their gains from this source, together with that of thieving, for a livelihood. This class in London, according to "the returns of the constabulary force, presented to Parliament in 1839," amounted to 6371. The estimate of the Home authorities in 1841, from data collected in 1837, rose to 9409. A return of the number of brothels and prostitutes in London, made up to May, 1857, gives the total number of prostitutes as 8600; the careful inquiries made by the Metropolitan police in 1859 showed that at that time the number of "regular" prostitutes in London was 6849; but the latest return made by the same agency shows that in December, 1868, the number had fallen to 6515. In the year 1859 the total number in England and Wales was found to be 30,780. In 1858, however, the police found 2020 less than the number given for 1859, a fact inclining us to believe that were the police intimately acquainted with the character and habits of the whole of the lower class of women prone to be tempted by the wages of prostitution, they would find the number of such far greater than that now given. Indeed it is certain, that the great majority of the women comprised in these police returns form only the lowest strata of the prostitute population, for of the whole 30,780, the extraordinarily large number—viz., 22,755 (73·8 per cent.), were proceeded against on account of crimes which they were accused of having committed. We possess no data enabling us to state the number of women of the same class in Ireland and Scotland, but if the proportion to the total population be about the same in these parts of her Majesty's dominions as it is in England and Wales, then we may fairly estimate the whole number of "regular" prostitutes in the United Kingdom as not less than 46,000.

But besides this enormous crowd, which as just shown is chiefly

constituted by women of the criminal class, there is a far larger one, consisting of those "whose appearance in the streets as such never takes place—who are not seen abroad at unseemly hours—who are reserved in manners, quiet and unobtrusive in their houses or lodgings, and whose general conduct is such that the most vigilant of constables could have no pretence for claiming to be officially aware of their existence." Mr. Acton thinks that if all these were also enumerated the result would be such as even to throw into the shade the estimate of those who believe there are 80,000 prostitutes in London alone. That the upper classes of prostitutes immensely out-number those enumerated by the police, is also rendered evident by ascertained facts respecting the prostitution of Paris. M. Léon Lefort, who at the Academy of Medicine recently read a paper on "The Prostitution of Paris in Relation to the Propagation of Venereal Disease," states that the number of tolerated houses has diminished from 233 in 1840, to 165 in 1857, that the number of girls attached to them has decreased from 1976 in 1857 to 1306 in 1867, and that this decrease is accompanied by a formidable increase of clandestine prostitution exempt from all sanitary inspection. M. Lecœur, the head of the "Bureau des Mœurs," estimates the number of clandestine prostitutes in Paris at 30,000. Now for the purpose of framing his estimate he is enabled to possess himself of data far more reliable than any obtainable in England for a like purpose, and probably more reliable than those obtainable in any other capital city on the Continent. If the number of women in London corresponding to the class called clandestine prostitutes in Paris bears the same relation to the total population of the English metropolis as the clandestine prostitutes do to the total population of the French metropolis, then the actual number of such women in London must be about 49,000, in addition to the "regular" prostitutes, 6515 in number, already mentioned, or about 55,500 in all. And if a like proportion between the number of "regular" prostitutes and that of the class corresponding to the clandestine prostitutes of France be assumed to obtain throughout the United Kingdom, then the total number of women who live wholly or in part by means of prostitution, is about 368,000. Of course it is impossible to say how nearly this calculation approaches the reality. Availing ourselves of the experience of the Parisian authorities, we may observe in passing that no "contagious diseases act," however stringent and however zealously administered by the police, could be applied to above one-eighth part of this appallingly large prostitute-population: all except the 46,000 "regular" prostitutes—viz., the 322,000 of a superior class—would continue exempt from compulsory medical supervision,

and would successfully defy all the arts of the police to subject them to registration and official control. Moreover, it appears that while the relatively small class of "regular" prostitutes is decreasing, this superior and already large class is increasing. Facts just mentioned show the progress of this change in Paris; and a comparison of the returns made by the metropolitan police for 1857, and those of 1837, shows that the total number of "low" women infesting low neighbourhoods throughout London was 281 less in 1857 than it was in 1837; whereas the number of well-dressed women walking the streets increased during the intervening period from 1994 to 2616, or to the extent of 622.

A peculiarly sad and affecting feature of this mournful subject is the extreme youth of a considerable proportion of those who support themselves more or less entirely by prostitution: 2037 out of the 30,780 prostitutes of England and Wales are under 16 years of age.* In the course of eight years, three of the chief London Hospitals afforded medical aid, says Dr. Ryan, to 2700 patients between the ages of 11 and 14 who were suffering from venereal disease. A still greater number were refused admittance, he says, for want of room. In Scotland the proportion of very young prostitutes seems to be less than in England. Of 1000 patients admitted into the Lock Hospital of Edinburgh, only 42 were under 15 years old, the great majority, 662, being between 15 and 20. "Certain quarters of London," says Mr. Acton, "are positively infested by juvenile offenders, whose effrontery is more intolerably disgusting than that of their elder sisters. These young things spring from the lowest dregs of the population; and from what I can learn of their habits, their seduction—if seduction it can be called—has been effected, with their own consent, by boys no older than themselves. . . . These half-fledged nurslings take to prostitution as do their brothers of the same age to thieving and other evil courses, for a bare subsistence." (pp. 18, 19.) There can be little doubt of the terrible fact that many parents either countenance their children in entering on a life of prostitution, or actually lead them into it. Mr. Tait has enumerated the following cases which he has collected, of mothers living with their daughters who were prostitutes: 2 mothers with 4 daughters each; 5 mothers with 3 daughters each; 10 mothers with 2 daughters each; 24 mothers with 1 daughter each. Here we see 41 mothers concurring with their 67 daughters in their horrible trade. It seems probable also that the youngest prostitutes often become such through the influence of their elder sisters. In the course of a year Mr. Tait met with 1 case of 6 sisters; 1 of 5; 3 of 4; 10

* "Judicial Statistics," 1860, p. 8.

of 3; and 18 of 2, who were living together as prostitutes.* Similar facts are exhibited in a table compiled by Duchatelet, and which comprised 5183 women registered in Paris: of these there were discovered 164 cases of 2 sisters, 4 of 3; and 3 of 4. Besides these there were 16 cases of a mother and daughter; 4 of an aunt and niece; and 22 of two cousins-german. Here are 436 women whose relatives practised prostitution along with them in Paris within the space of 8 years.

The length of time during which these unhappy women continue to exercise their profession, and their ultimate fate, have given rise to much discussion, and also to much sentimental fiction. Only of late has the truth forced its way through the dense mass of mere assertion which has long been accepted instead of, and has prevented the search for, simple facts. It has been confidently stated and frequently repeated, that English prostitutes sink rapidly from one grade of their wretched life to a lower and a lower one, until they reach the lowest depths of misery and infamy; that only in extremely rare and exceptional cases do they ever escape from their degraded position; and that from the time they enter on their fatal career their lives are seldom prolonged beyond three or four years. Mr. Tait says, that "in the course of three years very few can be recognised by their old acquaintances, if they are so fortunate as to survive that period;" he believes that not above one in eleven survives her twenty-fifth year, and that "perhaps not less than a fifth or sixth of all who have embraced a life of prostitution die annually." Captain Miller estimates that the average length of time during which prostitutes continue as such is 5 years, and states, that "the most common termination of their career is by early death." Dr. Ryan has expressed opinions to the same effect. Dr. Sanger, referring to the prostitutes of New York, says: "The average duration of life among these women does not exceed four years from the beginning of their career. There are, as in all cases, exceptions to this rule; but it is a tolerably well-established fact that one-fourth of the total number of abandoned women in this city die every year." (p. 456.)

Duchatelet, who has been followed by Mr. Acton, examined this question in an unbiassed spirit, and arrived at a conclusion very different from that of the authorities just quoted; and, as it seems to us, all reliable data now available strongly support his views. He, as well as Mr. Acton, so far agrees with them as to admit that, in respect to a very restricted class of the lowest of the low, the average duration of life may be the time they allege; but he shows that the great

* "Magdalenism; an Inquiry into the Extent, Causes, and Consequences of Prostitution in Edinburgh." By William Tait, Surgeon. 1850. P. 29.

majority of prostitutes enjoy better health than other women of the class from which they are chiefly supplied ; that the downward progress and death of the prostitute, in the absolute ranks of that occupation, are exceptional ; and that she succumbs at last, not to that calling, nor to venereal disease, but in due time, and to other maladies common to respectable humanity.

It is well known that the upper and middle ranks of prostitutes are always abundantly numerous ; now if they pass from these ranks through the several intermediate ones, until they reach the lowest, with a rapidity approaching that asserted of them, either this corrupt and corrupting stream of human beings must overflow and deluge the lowest parts of each great city, or, having drained all the higher social levels, it must proceed without obstruction to empty its living flood into the all-receptive ocean of death. But, strange to say, neither of these results is observable. The table showing the relative distribution of prostitutes over the different police divisions of London accords with what, *a priori*, we should expect to be the relative degrees of demand for them in each of these divisions, regard being had at the same time to the fact, that many girls who reside in inferior neighbourhoods for the sake of economy, exercise their profession in wealthier districts. It is true, that of the 8600 prostitutes enumerated in the return for 1857, and spread over the 17 police divisions of London, 1803 are congregated in one division (H), but this division consists of Spitalfields, Houndsditch, Whitechapel, and Ratcliff, and comprises the places of resort of a large majority of the sailors in the port of London. If the large number in this division were to any considerable extent the result of the rapid degradation of women from higher positions, it ought gradually to increase from year to year, unless death keeps the balance even. But, in fact, the total number of "low" women, infesting low neighbourhoods throughout London, is as we have just shown, absolutely lessening ; whereas the number of well-dressed women walking the streets is increasing at more than double the rate at which that of the "low" class is decreasing.

A certain number, no doubt, of thriftless and reckless, or stupid and helpless women, gradually sink during their wretched career until they reach the lowest deep to which woman can be degraded ; and there is reason for believing that those of the lowest class die off much more rapidly than their sisters in the ranks above them. They are less comfortably lodged, less well fed, more exposed to the cold of inclement seasons, while less fitted to withstand its effects, and, most important of all, they are fearfully addicted to "drink." These are the powerful auxiliaries and agencies of death amongst this most debased and most pitiable class of human beings. But to whatever extent their mortality may be increased

by these agencies, they certainly do not kill off their victims with a rapidity approaching in any degree to that which would be necessary in order to enable them to destroy annually a fourth, as stated by Dr. Sanger, or a fifth or a sixth, as stated by Mr. Tait, of all who embrace a life of prostitution, and to cut off ten-elevenths of the whole before they pass their twenty-fifth year.

It is popularly believed that a large number die of the diseases directly induced by prostitution, but this conviction will not stand the test of facts: according to statistics furnished by the registrar-general, it appears that throughout London during the years 1846-7-8, the deaths of only seventy-three women were due to these diseases; that in 1855 of 468 deaths of females from syphilis in England and Wales 318 were of children under five years of age; and consequently that only 150 of those who died of venereal disease in England and Wales were above that age. But of this number nine were under ten years of age, and thirteen above forty-five, so that only 128 out of the whole number could have been actual prostitutes, and capable of being destroyed as such. This number is only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the total number of prostitutes as enumerated by the police in London alone. "The whole mortality of prostitutes at St. Lazare, the female venereal hospital at Paris, was but sixteen in 1853, and seventeen in 1854;" and these deaths were principally caused by non-syphilitic affections.

The fact is, the average mortality of prostitutes while living as such is not greater, as is commonly affirmed, but is probably less than that of respectable women in their own rank of life. The most attractive kind of physical beauty is that which is at once the result and expression of a well-developed and thoroughly healthy organization; and it is precisely the possessor of such an organization who is most exposed to the temptations of the seducer, and who, therefore, is most likely to be led or driven, sooner or later, to adopt a life of prostitution. Horrible as the truth may be, it is we fear indisputable that the ranks of this section of civilized communities are, to a great extent, recruited from the finest women of their order, seduction being the means by which the healthiest and most vigorous are selected.* They live an idle life, pass much of their time in the open air, are generally well clothed and well fed, and thus proceed in their career with a capacity of withstanding the attacks of disease and

* "The fact of a girl's seduction generally warrants her possession of youth, health, good looks, and a well-proportioned frame—qualifications usually incompatible with a feeble constitution."—*Acton*. p. 60.

"L'embonpoint de beaucoup de prostituées et leur brillant état de santé frappent tous ceux qui les regardent en masse, et qui les voient réunies en assez grand nombre."—*Duchatelet*, i. 185.

of bearing its results, which is denied to their more respectable but poorer and harder-worked sisters. "Notwithstanding," says Mr. Acton, "all her excesses (and legion is their name), the prostitute passes through the furnace of a dissipated career less worse from wear than her male associates." Duchatelet, while recognising that in Paris, as in London, there is a small section of prostitutes of the very lowest class the members of which die off rapidly, yet sums up the results of his inquiry concerning the average health of Parisian prostitutes in these words:—

"All that I have said on the chances to which prostitutes are exposed of suffering from various diseases, confirms the truth of that which has often been repeated to me by medical men and others who, having charge of them, observe them, viz., that in spite of the many excesses they indulge in, and of the many causes of disease to which they are liable, their health resists attacks better than does the average health of women who have children, and who do ordinary domestic work; and that if any of the diseases to which all are liable actually seize upon them, they do not appear to suffer more seriously than other people. In short they have, as was once said to me, iron bodies capable of bearing excesses which would quickly ruin other women."

This statement was first published in 1836. In 1857 the editors of the work in which it appears testify to its correctness as follows:—"The observations which we have been able to make, seem to confirm the opinion expressed by Parent-Duchatelet, that prostitutes are not more subject than other women to ordinary diseases."—(i. 258-9).

If, as the foregoing evidence shows, only a small proportion of women die while in the ranks of prostitution, if the number of the lowest classes of prostitutes does not steadily augment by the continuous degradation of women from higher levels, and if, although fresh victims are being added daily to the crowd of social outcasts, the total number in London, at least, does not materially increase, there must be some way or ways ignored by most writers on prostitution, by which a large number escape every year from their debasing occupation. What becomes of them? As prostitutes in England, excepting those in certain towns where the Contagious Diseases Act is now in operation, are neither registered by the police nor subject to any kind of governmental supervision, it is impossible to obtain authentic accounts of their career and ultimate fate. We can only assure ourselves of certain cardinal facts; for the rest we are left to conjecture. In such cases analogy is generally our best guide, and often proves a very good one. What is true of French prostitutes is likely, *mutatis mutandis*, to be also true of English prostitutes. Like causes are operating in both countries,

and will probably issue therefore in like results. Duchatelet has assembled a great number of authentic and very curious facts illustrative of the career of the French prostitutes, and showing what is the ultimate fate of a large proportion of them. At the *préfecture* of the Parisian police, there is an office designated *le Bureau des mœurs*. This department has sole charge of the Parisian prostitutes. When entering on the vocation they have chosen, or when detected in exercising it, they are compelled, after a rigid examination into their history and condition, to enter into a sort of contract involving submission to a code of rules prescribed for their guidance; and thus they place themselves entirely under the supervision and control of the police.

The name, age, residence, and other particulars of each are registered; each is obliged to appear at stated intervals for medical examination; their movements are consequently known. In 1854 the number on the Paris register varied each month from 4177 to 4292, the average for the year being 4232. In the same year the number of names erased from the register was 835; this was the lowest number of erasures during the preceding ten years. In 1848 and '49 the erasures were 1281 and 1145 respectively. During the ten years from 1845 to 1854 inclusive, the average number of registered prostitutes was, fractions apart, 4237; while the average number of annual erasures was 1001, or nearly a fourth of the whole. It is thus evident that the average length of time during which prostitutes continuously exercise their profession under the supervision of the police in Paris, is a little more than four years, and that within that period nearly the whole of them disappear and give place to a fresh supply.

Of the 10,013 women whose names were erased from the register during the ten years just mentioned, death, if we are to credit the assertions of several philanthropic authors, must have carried off by far the greater part. The truth is, out of the whole number, death caused the erasure of only 953 names during the period in question. The following authentic statement shows in what manner the whole number disappeared:—

Table of Erasures of the Names of Women from the Paris Register during ten years, from 1845 to 1854 inclusive, with a statement of the motives for the same.

Women permanently erased.		During ten years.		Yearly average.
Died	Adults	870	.....	87
	Minors	83	.....	8·3
Married	Adults	233	.....	23·3
	Minors	8	.....	·8
Proved to have other means of existence .	Adults	136	.....	13·6
	Minors	5	.....	·5
Entered into employment	Adults	1050	.....	105
	Minors	41	.....	4·1

Women whose names were erased provisionally.		During ten years.	Yearly average.
In consequence of disappearance	By means of passports	2977	297·7
	Ceased to appear at the Bureau	4276	427·6
In consequence of	Judicial condemnation	153	15·3
	Transfer to an asylum or house of refuge	89	8·9
Having obtained a Tolerance-book (permission to keep a brothel)		92	9·2
Total		10,013	1001·3

We have said that the average length of time during which the registered women of Paris *continuously* practise prostitution in that city is slightly above four years ; but a large proportion of the women whose names are provisionally erased, and a few of those whose names are completely erased, reappear and are re-registered.

Table showing the number of women re-established under control, from 1845 to 1854 inclusive.

		During ten years.	Yearly average.
Women re-established under control, after having been discharged and erased from the register in conse- quence of	application for erasure	231	23·1
	departure with passport	1630	163·
	ceasing to appear	2445	244·5
	condemnation	99	9·9
	transfer to House of Correction	21	2·1
	obtaining a Tolerance-book	81	8·1
Total		4507	450·7

Prostitutes are especially habituated to migrate from one town to another, and this table of course includes a large number of women who thus left town for a time, as well as of those who struggled to escape from their degraded position, who succeeded for a time, but who at length were forced back to the only resource left to them. After one or more subsequent trials many of these, no doubt, permanently escaped ; the residue consists of those helpless or incorrigible creatures who continue to practise prostitution as long as they can live by it, who descend from bad to worse, who at length, when not infesting the lowest haunts of the capital, are either in a hospital or a prison ; and who finally form by far the largest proportion of those who escape for ever from the hated control of the police only by the intervention of death.

Of those women who, having once had their names erased from the register, never allow them to be re-inscribed there, about a fourth part leave Paris, and are not traceable afterwards ; a large number become milliners, sempstresses, washerwomen, shop-keepers, or sellers of fruit, oysters, and other articles in the streets ; a few have accumulated a sufficient sum to insure them an inde-

pendent income ; a few have had incomes settled upon them ; many marry ; a certain number live with rich men as wives without the legal bond ; a far greater number live in a like relation with workmen, chiefly old bachelors or widowers, and pass for their legitimate wives,* and a considerable proportion become domestic servants in families of every social grade—some of them as nurses of children, some as ladies' maids.† Thus ceasing to act as prostitutes by commencing or recommencing a "respectable" career, women who a little time before would have been regarded as outcasts too debased to be spoken to, are admitted into the houses of the refined and affluent classes, are entrusted by mothers with the care of their children, become the attendants and probably not seldom the confidants, of their daughters just blooming into womanhood, and, in short, entering every department of domestic life, have confided to them, at one time or another, the most important or the most cherished interests of a considerable section of society.

If we bear in mind that though the whole of the registered prostitute population of Paris is renewed in little more than four years, 45 per cent. of the newly registered consist of women whose names had been previously registered and erased, we may fairly conclude that altogether six years is about the average length of time during which women lead a life of prostitution in Paris.

The destination of the prostitutes of Copenhagen accords very closely with that of those in Paris, and, which is especially remarkable, the rate at which in each capital they pass through their transitional state is nearly the same ; in exactly four years a number equal to the average number on the register at any given time wholly disappears. During the six years ending 1849, the average number of prostitutes registered at the beginning of each year, at Copenhagen, was 233 ; the average number added to the register each year during the same period was 27 ; and the average number erased from the register each year during the same period was 57 $\frac{1}{2}$, showing a steady diminution of the number registered, at the ratio, within a fraction, of 31 a

* An inspector of Paris street sweepers informed M. Duchatelet that two-thirds of them are provided with wives in the manner we have mentioned. The rag-dealers are said to follow their example.

† In Duchatelet's analysis of the situations entered upon by 461 prostitutes who became domestic servants, he says that "28 entrèrent chez des gens riches, chez beaucoup de femmes titrées, en qualité de bonnes d'enfants ou femmes de chambre ; 19 chez des magistrats, des avocats, des médecins, des artistes ; 9 chez de gros négociants en qualité de demoiselles de boutique et de comptoir ; 5 dans des pensionnats et des maisons d'éducation."—i. 582.

year. The following table shows what became of the whole number removed :—

	Total.	Annual average.
Went to service or work	101	16 $\frac{5}{6}$
Given over to the Commission for the poor	99	16 $\frac{5}{6}$
Sent to prison	6	1
Married	95	15 $\frac{5}{6}$
Left the country	11	1 $\frac{5}{6}$
Died	29	4 $\frac{5}{6}$
Committed suicide	6	1
Total	347	57 $\frac{5}{6}$

We have not learnt what is the proportion of women who are re-registered in Copenhagen, but as nearly a third of the names removed from the register each year are erased on account of marriage, it is probable that the proportion of re-registered women is less in Copenhagen than in Paris. On this account we incline to believe that the average length of time during which women practise prostitution in Copenhagen is about five years.

Seeing that in Paris and Copenhagen prostitution for the great mass of women who resort to it is proved indisputably to be, as Parent-Duchatelet observes, "but a transitional state, that the greater part of them quit it by the end of the first year, and that very few persist in it to the end of life,"* are we entitled to infer that prostitution in England is a state equally transitional, that it is escaped from to an equal extent and with equal rapidity, and that a very large majority of those who have practised it merge again into general society, obtaining positions similar to those acquired by their sisters in the capitals of France and Denmark? An affirmative answer, with certain qualifications, may, we think, be confidently given to this question. The result will no doubt be modified by differences in the character, opinions, and circumstances of women in each country. It seems not improbable that the natural gaiety and love of social pleasures which distinguish the French may exert a powerful influence in inducing French women of the lower class to take to prostitution; that French ideas of social morality which tolerate concubinage to an extent unrecognised in England, having narrowed the gulf between respectability and social outlawry in France, facilitate equally both the first passage over it and the second back again; that the passport system and the inquisitorial power of the French police, by enabling parents to recover their erring children, result in the reclamation of a certain number of prostitutes who thus

* "Rappelons-nous que la prostitution n'est, pour la masse des filles publiques, qu'un état transitoire; qu'elles le quittent pour la plupart dès la première année, que très peu y persistent jusqu'à extinction."—i. 584.

rapidly give place to others ; and that the sanitary regulations to which all registered prostitutes in Paris are compelled to submit, may insure to the lowest class of them a longer term of life than is permitted to the corresponding class in England. On the other hand, the strong element of seriousness in the English people, the almost savage severity with which a large proportion of them punish any infraction of their social code in matters sexual, their remorseless persecution of the fallen, who, for the first offence, are too often treated as the worst of social malefactors, the almost insuperable barriers encountered by a hitherto respectable girl who, having fallen, struggles to recover her position, the cruelty with which she is often deprived of all courage to make the attempt, by being made to feel that she is hopelessly "lost" and "ruined," and the absence of that tacit acquiescence in concubinage which obtains in France, constitute a group of circumstances tending to impede either the way to prostitution or the exit from it. Bearing in mind these qualifying influences, and striving to estimate them at their true value, we believe that the general career and ultimate fate of the prostitute population of London is essentially the same as that of Paris ; that, as a rule, subject of course to many exceptions, prostitution is also in England only a "transitional state," but that the phases of it are passed through somewhat less rapidly than in France ; that the proportion entering or emerging from it within a given period is less ; that the number who never escape, and who consequently die as prostitutes, is, perhaps, greater ; and finally that whereas, exceptions apart, the total prostitute population of Copenhagen vanishes within a period of five years, and that of Paris within six years, its place in each capital being filled by a new supply, that of London, exceptions apart, does not, perhaps, disappear and become replaced in a less period than seven years.

This conclusion, arrived at by analogical reasoning, and corrected by a consideration of the modifying facts just indicated, seems to receive confirmation even from the statements of those inquirers who, assigning a period of from three to five years as the average duration of the *life* of prostitutes, maintain that, exceptions apart, the whole prostitute population actually dies off within that time. It is remarkable that not one of these writers bases his assertions on statistical evidence—which, indeed, is not to be had ; to a certain extent, however, they are supported by observation : prostitutes are observed to disappear. We have already quoted the statement of Mr. Tait (the result of his observations at Edinburgh), that of the prostitutes observable at a given date very few can be recognised at the end of three years from that date. The authorities entrusted with the control of the

vagrant and pauper institutions of the city of New York, ordered the police to submit a series of elaborate questions prepared by Dr. Sanger to the prostitutes of each municipal ward. Dr. Sanger estimates the number of prostitutes in the city as 6000; he bases his estimate on police returns in answer to inquiries made in 1858. These returns, which were to some extent the result of conjecture by the several inspectors of police, give the total number as 3857. Answers to the questions prepared by Dr. Sanger are published by him as having been given by 2000 only. Why that number has been fixed on he does not say. The question—"For what length of time have you been a prostitute?"—having been proposed to 2000 women, answers were elicited from them which are embodied in the following table:—

Time.	Numbers.	Time.	Numbers.
1 month	71	Bt. forward	1879
2 months	49	13 years	6
3 "	76	14 "	7
4 "	62	15 "	9
5 "	51	16 "	13
6 "	126	17 "	3
7 "	129	18 "	4
8 "	17	19 "	8
9 "	21	20 "	4
10 "	32	21 "	1
1 year	325	22 "	1
2 years	55	23 "	2
3 "	245	24 "	2
4 "	203	25 "	1
5 "	125	27 "	1
6 "	87	29 "	1
7 "	56	30 "	1
8 "	69	32 "	1
9 "	32	34 "	1
10 "	26	35 "	1
11 "	8	Unascertained	53
12 "	14		
	<hr/>		
	1879	Total	2000

Assuming that the number of prostitutes, in proportion to the population, does not rapidly vary, and that the causes which determine their movements are always alike operative the question, "How long have you been a prostitute?" would have elicited the same answers had it been asked at any time—say twelve months—after the date at which it was actually answered. If so, and assuming the answers to be given correctly—which is assuming a great deal—1177 women out of 2000 must leave the ranks of prostitution in New York annually, their place being supplied by an equal number of fresh ones; and, what is still

more remarkable, out of the 1177 who are thus presumed to abandon prostitution each year, 270 must do so at the end, and 634 before the end of twelve months from the date at which they begin their dissolute career.

In commenting on this table Dr. Sanger, referring to Duchatelet's statistics, says, "In Paris $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. had survived the horrors of courtesan life for fourteen years; in New York only $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. have reached the same period. In Paris $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. existed; in New York, $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. exist after ten years of exposure. (p. 485.) This passage plainly implies his conviction that death is the chief, if not sole agent by which 1177 out of 2000 women were removed from the scene in two years! This rate of mortality is more frightfully rapid even than that which he has himself formally assigned to New York prostitutes. He says, "Estimating the prostitutes of New York at 6000 (and this is not an exaggerated calculation), the appalling number of 1500 erring women are hurried to their last long homes each year of our existence." (p. 456.)

If this unqualified statement were based on authentic records of death, we should be bound to believe it; but as it rests only on the phrase, "*it is a tolerably well established fact* that one-fourth of the total number of abandoned women in this city die every year," we do not hesitate to designate it as one of the many extraordinary fictions which seem to have been invented to increase and intensify the horrors of the horrible subject to which they relate. The "*tolerably well established fact*," as well as the table just given, proves too much. If there are 6000 prostitutes in New York, and if as the table shows, 1177 out of each 2000 disappear annually, then the total number of those who thus disappear is 3531. Assuming the reliableness of the tabulated answers, and the conclusion implied by Dr. Sanger that all those who disappear have died, we must believe in the absolute destruction of 3531 prostitutes in New York each year! Now, as already shown, of the whole number of names which were erased from the Paris register in ten years, less than 10 per cent. were erased in consequence of death. If we apply the Paris rate of mortality to the number of New York prostitutes who disappear each year according to Dr. Sanger, and also to the number deducible from the table given above, the results are as follows:—In the one case 150 quit prostitution yearly by the gates of death, and 1350 escape by avenues leading them where they may find many years of life still in store for them; in the other, 353 enter "the undiscovered country," and the enormous number of 3178 partly merge into the mass of the "respectable" population of New York, and partly spread themselves over the vast regions of the United States. If in consequence of the non-application to

New York prostitutes of sanitary regulations like to those in operation at Paris we were to assume their mortality to double that of their Paris sisterhood—and by doing so we should, we believe, be going far beyond the truth—the actual mortality would still be so far below Dr. Sanger's estimate as to deprive it of any claim to credence.

Dr. Sanger has himself supplied data which effectually confute his own conclusion. Of the 2000 women questioned under his superintendence, 821 gave an affirmative answer to the question, "Have you had any disease incident to prostitution?" and of this number 571 admitted that they had been affected with syphilis, which alone claims consideration in this connexion. Assuming 6000 prostitutes in New York, and that a like proportion of all were similarly affected simultaneously (a very improbable supposition), there would be a total of 1713 thus suffering. Therefore after allowing nine for the average annual mortality among 1500 women between the ages of fifteen and thirty, syphilis, according to Dr. Sanger, must be fatal in 1491 out of 1713 cases,—an absurdity so glaring that he feels compelled to suggest "outrageous assaults," the brutal control of "bullies," "intemperate habits," and "mental anguish," as co-operate agents of death. Knowing how extremely few are the deaths of adults directly ascribable to syphilis in Great Britain, where no sanitary control of prostitutes exists, we believe that it is very rarely immediately fatal to adults in New York. As to the other causes assigned for the extraordinary mortality alleged, we presume that even in New York such outrageous assaults on women as prove fatal are extraordinary facts, and do not occur at the rate of three or four a day. Intemperance, doubtless, shortens life, but alcohol when drunk to the extent it is by the most reckless, is generally a slow poison, and requires years in which to kill its victim. Mental anguish, too, is rarely more rapid: suddenly broken hearts are exceptional phenomena; grief debilitates, but seldom swiftly destroys. By extinguishing the animal spirits it withdraws their health-giving influence from the body, and thus renders it an easier prey to any disease which may attack it; like alcohol, however, its fatal effects are manifested in the course of years rather than months, whereas by far the largest proportion of the New York prostitutes whose alleged deaths have to be accounted for, enter and disappear from the ranks of prostitution within the year.

There can be no doubt that when the horrible realities and prospects of a prostitute's life are practically revealed to her, she strives with all her might, in the great majority of cases, so long as hope does not desert her, to escape from the terrible doom which she knows overtakes nearly all those who remain

after beauty and youth have forsaken them. Prostitutes are still human creatures with human feelings and instincts. What it is to be a social outcast, desolate among millions, homeless, friendless, spurned by relatives, cursed by a father, and denied the last surest refuge of the suffering—a mother's love, they can feel as poignantly as their more fortunate sisters. They are still women; and, though yielding themselves to the mere sensual passions of their patrons for the sake of gain, yearn for real affections, for children, and all those domestic joys which are supremely dear to their sex. Moreover, many of them during their tender years received religious instruction from the Sunday-school, or from pious mothers. Though hidden deep in their hearts, that Christian influence not seldom exerts its power—inducing a sense of sin and a fear that the eternal welfare of the soul is imperilled. Making the efforts which they do to free themselves from their degradation, their success will necessarily vary according to the barriers which they encounter. We have already seen reasons to believe that those barriers are less, while the facilities for escape are greater, in France than in England. In America the temptations to enter on, and the means of relinquishing a life of prostitution, are even greater than they are in France. A large number of girls arrive at the port of New York as immigrants and strangers bordering on destitution: ensnared by wretches who lie in wait for them, and constrained by poverty, many of them are tempted to prostitute themselves for the means of existence. A few months' experience disgusts them with their new life, admonishes them of the danger of continuing it, and at the same time enables them to learn of the numerous openings which America presents to all who are able and willing to labour, and so to "work out their salvation." They are not slow to avail themselves of the opportunities they meet with, and hence it is, as we believe, that such an enormous proportion of New York prostitutes disappears each year. Instead of dying, the great majority contribute to swell the ranks of the industrious, and afterwards the population of the great republic. Thus the "transitional state" is passed through most rapidly in America, less rapidly in France and Denmark, and least rapidly in England. But though here the movement may be slower—though prostitution may be a longer phase in the life of Englishwomen who practise it; it is no less surely passed through and emerged from by a very large proportion of all who enter it. "To a most surprising, and year by year increasing extent," says Mr. Acton, "the better inclined class of prostitutes become the wedded wives of men of every grade of society, from the peerage to the stable."* A great num-

* The Roman Catholic Church, which refuses to tolerate prostitution, adopts,

ber relinquish prostitution in consequence of having formed relationships which, except in the absence of the legal bond, present all the features of true conjugal life ; some, having obtained from their former lovers pecuniary provisions, are sought for and married on account of them ; many are aided in their endeavours to support themselves in various small businesses ; many emigrate to the United States and the British colonies ; and a large number—a considerable proportion of whom also marry sooner or later—re-enter on domestic service, in which they had formerly been employed.

We have been thus careful to demonstrate the certainty that prostitution is mainly a transitional state through which thousands of British women are constantly passing, because, as we shall see hereafter, a conviction of this truth will exercise a very important influence on the conclusions to be deduced from the investigation we now proceed to enter on—the effects of prostitution on the health and strength of the British people.

The extraordinary rapidity with which a contagious disease most usually called by physicians *Morbus Gallicus*, was spread throughout Europe during the latter part of the fifteenth century, and the frightful ravages which it committed, induced the belief that it was a new and hitherto unknown pestilence which had suddenly broken out. The source of this deadly calamity long remained a mystery, and during three centuries has been the theme of continuous discussion. Gonzalvo Ferdinand, of Oviedo, author of a history of the East Indies, published in 1545, first gave authoritative currency to the statement that it originated in America. He asserted it to be endemic among the natives of St. Domingo ; that it was brought thence by the soldiers and sailors who accompanied Columbus on his return, in 1496, from his second expedition to the New World ; that on their arrival in Europe they enlisted for the most part under the flag of Gonsalvo

in Malta at least, a very remarkable method of withdrawing prostitutes from their calling. The sailors of that island have the belief instilled into them that they can please the Virgin Mary by no means so effectually as by marrying prostitutes, who are thus rescued from temporary and probably from eternal perdition. When in peril from Mediterranean storms they therefore vow to their humane goddess that, if she will save them, they will each act the part of saviour to one of her sex. He who reaches land and keeps his vows applies to a priest, tells his pious intent, and requests the holy father to select the fortunate prostitute who is to be thus made “an honest woman.” The one selected is called upon to give any money or jewellery which she may have acquired by practising her profession to the Church, and to live a chaste life for twelve months, after which the Virgin’s dearest wish is completed. Many of the women thus rescued are said to make very good wives. We are indebted for this information to the eminent surgeon, Mr. Spencer Wells.

de Cordova, to go and fight the French who had invaded the kingdom of Naples; and that they communicated the disease to the Neapolitans, who thus became the immediate source of the general contamination. This statement was widely credited during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but in fact the disease broke out in Naples three years earlier, viz., in 1493; and in a decree concerning it, issued by the Parliament of Paris in March, 1496 or 1497, it is spoken of as having during two years previously made great progress in France. Later writers have endeavoured to hold to the substance of the above story by maintaining that on the occasion of Columbus's first return, not his second, the disease was brought to Europe. This notion, however, is not tenable, for it is known that on his return Columbus stayed for some time successively at Lisbon, Palos, Barcelona, and Cadiz, and that the disease in question did not manifest itself in any of these cities for several years from the date at which he and his retinue visited them.

That during the latter part of the fifteenth century a contagious disease of horrible virulence, and chiefly communicable by sexual intercourse, raged in Naples with such extraordinary fury as to excite general attention and alarm, that it was carried to France and spread throughout that country by the returning French army, and that the principal cities of Europe speedily suffered from the infection in a form far more aggravated than that which it now presents, seems indisputable. Why it should have suddenly assumed the character of a swiftly-spreading epidemic at this period is a mystery which probably will never be explained—a mystery, however, no greater than the appearance of various plagues and epidemics of the Middle Ages, the deadly invasions of cholera and influenza during this century, and the remarkable exacerbations which from time to time characterize the ordinary zymotic diseases of this country. The disease in question, by assuming a violent epidemic form, caused general attention to be fixed upon it; its source and nature thus became the objects of incessant study, and thus its affinity, if not essential identity, with diseases described by ancient writers, was firmly established. In fact, though its true character and cause had hitherto remained unknown, it seems to have been observed in one or other of its Protean forms in every age of which we have a record.

The extremely loathsome forms of syphilis with which we are acquainted historically are now seldom seen, and mankind has perhaps no longer reason to dread fresh invasions of that plague-like epidemic which suddenly broke out in Naples and ravaged Europe towards the end of the fifteenth century. But let it not, therefore, be imagined that the present and future generations

are secure from the attacks of this most destructive enemy. Though no longer compelling general attention by its horrible and wide-spread loathsomeness, or by striking the inhabitants of great cities with sudden terror, it continues to exercise its fatal power silently and secretly, its effects being inconceivably extensive and deadly, precisely because of the insidiousness with which they are achieved. Its ravages, unlike those of other plagues, are ceaseless, and consequently it counts a greater number of victims than all those added together who from time to time have fallen as sacrifices to the scourges which have swept over and filled mankind with dread. It is in the midst of us; it pervades every rank of society; its traces may be discovered in almost every family; its Protean and ever-changing forms are too numerous to be computed, and often elude detection even by the most experienced eyes; it attacks by preference the young and vigorous; the strength of manhood in the prime of life it reduces to weakness; the healthy blood of blooming womanhood designed to nourish the coming generation into vigorous life, it converts to poison; it blights the infant in the womb, and contaminates the milk drawn by the child from its mother's breast. It respects neither virtue, nor purity, nor innocence, which are alike defenceless against its indiscriminating and corrupting influence.

Before it assumed the form of an epidemic, in the fifteenth century, it had no distinct name, its nature was not understood, its treatment was in no sense systematic. But in the sixteenth century it had acquired various names, a specific cause of its spread was discovered, and the relation between its primary and secondary—its local and general symptoms—was recognised. The names *French disease*, and *Neapolitan disease*, were applied to it as expressive of the belief that the French and the Neapolitans had communicated it to other nations. But as its origin is unknown, and as its poison is absorbed and diffused chiefly by intercourse of the sexes, the name now most usually applied to it, unless some special form be intended, is "venereal disease." Under this generic term are ranged a vast variety of maladies, some of them, from their appearance speedily after contagion, being called *primary*, some, from following these at intervals more or less remote, being called *secondary*. The most remote, but still distinctly recognisable, consequences of the primary attack, are also denoted as *tertiary*. These divisions are conveniences of language, but are far from being accurately representative of the infinite gradations of form and nature which the disease presents. The word *sequelæ* is probably the most comprehensive and least objectionable name by which to designate the large assemblage of phenomena spoken of as secondary

and tertiary symptoms. But at its very outset the disease presents two forms which are seemingly distinct from each other, and the constitutional consequences, or sequelæ, of which maintain, more or less completely, their separate individuality. These diverse phenomena have induced a belief in two distinct diseases, named respectively blennorrhagia and syphilis. The former name describes the chief feature of the malady to which it was applied; the latter is the creation of Fracastor, an eminent Latin poet and physician, who wrote during the first half of the sixteenth century, and who, in his chief poem, "*Syphilis, sive de Morbo Gallico*," fancifully alleges that the shepherd, Syphilus, was the first who was smitten with the disease which the gods in their wrath invented. The primary attack of the one disease consists chiefly of a specific inflammation of the mucous membranes of the reproductive organs, the secretions of which are increased and transmuted into poison; the primary attack of the other may occur on any part of the body, which, under favourable conditions is exposed to its infection, and results in an ulcerating wound, the frequently destructive character of which is implied in its French name, derived from *καρκίνος*, cancer. Both these primary affections are thus local and acute; and both may occasion sequelæ, constitutional and chronic. The former, however, does so much more rarely than the latter. After the primary local disease has occurred, and after it has disappeared spontaneously or by medical aid, and the lapse of an indefinite period of incubation, constitutional symptoms may exhibit themselves. The system is then wholly pervaded by the poison, the effects of which are so numerous and enduring that we can convey no adequate conception of them without tracing and exhibiting them as detected in the various structures of the body. We may, however, name those which are commonly recognised as the more immediate effects, some of which appear in one person some in another. They are: inflammation both of certain lymphatic and of the seminal glands; rheumatic inflammation of the joints, especially of the knees and ankles, with pain, swelling, tenderness, and fever; inflammation of the fibrous structures of the eye (rheumatic ophthalmia) accompanied with excruciating pain; inflammation and suppuration of its mucous membrane (purulent ophthalmia) which not unfrequently destroys the eye;* inflammation of the bladder and kidneys; and, in the male, such contraction or obstruction of the outlet of the renal secretion as

* Some maintain that this form of ophthalmia never originates constitutionally, and is only induced by accidental application of virulent pus to the eye. There is, however, good reason to believe that it originates both ways. See Vidal, p. 153.

often results in life-long suffering, and not unfrequently in death, either directly from the disease, or indirectly from the immediate effects of an operation, performed to avert its otherwise inevitably fatal termination. These are the ordinary potential accompaniments, or sequelæ of the blennorrhagic form of venereal disease. Those of its syphilitic form comprise a vast variety of eruptions of the skin; various diseases of the nose, mouth, throat, and ear; inflammation of the iris, which though not usually entailing permanent loss of vision, not unfrequently returns after cure; painful affections of the muscles and tendons; inflammation and morbid developments of the covering and lining membrane of the bones (the periosteum); inflammation, ulceration, and death of the bones themselves; and many other forms of suffering,—including a great variety of diseases of the nervous system—which we cannot conveniently refer to now. The morbid conditions of the muscular, tendinous, and osseous structures are accompanied by pain of all degrees of intensity, sometimes fixed and permanent, sometimes wandering and recurrent, and especially troublesome or excruciating during the night. Sometimes, in the beginning of these “rheumatic pains,” as they are commonly called by their victims, the whole skeleton is painful; their deep-seated character makes them seem to come, in the language of the patient, “from the marrow of the bones.” They are often acute and lancinating, the sufferer feeling as though the bone were strongly pressed in a very narrow space, or were being bored through, and in many cases are aggravated by the slightest touch. The long continuance and great destructiveness of these osseous maladies are among their most deplorable characteristics.

The question of the essential distinctness or unity of these two cardinal forms of venereal disease has long been warmly discussed—eminent physicians and surgeons ranging themselves on opposite sides. John Hunter believed in their unity; M. Vidal, Mr. Erasmus Wilson, and many others, now hold the same opinion. M. Ricord, Mr. Acton, and the great majority of medical men, the reverse.* If, as we believe, the virus presents countless modifications of quality and intensity, derived from the different constitutions in which it is elaborated, and possibly from the different parts of the organism in which it is developed, it is quite intelligible how, though originally and essentially one, these varieties may still

* See the arguments and authorities *pro* and *con*, in the excellent treatise on Venereal Diseases, by A. Vidal, one of the Surgeons of the *Hôpital du Midi*. We have availed ourselves of the translation by Dr. G. C. Blackman, published in New York, in 1855.

further differentiate into specific forms which, like the species of the vegetable and of the animal kingdom, may acquire such definite individuality as to be considered permanent and incapable of transmutation. Some believe, however, that in many cases such transmutation occurs.

The venereal poison resembles that of small-pox and cow-pox in its capacity of propagation by inoculation and contagion, but differs from them by its ability to repeat its attacks on the same individual an indefinite number of times. The blood of persons who have once suffered from those diseases is so modified as generally to prove prophylactic against their subsequent invasions; and if this prophylactic power should be so far impaired as to permit of recurring susceptibility to these poisons the resulting diseases are of an extremely mild type; whereas the venereal virus leaves its victim (if it ever does leave him) still exposed to a fresh attack. About twenty-five years ago M. Auzias-Turenne, of Toulouse, conceived the idea of inoculating with the syphilitic poison in the same manner and, *mutatis mutandis*, for the same reasons, as persons used to be inoculated with cow-pox. By experiments on animals, originally begun for another purpose, he imagined, and still imagines, himself justified in recommending this horrible and perilous process both as a preventive and cure of syphilis! Signor Sperino of Turin, and Professor Böck of Christiania, have distinguished themselves as its most eminent practitioners and advocates. That in many cases the organism can be so saturated with the poison as to be incapable of setting up further local disease at the seat of inoculation seems established, but that in such cases, after the lapse of a certain time, susceptibility to the virus returns, is equally established. M. Vidal speaks of the facts alleged in its favour as not entitling the proposed process to a place in medical science; his great rival, M. Ricord, regards it as a total failure, refers to the few observations which he has "saved from the shipwreck" of the system, and pours unmeasured contempt on its advocates. Our readers will probably rejoice with us in the assurance that, so far as we know, the common sense of English and American surgeons has preserved them from this loathsome and worse than futile practice.

A specific and certain antidote for the poison in question has yet to be discovered.* Of its physical character and essential nature we know nothing. Those marvellous oracles, the microscope and chemistry, are alike dumb when appealed to for a revelation of the efficient cause of its mysterious potency. We know it only

* Mercury and iodide of potassium exert, however, a wondrously powerful control over it.

by its effects. Such is its concentrated power that a single drop of pus from one of the wounds it occasions, mixed with a tumblerful of water, will render each drop of that water virulent; and such its persistency that, like vaccine lymph, it may be preserved in tubes or between glass plates an indefinite time without losing its efficacy. So preserved for seventy-three days by M. Ricord, it has afterwards produced its characteristic disease by inoculation. To prove effective, it must be applied in a liquid state, or in such manner as to become so by the moisture of the part with which it is brought in contact. The disease it induces is during its first stages most easily, and therefore most frequently, propagated by contagion. Indeed, many medical men, at the head of whom stood John Hunter, have believed that the consecutive forms are not contagious; even M. Ricord, though he has now changed his opinion, was for a long period of this number. But the great and rapidly increasing crowd of facts accumulated presents an irresistible logic before which the most obstinate doubter is compelled to bow. By the urgency of M. Auzias-Turenne, the French Minister of Public Works asked the Paris Academy of Medicine, whether the secondary symptoms of syphilis are contagious, and whether, in the case of infants, the secretions of these symptoms have, as far as contagion is concerned, properties different from those of the symptoms of adults. A committee of the Academy instituted experiments at the St. Louis Hospital, and on the 24th of May, 1859, reported as follows:—

“1. There are secondary, or constitutional, symptoms of syphilis which are contagious. 2. This rule holds as good for the nurse and suckling as for other individuals; there is no reason for supposing that, with children at the breast, the secretion from secondary symptoms has properties different from those observed with adults.”*

M. Ricord acknowledged the truth of these conclusions.

“It is unquestionable,” says M. Vidal, “that a woman having that form of syphilis only, which it is asserted can no longer be infectious, may give birth to syphilitic children, who may infect their nurses, whilst the latter in turn may communicate the disease to their families.”—p. 50.

In reply to the question (324),—Is the inherited disease contagious? Dr. Berkeley Hill said before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, “Yes, in young children: when it appears in babies at the breast it is very contagious indeed. Their tissues grow very rapidly, their secretions are very free, and those secretions contain the poison in a communicable shape.” Mr. Paget

stated that "the forms of secondary syphilis may undoubtedly recur twenty times after a person has been discharged from hospital, and be each time infectious" (652). The fact is now thoroughly established by a great multitude of careful observations that a man who is himself free from every symptom of disease, but whose blood is tainted with the syphilitic poison, may yet so contaminate his newly-wedded wife, that its constitutional effects will appear a few months after marriage, and that these will not be preceded by any symptoms giving warning of the coming evil. Mr. Erasmus Wilson narrates a case, which occurred in his own practice, of this kind:—A gentleman suffered from, and was apparently cured of, the disease in November; in the following March he married, his medical attendant having first assured him that he saw no reason against his doing so; and in the following June his wife was suffering from constitutional syphilis. Her husband continued free from any appearance of the malady. "There can be no question," observes Mr. Wilson, "as to the poisonous condition of the blood of the husband at the time of marriage." He mentions the case of another gentleman, who also married in March, two months after he had been cured of the disease when it first showed itself. At the time of his marriage, he believed himself thoroughly well, and his wife was a fine healthy young woman who had never had a day's illness. In July, she gradually fell into bad health; in August she miscarried; and in October had sore-throat, eruption on the skin, swollen glands in the neck, rheumatic pains, and other distressing maladies undoubtedly symptomatic of constitutional syphilis.* Dr. Whitehead adduces several similar cases.† Dr. Campbell, of Edinburgh, cited by Dr. Whitehead, has recorded the two following:—"A young wife, whose husband was a physician, was three times delivered prematurely; two of the children were born alive, but died after a few hours; the third was still-born and decomposed. It was then ascertained that the husband had suffered from primary syphilis six months before marriage, of which he was considered cured, and that he had not since experienced any indication of the existence of syphilitic disease." In the second case, a lady was successively delivered of three children prematurely: the first and second died speedily after birth, the third was still-born and putrid. Both husband and wife appeared in perfect health; but the husband had repeatedly had syphilis, the last attack of which occurred *twenty-three*

* "On Syphilis, Constitutional and Hereditary." By Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S. (Pp. 3-6.)

† "On the Transmission from Parent to Offspring of some Forms of Disease, and of Morbid Taints and Tendencies." By John Whitehead, M.D. London: 1857.

years previously, and *seventeen* years before marriage. This case affords striking evidence of how frightfully long the disease may remain in the system, retaining the power of proving horribly contagious and destructive. Sir W. Jenner narrates a case of "a physician of considerable reputation" who, when a student, was infected with the disease. "He got well, and five years after, he married, and his first child died of constitutional syphilis. He called on me," says Sir William, "and told me this of himself."

Mr. Wilson apprehends that in cases like to the above "no one can doubt the natural secretions of the mucous membrane of the husband being the medium of transmission of the poison;" it may be so, but it is not the only conceivable medium. Abundant evidence exists that the ovum (the child in the womb) may be contaminated at the very period of conception without the intervention of syphilitic poison in the maternal blood; if so, the virus must be conveyed in the male reproductive element. If that element be thus tainted, we may without difficulty believe with Mr. Porter* that it may also directly contaminate a constitutionally susceptible woman without the necessary occurrence of any poison-secreting wound on either the man or the woman. There is now little doubt, however, that though in cases like to the above infection may occur by means of the seminal secretion which is presumed to affect the mucous membrane of the woman in the manner just suggested, the ordinary medium is the ovum, which is tainted at the moment of conception by the poison in that secretion. The poison thus pervades the ovum as it grows, and by means of the relation between the foetal and the maternal system ultimately diffuses itself throughout the latter. Hence it is that the death of the foetus and symptoms of constitutional syphilis in the mother are so often simultaneous phenomena, that the husband may cause them without himself exhibiting any appreciable trace of disease, and that, consequently, the wife he has poisoned may become also the victim of a horrible, and cruel, while utterly groundless, suspicion of conjugal unfaithfulness. Mr. Harrison adduces convincing arguments that the *usual* process by which men having constitutional syphilis infect their wives is through the intervention of the ovum, and supposes a case of double impregnation, one ovum being fertilized by a healthy male, the other by a tainted one, in order to express his conviction that from the latter the mother's system would become poisoned, and that she would then communicate to the previously healthy twin foetus the virus with which she had thus been suffused.

* Porter's "Lectures on Syphilis," quoted by Dr. Blackman. See his translation of Vidal, p. 56.

Similar views were published in 1858 by M. Diday, of Lyons, in his work "On the New Doctrines of Syphilis." As indirectly confirming these views, we may cite a case mentioned by Mr. Wilson (p. 248), and a second recorded by Dr. Whitehead (p. 248) both of which tend to prove that the product of the seminal glands of men affected with constitutional syphilis is not only poisoned, but that its free secretion operates as a natural emunctory by which the symptoms of the constitutional disease are kept in abeyance, and the stoppage of which is followed by their reappearance and the active suffering they occasion. Thus it seems that as the child in the womb of a consumptive (and we may add of a syphilitic) mother suspends the progress or lessens the activity of her disease, by itself becoming the object on which its virulence is expended, so the hapless wife may maintain her husband in seeming health while unconsciously transferring the syphilitic poison from him to herself. The parallel holds good still further; for as after the birth of the child the disease resumes all its deadly activity in the maternal system, so if the vicarious function of the wife is arrested, the disease invisibly smouldering in his system may burst out afresh.

It is equally interesting and important to observe the gradations of potency which the poison conveyed in the male secretion just referred to presents. In its highest degree of virulence it may, as believed by Mr. Wilson, Mr. Colles, and Mr. Porter, infect the female system without first becoming developed in the ovum, and may in cases of pregnancy reach the latter through the former; its power is, perhaps, already slightly impaired when it infects the mother only through the intervention of the child. When its force is somewhat further diminished, though it still infects both the mother and the child, the ostensible symptoms of the disease are restricted to the child only. M. Ricord treated a woman who in succession had two syphilitic children, but who herself exhibited no sign of disease. M. Baumés records a case in which both parents were and continued seemingly healthy (the father alone having previously had constitutional syphilis); their first four children died, having pustules and other symptoms of the disease; and the fifth, similarly afflicted, was only saved by mercurial treatment, and before being cured, poisoned two nurses.

The long vitality of the virus, and the extraordinary manner in which it may lurk for years, absolutely concealed and unsuspected in the maternal blood, is shown by the following fact, observed and recorded by M. Vidal: A woman married to a man who had an obstinate attack of constitutional syphilis, gave birth to a child that died with

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. P

the most evident signs of the disease. Her husband also died ; and she, herself apparently healthy, married again to a perfectly sound man ; yet four years after her former marriage, the result of her second union was a child as syphilitic as her first one ! M. Vidal also gives the following case, which is still more extraordinary, on the authority of M. Vassal : A widow having constitutional syphilis, was seemingly cured ; she subsequently married again, and had two children, both of whom died syphilitic. Her second husband died soon afterwards from typhoid fever, *without having ever suffered from venereal disease*. She married a third time, and from this union had twins, which also died syphilitic. She afterwards had a fourth child ; it, too, was diseased but recovered under treatment. One of these children poisoned its nurse. During all the time, from the date when she was first seemingly cured, the mother never ceased to enjoy apparently good health !

It has now been satisfactorily ascertained from experiments with animals, that if a female have young by two different males in succession, the progeny of the second union may resemble the male of the first : a mare fecundated by a zebra, had a colt bearing the characteristic marks of the zebra ; she was afterwards separated from the zebra, and fecundated by horses, the results being three successive foals, each of which bore distinctive marks of the zebra from which she had been separated. This fact and several similar ones, which have been authenticated, prove that the cases just related, which at first sight seem inexplicable, are in strict accordance with natural laws, and indicate what a really momentous and solemn thing, for the woman especially, marriage is ; for they show that a mother by becoming such subjects her constitution to the possibility of a profound and irrevocable change ; that the characteristics of her husband's system, whether wholly poisoned, wholly healthy, or in some intermediate condition, are impressed upon her through the intervention of her child ; that no judicial separation or divorce can enable her to annul the constitutional identification which has been effected, and that as long as life lasts, whether she may have been tainted so deeply by any constitutional disease as to manifest it in either herself or her offspring, or whether the changes induced elude her recognition, she can never escape the fate to which she has surrendered herself.

Considering these facts, who can safely venture to declare when a man who has had constitutional syphilis is justified in marrying ? It may be quite true that the syphilitic virus can be subdued for a time by the power of mercury or iodide of potassium, but there is no evidence that it can be eradicated. On the contrary, symptoms of its presence may appear again and again after

such treatment, while mercury itself will also leave its own debilitating mark. Mr. Wilson says,—“Taking the most favourable view of the case, from two to five years should be permitted to elapse;” but he, as well as others, believes the poison lurks in the blood as long as life lasts. The prospects of the married under such circumstances are, constitutional contamination of the wife, and either such destruction of offspring as that just related, or families of diseased and debilitated children—sources of continued anxiety to their parents, and whose health, if in later years they do not fall the victims of consumption, too often continues feeble and precarious to the end of life.

Another of the natural secretions, that of the breast, seems to be a frequent source of contagion. The following fact is recorded by Dr. Whitehead: F. M., when 28½ years old, bore her fourth child, which was full-grown and appeared perfectly healthy. The three previous pregnancies were equally successful: the offspring survived. During her fourth confinement her husband contracted syphilitic disease. It appeared to be completely cured in three weeks, and not until *six months* afterwards had he any constitutional sequelæ. But in the *third month* after the wife's delivery, she, who was “a firm, plump, stout person, of light, ruddy complexion, and of healthy family,” found herself afflicted with disease of the reproductive organs. She had medical aid, and got apparently well. About two months later unequivocal symptoms of constitutional syphilis broke out in various parts of her body. By several months' treatment she got rid of all these symptoms except one. The infant, plump and healthy at birth, began at ten or twelve weeks old to be feverish and fretful; at the age of four months its excoriated mouth and throat, husky voice, and broad eruptive spots on the skin, which was soon afterwards thickly sprinkled with dark-coloured scaly patches, showed its system to be suffused with the syphilitic poison. “It died cachectic, at the age of sixteen months.” This child was clearly poisoned by its mother's milk. (p. 91.)

We cite another instance from Dr. Whitehead's pages: A lady was delivered of her first child, a fine girl, and made a speedy recovery. When three months old the child, then healthy, was vaccinated. When ten months old, “she was a remarkably fine child, and the health of her mother was also unexceptionable.” At this time her father contracted primary syphilis. He got speedily well, and on account of his commercial engagements was away from his wife for more than two months after every outward manifestation of the disease had left him. Two months later, the child being fifteen months old, and still at the breast, became covered with syphilitic eruptions. The mother, too,

had several suspicious symptoms. By appropriate treatment both child and mother appeared much better. But unable to swallow solid food, the child was still fed at the breast, and when eighteen months old had another accession of eruptions; the glands near the ear inflamed and suppurated; dropsy, and other distressing symptoms came on, and the little girl, the first-born of its parents, in blooming health during the first year of life, was cut off when twenty months old. A few months afterwards the mother also sank—both she and her child being victims of the same indiscriminate destroyer. The husband married a second time; his constitutional disease reappeared, and was communicated to his second wife, and entailed on her offspring! (pp. 101-104.)

The following is a similar story: J. R., thirty-seven years old, of sound constitution and healthy parents, contracted syphilis from her husband six weeks after her confinement of her sixth child. The poison pervaded her constitution, and through her milk infected her infant whom she suckled. It struggled with the loathsome disease for two years, and then died. (p. 123.)

There is reason to believe that in some instances the secretion of milk also operates as a powerful emunctory, and that by means of this outlet the poison is conveyed from the mother to her infant—the disease in her being thus subdued and kept latent by the sacrifice of her offspring. Mr. Wilson mentions a child who had been infected by means of its mother's milk, she having no symptoms of syphilis, and observes,—“The mother of this child doubtless owed her own safety from an outbreak of constitutional disease chiefly to the action of this emunctory.” (p. 153.)

There are grounds for the opinion, as observed by Mr. Wilson, “that the whole of the secretions are poisoned in a person affected with constitutional syphilis.” That the saliva is so, as well as the product of the oral mucous membrane, is extremely probable. That syphilitic children, sometimes having sore mouths and sometimes seeming not to be thus affected, will poison the nurses who suckle them, is an established fact. In 1828 a gentleman, having symptoms of secondary syphilis, consulted Dr. Price of Margate, and expressed his fear that his wife, then far advanced in pregnancy, was also affected. When the child was born, a healthy young countrywoman, Mrs. F., who had lost her own child, and whom Dr. Price knew to be respectable, was engaged to suckle it. Shortly afterwards a suspicious-looking sore appeared in one of her nipples, at the same time she observed that the child had a sore mouth, and a disagreeable odour. She soon became covered with an eruption, lost the skin from the palms of both hands, had pains in her limbs, and disease of her

nails. In 1830 she was delivered of a male child similarly diseased, which died when three months old. In March 1831 she was delivered of a dead child, and her health, excellent before, was wretched ever after she became infected by the child she hired herself to suckle. About six weeks after she first discovered a sore on her nipple, and consequently returned the child to its parents, another respectable married woman, Mrs. H., who had succeeded Mrs. F. as nurse of the returned child, applied to Dr. Price, "having a large sore on one of her nipples, a copper-coloured eruption on the skin, and ulcers on both tonsils." Dr. Price ascertained that her husband was perfectly free from venereal disease. She, having a child of her own, had, with a view of supplying each child with its proper share of food, carefully kept each to the breast allotted to it. Nevertheless her own child became affected with syphilis, having imbibed the poison with its milk, and in 1851 was dying of consumption. She subsequently gave birth to two syphilitic children; one died when six weeks old, "a miserable object;" the other, though it was covered with an eruption and lost its nails, recovered, and still survived at the date of the report. To complete this circle of infection, the mother of these children communicated the disease to her husband. Here is a record of eleven cases of constitutional syphilis, resulting in four deaths, all traceable to one source—the infection in eight instances, and all the deaths being due directly or indirectly to the contamination of the two nurses by the first child mentioned.

Dr. Bennett relates the following facts: A child, the offspring of respectable parents, was placed with a woman to be nursed; it had a cutaneous eruption, and by the advice of Dr. Bennett, who pronounced the eruption syphilitic, was returned to its friends. It was then placed with another nurse, and died within a week. Both nurses were affected with syphilis, the body of the second one being "covered with a syphilitic tubercular eruption." An action was brought against the medical man who, mistaking the disease, had caused the syphilitic child to be sent to the first nurse, and he was finally obliged to compensate both.* We could fill many pages with records of similar cases.

There are many other less definite but equally fatal modes of infection. A woman admitted into the Hôpital du Midi, made the following statement:—

"I reside in the country, ten leagues from Paris. I have four children, all of which, together with their father and myself, have always enjoyed excellent health. Eight months since I took a found-

* "Clinical Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Medicine." By Professor Bennett. P. 905.

ling child to nurse, two years of age; it was a wretched looking child, and had pimples on its body and sore throat. We permitted it to take soup with the same spoon as ourselves, and to drink from the same glass. Soon one of my girls complained of a severe sore throat; this increased, and she died in about six weeks. The foundling also died. Soon after this I began to suffer from an affection of the throat, as did these two children; their father suffered nothing, and to this day is perfectly well.”*

A little girl who had syphilitic tubercles in the mouth, contracted from a nursing which her mother had taken, was placed in one of the weaning houses in the environs of Paris. In this establishment there was but one tin cup for six little girls. Four of these children, who were previously sound, became affected with tubercles like to those from which the new-comer suffered.†

A woman who was accustomed to draw or suck the breasts of lying-in-women, had in her mouth a venereal ulcer, which she concealed from fear of losing her employment. She affected several women “of the better sort to a miserable degree;” in fact they not only suffered from constitutional syphilis, but communicated the poison to their husbands also.‡

A commercial traveller contracted a sore on his lip. When starting on a journey, the infection not having yet produced any indication of its presence, he kissed the mouth of his niece, a child twelve years old, who in a few days became affected with symptoms like those which developed themselves in him. The cousin and sister of an infant affected with congenital syphilis shared in their attention on the invalid, which had perforating ulcers in its lips during a few days previous to its death, and a sore mouth for a considerable time before. It died when thirty-six weeks old. When it was twenty-five weeks old its sister and cousin, supposed to be exhausted from watching, began to be languid, feverish, restless, and to suffer from pain of the head and limbs. Soon afterwards they had soreness of the mouth and eruption about the lips, at the angle of which syphilitic tubercles appeared. The mother suspected the cause, and cautioned the little loving nurses not to kiss the baby again; but too late, the mischief was done; the usual symptoms of constitutional syphilis afflicted the cousin, and in 1850, after ten years of suffering from the time of her contamination she died. The sister dragged on a miserable existence until 1849, when, contrary to the judgment of her mother, and notwithstanding an eruption on her face, she married. Her first child was born a few days before her cousin’s death. In a

* Vidal, p. 477.

† Ibid. p. 488.

‡ Dr. Barry’s “Medical Essays and Observations,” quoted by Dr. Whitehead (254) from Van Swieten.

few weeks formidable symptoms of congenital syphilis broke out in the child, its nasal bones were destroyed; it lingered on until five years old, when it died, emaciated to the last degree.

M. Cullerier, says Dr. Whitehead, relates the case of a young lady who became diseased from having received a kiss on the mouth from an officer. Four or five months after this occurrence an ulcerated tumour appeared on her lip. It was found to be syphilitic, confirmatory proof of its character being afforded by the fact of its disappearance after a course of mercury. She declared that she had never suffered any intimacy with any man with the exception of the kiss just mentioned.

Dr. Waller, of Prague, believes himself to have proved by numerous experiments that the blood of a tainted person applied to a wound on a healthy one, is capable of corrupting his whole system. This fact, if confirmed, will fully explain how it is, and how it is inevitable, that all the secretions of sufferers from constitutional syphilis should be poisonous, and enables us to understand how vaccination may become a contaminating process.

Dr. Whitehead records a case observed by himself, in which he was the unconscious instrument of conveying the venereal poison from a syphilitic child to a healthy one, by taking vaccine lymph from the arm of the one and inserting it in the arm of the other. Previous to vaccination, both it and an elder child of the same parents were healthy; and it appeared upon inquiry that the infant from whom the vaccine matter was taken, had suffered soon after birth from purulent ophthalmia, accompanied with blotches on the skin, for which it was several weeks under treatment. The newly tainted child died when four and a-half months old of constitutional syphilis. While sucking its mother it infected her system through the nipples, and she died at the age of thirty-eight, "about three years after the invasion of the mischief occasioned by vaccination." Dr. Whitehead has notes more or less complete of nine similar cases. We believe that many such might be collected.*

* "In hospital practice and in private practice I have noticed, as no doubt many others have, that vaccination in children is very often, or rather not unfrequently, followed by many different disturbances of the system—by cough, *skin diseases*, diarrhoea, head symptoms, &c. On questioning the mother one finds that the child had been in perfect health up to the time of vaccination, and that it is only since the pustule appeared on its arm that the child was sick."—Correspondent of *Medical Times and Gazette*, May 19, 1860.

The occurrence of syphilis after vaccination in children who previously seemed healthy, is explained as the development into activity of the latent congenital poison, vaccination being sometimes perhaps the stimulus to evolution, but generally not so. It is maintained that the relation between the two is not one of cause and effect but merely of time. This explanation may be the true one in some cases, but we doubt its application to all.

"Although," he says, "we may discredit the possibility of receiving the infection by drinking out of the same glass, or smoking the same pipe, by sleeping in the same bed that has been previously occupied by one diseased, inhaling the atmosphere which surrounds him, using the same bath, or steadfastly regarding a gonorrhoeal ophthalmia; yet I, for my part, would submit to many inconveniences rather than knowingly incur the risk of contamination by inattention to even such trifling and apparently harmless circumstances as these. Indeed, I am strongly inclined to coincide with Bielt's conviction, that 'there exist certain forms of syphilis with which every species of contact may prove dangerous.'"—p. 271.

Evidence already adduced points to the conclusion that the venereal poison may be absorbed into the circulation without the facilitating agency of any wound, abrasion, or solution of continuity of the tegumentary surface; and there is reason to believe that infection may even take place when the surfaces of both the recipient and of the communicant are entire. Cases of the former kind are numerous. Dr. Whitehead mentions one observed by himself in which local disease was induced in a part of the body previously sound, by being touched with matter from a secondary wound. "The question of the risk incurred was remarked upon at the time, but the virus was deemed to be innocuous in that particular situation, and the circumstances were quite forgotten until the characteristic sore made its appearance about two months afterwards." He states that since this occurrence he has "witnessed several instances of this kind of transplantation," and quotes similar evidence from Cazenave, who says,—"*J'ai vu moi-même une éruption syphilitique chez un jeune médecin, qui n'avait jamais eu de maladie vénérienne; elle est survenue, peu de jours après avoir touché plusieurs femmes infectées, sans avoir la moindre écorchure.*" The French physician, Hourmann, was infected in a similar way. "When he declared," observes M. de Castelnau, "that he could not have contracted syphilis except in the discharge of his duties as a physician, no one thought of doubting his veracity, and had any one dared so to do, he would have provoked but a just and universal feeling of indignation among all who were acquainted with that virtuous man." M. Vidal adds,—"*I was the colleague of Hourmann at the Lourcine, and I can but repeat the language of his pupil.*"

The danger incurred by medical men in treating patients suffering from syphilis is really very great, though of course, when infection takes place in such cases there is generally some wound or abrasion of the skin of the hand of the medical man through which the poison is absorbed. Mr. Prescott Hewitt, senior surgeon to St. George's Hospital, states that "surgeons and accoucheurs are especially liable to syphilis in their professional

avocations. Two years ago I saw two surgeons in full practice in London, who were both affected with syphilis through accouchements, and one of them died under my care. I may quote another case, I will not mention his name, but I will merely state that one of the very leading surgeons, whose name is perfectly known to your lordships, and who only died a few years ago, was affected with syphilis from a cut which he got in his finger in opening an abscess in the hospital. It is not more than six years ago that one of the best surgeons in one of our largest hospitals was obliged to give up practice for six months because he had poisoned his hand from a similar cause. I have known a student come to the hospital, and, with a mere chap in the finger from cold weather, contract syphilis, and all but die of it. He was attending a syphilitic sore, and he got the discharge into his hand. At any moment I myself may get the disease. The only wonder to me is, that ever any of us escape it."* Mr. James Paget says,—“I have seen at least five surgeons, in active practice, and in good health previous to inoculating this disease on their fingers, who have died, some after months, others after years, of illness. And I must have seen at least fifty who, through similar inoculation, have suffered more or less severely before they recovered health.”†

The long persistence of the disease is scarcely less remarkable than its virulence. We have already mentioned a case in which a gentleman seemingly well became successively the father of three syphilitic children each born prematurely, the birth of the last being twenty-three years after his last attack of the disease; and Mr. Prescott Hewitt mentions two cases of gentlemen who consulted him about a year and a half ago on account of maladies resulting from syphilis contracted in the one case twenty-four years, and in the other twenty-eight years previously.‡ It is undoubtedly true that by judicious treatment the symptoms of syphilis may as a general rule be subdued and made to disappear, the disease, however, cannot be eradicated by any treatment; at best it can but be neutralized, or rendered latent, and even when treated most vigorously, by submitting the patient to the prolonged influence of mercury, for example, there is no security against a fresh outbreak of the malady, and the communication of it to any one in intimate contact with the person affected with it.

Pre-eminently and most emphatically applicable to syphilis is

* “Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Act.” (1133.)

† “Report on the Extent of Venereal Disease,” p. 25.

‡ “Evidence taken before Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Act.” (1126.)

the terrible declaration that "the sins of the fathers shall be visited on the children to the third and fourth generation." In thousands of cases the child is blighted in the womb, premature birth of the ovum at various stages of development, almost always dead, and often putrid, being one of the most characteristic results, and in women one of the most reliable diagnostic signs of constitutional syphilis. As Sir William Jenner observes,— "When a woman miscarries time after time, it is one of the inquiries one makes as to the condition of the infant, or rather of the foetus, at the time it was thrown into the world; whether it showed any signs of being syphilitic" (1103).

A most distressing thing in connexion with this aspect of the disease is the frequent recurrence of the evil in the same patient: "thus it is no uncommon thing," says Dr. Barnes, the obstetric physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, "for a woman to suffer five, six, even ten or more abortions and premature deliveries, and never to have a healthy child."*

Moreover, of the many syphilitic children born at the full term of gestation and surviving it, a considerable number die within a few months after birth: "The Registrar-General's returns for 1866 give 408 deaths from syphilis in that year. The great majority of these are children. This number, great as it is, gives no idea of the real amount, as from the shame attaching to this disease, it is assigned as a cause of death in public practice only, and seldom or never in private practice."†

In a large number of cases of children tainted with syphilis the disease does not prove fatal, but operates as a widespread and powerfully degenerative influence. In 1866, at the Hospital for Sick Children, "174 children were affected with syphilis, out of 1007 surgical cases seen, or about one-fifth;" and out of 251 orphans placed out during three years, "though all were healthy when entrusted to their foster-mothers, thirty-eight subsequently sickened of the disease they had inherited of their parents; and two of them infected their nurses with it." When children affected with constitutional syphilis are born alive and apparently well, "the existence of the taint may become manifest in a few weeks. At the end of about a twelvemonth these symptoms may disappear; it was, until quite recently, supposed that all traces of hereditary syphilis had then departed, but this is by no means invariably the case; the poison may be latent, and again exhibit its virulence during growing youth. Thus, children who have been the subjects of hereditary syphilis in infancy may not only exhibit the previous effects of disease, but may suffer from fresh outbreaks in an ac-

* "Report on the Extent of Venereal Diseases," p. 26.

† Ibid. p. 8.

tive form, such as an acute ulceration of the throat, and freshly formed nodes on the bones. The most remarkable affection which may occur at this period appears peculiar to the hereditary form of the disease—a cloudiness of both corneæ of the eye, technically known as *interstitial keratitis*. At the same time that these recent effects of the poisonous principle are seen, the changes that occur in infancy at once characterize the nature of the disease; thus, very often the whole body is puny, the forehead projects, the nose is flattened, the skin around the mouth is often puckered from old ulcerations, and lastly, and most important, a peculiar change takes place in the teeth, the incisors being dwarfed in size, narrowed, rounded, and notched.* We may add that this morbid and stunted growth of the teeth leads to their rapid wasting and decay (653).

In fact the results of inherited syphilis in reference alike to the forms they assume, and the structures they affect, are almost innumerable. Perverted forms of nutrition, or exudations from the nutrient vessels, resulting in what are called “syphilitic deposits,” are phenomena met with in every part of the organism, and in no parts more frequently perhaps than in those of the nervous system. The brain itself is especially liable to be affected in this manner, and inasmuch as these deposits are liable to occur in various parts of the nervous system simultaneously, the symptoms of their existence are often astonishingly numerous and complex. Among the recognised results we may enumerate insanity, and paralysis of very various kinds including blindness, deafness, and loss of taste and smell.

These deposits often occur in the pulmonary tissue, and are thus a prolific source of a kind of consumption familiar to every physician who sees much of the diseases of children in the lower ranks of life. The Registrar-General's Reports of the number of deaths caused by syphilis fail to give the faintest idea of the real fatality of this all-pervading disease. “For example,” as remarked by Sir William Jenner, “a child suffers from bronchitis; it is registered to die from bronchitis; but the child might neither have had the bronchitis, nor, supposing it to have suffered from that disease, have died from the bronchitis, if it had not been first the subject of such a constitutional disorder. The subject of constitutional syphilis dies from disease of the spleen; it dies from disease of the liver; it dies from inflammation of the bowels; it dies from infantile cholera, and is registered as having died from these diseases and not from syphilis. I mention these as common things for which the child is brought to the hospital, and found to be a subject of constitutional syphilis, and that it is which is leading to all its trouble.” After making

* “Report on the Extent of Venereal Diseases,” p. 23.

this statement respecting the disease in children, he adds, "But having had large experience among adults, I would express also my opinion of the frequency with which it is the cause of illness and death there; not merely among the poor, but among the better classes. Within a few months I have seen a case of so-called Bright's disease, that is, kidney disease, which was really syphilitic. I have seen a man die from a disease which ten years ago would have been registered as an anomalous form of cancer of the lung, but was really syphilitic. I have seen a man leave the hospital something better, but he might have died in it, and probably has died by this time, with extensive disease of the liver, syphilitic in origin and nature. At the same time I had in the hospital a girl of fourteen, who had also disease of the liver and disease of the eye, a poor miserable child for life, because her parents had syphilis. Ten years ago, certainly fifteen years ago, no one would have supposed these syphilitic; now there is not a shadow of doubt about it. It is ordinary current professional knowledge." (1175-6).

Authentic statistical evidence of the extent of venereal disease, in its primary and most recognisable forms, in the United Kingdom is unfortunately unobtainable. But were such evidence accessible it would fail utterly to convey an approximatively correct idea of the power exerted by that disease as a degenerative agency continually operating to deteriorate and debilitate the physical constitutions of the community. We shall, however, mention a few facts suggestive of its extent and immediate effects. We have already offered a conjecture that the number of the whole prostitute population of the United Kingdom is about 368,000. There are no data for determining what proportion of these are habitually suffering from venereal disease. A statement was made in the first Report of the Commissioners on the Constabulary Force of England and Wales, that at that time 2 per cent. only of the London prostitutes were thus suffering. But this statement can only have been the result of verbal inquiry, as the commissioners had no power to order an actual investigation to be made. Many girls would refuse to confess themselves diseased, and many others, though diseased, would not be conscious of being so. As we have already stated, of the 2000 New York prostitutes questioned under the superintendence of Dr. Sanger, 821 admitted that they either were or had been diseased. The inquiry made on each of these two occasions was not exactly the same, but bearing this in mind, the conclusions deducible from the facts elicited differ so widely from each other as to make us distrust them both. We again have recourse, therefore, to the invaluable statistical evidence obtainable from the Paris *Bureau des Mœurs* as our only

reliable guide. During the five years from 1828 to 1832 inclusive, it was found as the result of a monthly medical examination, that of the registered prostitute population of Paris, the average proportion afflicted with syphilis was 1 in every 83. Of the women living in registered houses 1 in 25, or 4 per cent., were affected. Of those not registered, but who submitted to examination, 1 in 4 were diseased. Owing to the strict medical superintendence enforced during the ten years ending in 1854, the proportion of disease among the registered women became much smaller than during the previous period. Of those not under control, examination, as far as practicable, proved that 19 per cent. was the proportion suffering from syphilis. But during the six years 1861-66, of 13,818 women arrested for clandestine prostitution, 3725, or more than 25 per cent., were found diseased. The condition of the latter class is seemingly most analogous to that of the London prostitutes, but is probably lower than their average social and sanitary condition. In fact, the conditions under which the public women of London and Paris live are so far diverse that the health of the Paris prostitutes can only supply data for conjecture as to the health of those in London. But, in view of the facts just stated, there can be no doubt that if we assume that 10 per cent. of English prostitutes are diseased, we shall be making a very moderate estimate. A large proportion of the men who become infected by these women convey the disease to other women, and in many instances, when married, to their own wives. Now we have shown that the great majority of prostitutes abandon prostitution after having practised it a short time, and merge again into ordinary life—many through the portal of marriage, many as domestic servants, who frequently marry afterwards—and that probably within seven years, exceptions apart, the whole prostitute population of the United Kingdom is renewed. But suppose on account of those who die, or who continue prostitutes, we deduct a fourth, there would then remain 276,000 who return to ordinary life during each 7 years. This is at the rate of about 39,430 a year. Of the "regular" prostitutes very few, it is believed, escape contagion during some period of their career. Of the superior classes of women included in these figures less is known, but undoubtedly very many of them become infected. Adding the number of infected women to the enormous number of men who are annually infected, we get a faint idea of the amount of organic poisoning which is going on every year. When the cumulative effects of this process, continued from year to year, are considered, the appalling extent to which society is being saturated by the venereal poison may at least be imagined.

Whether in the foregoing statement we have over-estimated

the number of prostitutes in the United Kingdom can only be decided by careful statistical inquiry; but that we have underestimated the proportion of women affected with venereal disease, and therefore the extent to which men contract it from them, we feel quite certain. This conviction is corroborated by the partial revelations of the London and provincial hospitals.

At St. Bartholomew's Hospital about 6000 registered surgical out-patients are seen annually, and of these about *the half* are suffering from one form or other of this disease. A vast number of cases of the same kind are also seen in the casual department; and many cases of hereditary syphilis treated in this hospital are not included in either of the above categories. The registrar of Guy's Hospital, Mr. Steele, calculates that about 25,000 cases of the same disease are treated yearly at that institution. At the Royal Free Hospital 117 cases of this kind are seen daily, or, in other words, at this charity the enormous number of 42,705 cases are treated annually. Though these numbers do not include the vast number of cases seen in the casual department of St. Bartholomew's, and probably of Guy's, and of the Royal Free Hospital, yet the cases actually enumerated as treated by these three hospitals amount to 73,700. It is estimated that of all the surgical out-patients seen at Guy's, as well as at St. Bartholomew's, 50 per cent. are of the kind in question, and of the immense number seen at the Royal Free, $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or three-eighths, are also of the same kind. At King's College, University College, St. Mary's, Westminster, London, and Middlesex Hospitals, the number of like cases varies from 20 to 33 per cent. of all the out-patient surgical cases daily seen at these hospitals. Mr. Prescott Hewitt states that during the thirteen years he acted as assistant-surgeon at St. George's Hospital his experience led him to the conclusion that the syphilitic patients resorting to that hospital throughout that period formed 25 per cent. of the whole number of surgical out-patients. At the *Dreadnought* Seaman's Hospital, which affords relief chiefly to sailors of the mercantile marine, the number of cases treated is about 50 per day; and at the London Lock Hospital 179 male and 39 female, or in all 218, out-patients are seen daily. The large Hospital of St. Thomas's makes no return of the number of its out-patients, but the half of them are said to be infected with the disease in question.

About 100 patients suffering from diseases of the eye are treated at St. George's Hospital each week; 30 per cent. of these diseases are, as Mr. Tatum has informed us, syphilitic. Mr. Hutchinson reports that of the cases of eye disease for which out-patients are treated at the Ophthalmic Hospital, Moorfields, 20 per cent. are results of the same cause. At the hospital for disease of the throat, 15 per cent. of all the cases are syphilitic. In the hospitals and dispensaries for the treatment of skin

diseases, from one-eighth up to four-fifths are reported by Dr. Hunt and others to be secondary syphilitic eruptions.

Having already greatly exceeded the limits prescribed for this article, we have no space in which to state the amount of disease caused by prostitution in the several provinces of the United Kingdom; we may mention, however, that in Manchester alone an average number of 387 patients apply daily at the numerous medical institutions there for relief from maladies due to that cause; and that in the other large towns the extent of these maladies is, there is reason to believe, as great, relatively to the population of each, as it is in London itself.

No amount of time can ever restore a human organism tainted with syphilis to the condition of health and strength which it might otherwise have enjoyed; while, if reproductive, the impress of its changed constitution will always be borne by its progeny, becoming, it is true, fainter and fainter as time elapses, until its characters are no longer legible; but even then the results will continue, for the secondary effects of causes operative in living bodies cannot be annihilated so long as those bodies exist. Bearing in mind that syphilis affects the whole constitution, that it manifests itself in extensive cutaneous eruptions, and equally affects the most deep-seated structures, that the natural secretions are tainted with and become the media of the poison, that it is transmitted from parents to their offspring, and that even the blood itself of a syphilitic patient if applied to a wound on a healthy person, is believed to be capable of contaminating his whole system, the reader will readily infer that the several sanguineous elements must be profoundly changed. Examination confirms this conclusion. The colour of venous blood pervaded by the syphilitic virus is said to be devoid of that distinct purple hue characteristic of fresh healthy venous blood, and has instead "a dull and more decidedly dark red tint." The saline ingredients and albumen are greatly in excess of the normal proportion, while the amount of blood corpuscles, or globules, is notably lessened.* Such elemental alterations of the fluid life out of which all the organs and products of the body are elaborated, accompanied as they undoubtedly are by others which, though too subtle to be observed, are manifest in the phenomena they induce, must inevitably result in a degenerative modification of the structure, and therefore of the function of every texture, viscus, and secretion of which the system is composed—a modification necessarily indefinite as regards both duration and extent.

* M. Dourvault, who has published the experiments of M. Grassi, says, "In proportion as syphilis infects the system the nutritive fluid loses its strength, by the resolution of its globules into albumina." See Vidal, p. 286. Dr. Whitehead also gives the results of his experiments, p. 344 et seq.

If the foregoing statement be true, and we believe no one conversant with the facts on which it is based will dispute it, it justifies the conclusion that syphilis creates conditions most favourable for the advent of nearly every form of ordinary disease, that it directly or indirectly originates a vast proportion of diseases, that when they occur independently of its originating agency, in persons tainted with its poison, it profoundly modifies their character, often increases their force and extent, and generally adds to their duration and danger. A glance at the relation between syphilis and certain blood or constitutional diseases, which in countless instances are the transitional media by which it is transformed into the manifold shapes of ordinary disease, will only too completely justify this conclusion.

Speaking of certain forms of syphilis most remote in time and character from the primary disease, M. Vidal observes, that though they can be neither inoculated, nor transmitted hereditarily with their peculiar physiognomy, "yet, by a kind of degeneration or modification of syphilis, they may become one of the most fruitful sources of scrofula." (p. 282.) "I feel convinced," says Mr. Wilson, "that a considerable proportion of those diseases which pass under the name of scrofula are the produce of the syphilitic poison" (p. 158); and he puts the question, printed in capital letters—"IS SCROFULA SYPHILIS?" (p. 160.) Dr. Whitehead states that writers of past ages commonly believed "that the venereal disease, imperfectly treated, was liable to merge in scrofula," and is of opinion that the transformation does not happen in the individual who has the primary disease, but in the progeny thence ensuing. (p. 276.) In the best systematic treatise on the practice of medicine published in America—that by Dr. Wood—syphilis is assigned as a cause of scrofula. Drs. Bell and Stokes, also American physicians, assert that syphilis in the parents "often gives rise to scrofulous inheritance in their children," and observe that "the physical degeneration and extinction of so many families in Spain caused by scrofula, are alleged to have for anterior cause syphilis."* Dr. Copland has observed, he says, that children born of parents having the syphilitic taint are more frequently affected with internal and external scrofula than are children whose parents are free of that taint, and that when they are seemingly exempt they often become consumptive at more advanced ages.† "The frequency of cases of so-called consumption," says Sir William Jenner, and "of cases of so-called scrofulous diseases in the child that are also due to inherited syphilis, becomes daily more apparent." Mr. Phillips, in

* "Theory and Practice of Medicine," ii. 660, 661.

† "Dict. of Prac. Med.," Art. Scrofula and Tubercle.

his work on scrofula, ranks syphilis among its chief causes. Mr. Ancell is one of the few writers on scrofula who does not think that syphilis exerts "any considerable influence" as one of its producing causes; he mentions, however, the names of many of the most distinguished physicians "among whom," as he says, "are the highest authorities in the literature of tuberculous diseases, . . . as supporters of the doctrine of the transformation of syphilis affecting the father or mother, into scrofula in the infant."* Indeed as scrofula, in the widest acceptance of the term, is a degenerate condition of the blood from which tuberculous matter is deposited, it seems probable that all circumstances and agencies which induce constitutional debility are contributing causes of the malady. Any attempt to estimate the probable amount of scrofula caused by syphilis would be a fruitless task; but we have no hesitation in expressing our conviction that this wide-spread and loathsome disease is at least one of its most prolific sources.

We can give no adequate statement of the extent of scrofula in England; we can only avail ourselves of the Registrar-General's reports to show the destructiveness of four of its most easily-recognised forms. As a generic name for scrofula, the Registrar-General uses the term *tubercular diseases*, and under this head classes—(1), Scrofula; (2), Tabes Mesenterica; (3), Phthisis or Consumption; (4), Hydrocephalus. The word scrofula as here used means what is sometimes called *external scrofula*, which chiefly consists in deposit of tuberculous matter in, and consequent inflammation and suppuration of, the superficial glands, especially those of the neck. When the deposit and its consequences occur in those abdominal glands through which the chyle passes, and by which it is more highly organized before it enters the blood, the disease is called Tabes Mesenterica (abdominal consumption). Phthisis, or Consumption, as usually understood, consists of the presence of tubercle, and the destructive suppuration which ensues in the lungs. Hydrocephalus (water in the head) results from tuberculous deposits within the skull—on the brain or its membranes.

Scrofula in these four forms, destroys altogether about 1 in 6 of all who die; pulmonary consumption about 1 in 8. As observed by the Registrar-General, "Consumption is more fatal than any other single disease in England."

These statistical facts fail, however, to give any adequate conception of the extent to which scrofula deteriorates the human species, without proving directly fatal. We should need a volume,

* "A Treatise on Tuberculosis, the Constitutional Origin of Consumption and Scrofula," p. 390.

and that a large one, in which to give a complete description of the thousandfold aspects which scrofula presents, and of the innumerable ways in which its degenerative influence operates. We may however just mention, in passing, that we were informed by Mr. Tatum, late surgeon to St. George's Hospital, that nearly the whole of the eye-diseases which there came before him, and which were not directly induced by venereal disease, were induced by scrofula, and therefore, to a large extent by syphilis in the second generation. Professor Bennett is opposed to the doctrine that during the last century diseases have undergone an asthenic modification, and maintains that the general and notorious decline of the practice of bleeding and other anti-inflammatory remedies, is exclusively due to the progress of medical science. The late Professor Alison, and our distinguished metropolitan physician, Sir Thos. Watson, maintain on the other hand that the character of disease has slowly changed, that it is generally less vigorous and inflammatory, and more assimilated to the typhoid type than formerly, and that the powerful anti-phlogistic remedies which used to be highly successful are now laid aside, partly no doubt at the bidding of superior medical knowledge, but to a great extent because, in consequence of the asthenic character which disease has gradually assumed, they are no longer appropriate. We are reluctantly constrained to concur with Drs. Alison and Watson, rather than with Dr. Bennett, on this important subject, and regard the enormous proportion of tubercular diseases which are the very embodiments of asthenia as confirmatory of their opinions. Concerning the extent to which syphilis is the cause, direct or indirect, of this result, we must now leave our readers to think for themselves.

In a course of Lectures on Rickets, delivered about ten years ago by Sir William Jenner,* he stated that that constitutional disease "causes primarily or secondarily more deaths than any other disease of childhood;" that "pathologists of high repute regard rickets, scrofulosis, and tuberculosis to be mere modifications of the same disease;" and that "it has even been suggested that rickets is a variety of congenital syphilis." The distinguished lecturer's strong tendency to emphasize the differences rather than the affinities observable in diseases, to demonstrate their specific and non-transmutable forms rather than their original and essential identity, is exemplified in his doctrine of the specific difference between the two modifications of fever known as typhoid and typhus, and in his announcement that he also holds scrofulosis and tuberculosis to be distinct affections. We are fully prepared,

* These very valuable lectures were given at the Hospital for Sick Children, and were published in the *Medical Times and Gazette*.

therefore, to learn that he denies any relationship between either rickets and scrofula or rickets and syphilis. The leading features of the disease, as he depicts them, are,—softening and other morbid alterations of the bones; consequent deformities; morbid enlargement of the brain; chronic hydrocephalus; pulmonary collapse; spasmodic croup; convulsions; and exudation of albumen-like matter throughout the substance of the liver, spleen, and lymphatic glands. Speaking of the cause of rickets, he states, that “whatever renders the mother delicate, whatever depresses her power of forming good blood, *that* tends to induce rickets in the offspring. . . . Whatever external conditions are favourable to the formation of hydræmic blood in a child seem to be favourable to the development of rickets.” Dr. Copland writes to the same effect:—“Whatever debilitates the frame not only predisposes to rickets, but also sometimes more directly developes it.” He also agrees with Sir William Jenner in his therapeutic advice, which is, to surround the patient with precisely the same conditions as those prescribed for the scrofulous; and, as medicines, to rely, in like manner, chiefly on iron and cod-liver oil. In fact, all the symptoms of the disease concur to prove that it is a state of constitutional degeneracy lower than that of scrofula. But as all influences which tend to impair the condition of the blood—of the maternal blood especially, thereby tend to induce rickets, and as scrofula is a blood disease of an extremely asthenic type, it seems to us only logical to conclude, with the “pathologists of high repute,” that rickets is a modification of scrofula, or rather, to express it in our own words, that scrofula is a prolific progenitor of rickets. Viewed in this aspect, rickets appears to be, in a large proportion of cases at least, the grandchild of syphilis: thus, tracking the human organism during its career of degenerative or descending metamorphosis after it has absorbed the syphilitic poison, we may see it suffering from constitutional syphilis in the first generation, from scrofula in the second, and, modified perhaps by special idiosyncrasy, as well as by all the deteriorating accompaniments of poverty, from rickets in the third. The philosophical Boerhaave imputed to “the taint or constitutional debility consequent upon venereal affections” a considerable influence in producing rickets in the offspring; we agree, however, with Dr. Copland in regarding this influence as more generally indirect—through the medium of scrofula: he says,—“I am convinced that venereal affections are not without some effect, although I believe that they are more influential in developing a scrofulous diathesis than in predisposing to rickets.”* But whatever may be the order in which these causes operate, it seems im-

* “Medical Dictionary,” Art. Rickets.

and that a large one, in which to give a complete description of the thousandfold aspects which scrofula presents, and of the innumerable ways in which its degenerative influence operates. We may however just mention, in passing, that we were informed by Mr. Tatum, late surgeon to St. George's Hospital, that nearly the whole of the eye-diseases which there came before him, and which were not directly induced by venereal disease, were induced by scrofula, and therefore, to a large extent by syphilis in the second generation. Professor Bennett is opposed to the doctrine that during the last century diseases have undergone an asthenic modification, and maintains that the general and notorious decline of the practice of bleeding and other anti-inflammatory remedies, is exclusively due to the progress of medical science. The late Professor Alison, and our distinguished metropolitan physician, Sir Thos. Watson, maintain on the other hand that the character of disease has slowly changed, that it is generally less vigorous and inflammatory, and more assimilated to the typhoid type than formerly, and that the powerful anti-phlogistic remedies which used to be highly successful are now laid aside, partly no doubt at the bidding of superior medical knowledge, but to a great extent because, in consequence of the asthenic character which disease has gradually assumed, they are no longer appropriate. We are reluctantly constrained to concur with Drs. Alison and Watson, rather than with Dr. Bennett, on this important subject, and regard the enormous proportion of tubercular diseases which are the very embodiments of asthenia as confirmatory of their opinions. Concerning the extent to which syphilis is the cause, direct or indirect, of this result, we must now leave our readers to think for themselves.

In a course of Lectures on Rickets, delivered about ten years ago by Sir William Jenner,* he stated that that constitutional disease "causes primarily or secondarily more deaths than any other disease of childhood;" that "pathologists of high repute regard rickets, scrofulosis, and tuberculosis to be mere modifications of the same disease;" and that "it has even been suggested that rickets is a variety of congenital syphilis." The distinguished lecturer's strong tendency to emphasize the differences rather than the affinities observable in diseases, to demonstrate their specific and non-transmutable forms rather than their original and essential identity, is exemplified in his doctrine of the specific difference between the two modifications of fever known as typhoid and typhus, and in his announcement that he also holds scrofulosis and tuberculosis to be distinct affections. We are fully prepared,

* These very valuable lectures were given at the Hospital for Sick Children, and were published in the *Medical Times and Gazette*.

therefore, to learn that he denies any relationship between either rickets and scrofula or rickets and syphilis. The leading features of the disease, as he depicts them, are,—softening and other morbid alterations of the bones; consequent deformities; morbid enlargement of the brain; chronic hydrocephalus; pulmonary collapse; spasmodic croup; convulsions; and exudation of albumen-like matter throughout the substance of the liver, spleen, and lymphatic glands. Speaking of the cause of rickets, he states, that “whatever renders the mother delicate, whatever depresses her power of forming good blood, *that* tends to induce rickets in the offspring. . . . Whatever external conditions are favourable to the formation of hydræmic blood in a child seem to be favourable to the development of rickets.” Dr. Copland writes to the same effect:—“Whatever debilitates the frame not only predisposes to rickets, but also sometimes more directly developes it.” He also agrees with Sir William Jenner in his therapeutic advice, which is, to surround the patient with precisely the same conditions as those prescribed for the scrofulous; and, as medicines, to rely, in like manner, chiefly on iron and cod-liver oil. In fact, all the symptoms of the disease concur to prove that it is a state of constitutional degeneracy lower than that of scrofula. But as all influences which tend to impair the condition of the blood—of the maternal blood especially, thereby tend to induce rickets, and as scrofula is a blood disease of an extremely asthenic type, it seems to us only logical to conclude, with the “pathologists of high repute,” that rickets is a modification of scrofula, or rather, to express it in our own words, that scrofula is a prolific progenitor of rickets. Viewed in this aspect, rickets appears to be, in a large proportion of cases at least, the grandchild of syphilis: thus, tracking the human organism during its career of degenerative or descending metamorphosis after it has absorbed the syphilitic poison, we may see it suffering from constitutional syphilis in the first generation, from scrofula in the second, and, modified perhaps by special idiosyncrasy, as well as by all the deteriorating accompaniments of poverty, from rickets in the third. The philosophical Boerhaave imputed to “the taint or constitutional debility consequent upon venereal affections” a considerable influence in producing rickets in the offspring; we agree, however, with Dr. Copland in regarding this influence as more generally indirect—through the medium of scrofula: he says,—“I am convinced that venereal affections are not without some effect, although I believe that they are more influential in developing a scrofulous diathesis than in predisposing to rickets.”* But whatever may be the order in which these causes operate, it seems im-

* “Medical Dictionary,” Art. Rickets.

possible to doubt their agency in the generation of the disease in question. An examination of the constitution of the blood of syphilitic patients shows, as already stated, that it contains a disproportionate amount of saline ingredients, which, therefore, could not have been appropriated in the ordinary way. "This may suggest," says Dr. Whitehead, "a cause for the tendency to loss of vitality and consequent separation of portions of bone commonly observed in adults labouring under old venereal affections, and to the determination of a rachitic condition of the osseous system in children." (p. 347.)

Although the popular mind recognises gout as a constitutional disease, it regards rheumatism and neuralgia as only local affections originated exclusively by external causes—chiefly those of wet, damp, and cold. But medical science gives a very different account of the matter: while admitting these agencies as immediate and exciting causes, it asserts that the remote, but real, causes are constitutional, and operate by modifying the character of the blood. The late Dr. Prout, one of the earliest pathological chemists, and among the most accurate medical observers of the present century, expressed his opinion many years ago that rheumatism and neuralgia, unless when the latter is caused by pressure on the affected nerve, are occasioned by an undue quantity of lactic acid in the blood, and that lithic acid combined with soda (lithate of soda) is the characteristic deposit from blood pervaded by the gouty poison. In respect to rheumatism, at all events, the highest authorities are now converted to, or confirm, Dr. Prout's doctrine. Every one who has observed a patient suffering from rheumatic fever must have noticed his copious and acid perspiration; and although we shall not trouble our readers with proofs of the doctrine just mentioned, we may state in passing that Dr. B. W. Richardson has repeatedly succeeded in inducing rheumatic inflammation of the heart by injecting lactic acid into the bodies of animals; and that the most efficacious remedy hitherto used for acute rheumatism or rheumatic fever is one which acts by neutralizing the excess of acid present in the system, viz., bicarbonate of potash.* But this invaluable medicine, potent as it is in subduing or controlling the outbursts of rheumatism, in lessening the chances of its attack on the heart, to which it is peculiarly prone, and in

* We are aware that the most recent and probably the most correct pathology of rheumatic fever recognises the presence of lactic acid in the system, as only one of the distinctive phenomena of the disease, and that its cause consists in a peculiar morbid condition of the spinal cord; but it remains none the less probable that this morbid condition of the cord is itself the result of causes originating primarily in morbid changes in the blood. If so, the argument in the text remains unaffected by the novel pathology in question.

bringing the patient safely through its crisis, is powerless against the rheumatic diathesis—the abiding source of the frequently recurring malady. This remark is equally true respecting the medicines found most effective in repelling attacks of gout. What, then, is the origin of these persistent, extraordinarily painful, and often fatal diseases?

We have already mentioned how generally attendant are what are called rheumatic pains on constitutional syphilis, and that one of the most usual sequelæ of blennorrhagia is rheumatism, especially of the lower extremities. Whether the proximate cause of the last of these affections is identical with, or like to that of, true rheumatism, we are not prepared to say; we merely note them in this connexion. Gout and true rheumatism are undoubtedly hereditary; and, as stated by Dr. Prout, in certain scrofulous constitutions in which the solids are of a loose and flabby texture, depositions of lithic acid are very common.

"Indeed," he remarks, "this modification of the strumous diathesis (scrofula) when associated with gout, as is often the case, is perhaps more than any other condition of the system, liable to lithic acid deposits. Such associated diatheses are not unfrequently displayed in the form of cutaneous disease; and it is an old remark, that certain forms of cutaneous disease are often accompanied by a deposition of lithic acid. Thus Sir Gilbert Blane observes that he has frequently noticed calculous disorders connected with those impetiginous affections (pustular eruptions of the skin) incident to what is called a *scorbutic* habit. . . . I have no doubt of the frequent connexion between the two forms of disease." *

In this important passage is unimpeachable evidence of the causal relation between scrofula and gout; and any one acquainted with the genesis of skin diseases, knows how morally certain it is that this same passage also contains evidence equally incapable of disproof that the constitutional disease which is manifest in the deposit of lithic acid, and which on the one hand results in gout, and on the other hand in renal and vesical calculi, originates, frequently at least, in syphilis. Probably in the majority of cases, either directly or through the intervention of scrofula, this is its true source. Dr. Prout speaks of persons "of a lax scrofulous habit" in whom the most prolific proximate cause of rheumatism—lactic acid, is liable to be unduly developed;† and when treating of oxalic acid as a morbid product, "the formation of which is often accompanied by chronic rheumatism, and occasionally *follows* an attack of gout," he observes—"A syphilitic

* "On the Nature and Treatment of Stomach and Urinary Diseases." By W. Prout, M.D., F.R.S. Pp. 205, 206.

† Ibid. p. 77.

taint, whether remote and inherited, or acquired, seems occasionally to give a predisposition to this diathesis. I have seen many individuals so circumstanced labour under the worst forms of syphilitic dyspepsia, and the most inveterate cutaneous disease in connexion with the oxalic acid diathesis.* This tendency may result in the formation of oxalate of lime calculus. This is sometimes intermixed with the carbonate and the phosphate of lime deposits. Referring to the latter, Dr. Prout states that, in many instances in which they occur, the patients have been subject to gout or rheumatism, or have inherited a tendency to these affections. In these latter cases, however, there has been usually likewise present a peculiar cachectic state of the system, manifested by cutaneous eruptions of a scaly or leprous character. Mr. Erasmus Wilson pronounces these eruptions of syphilitic origin in one or both of the grandparents of the patients. Dr. Prout affirms that the predisposition to deposit phosphate of lime consists in a peculiar cachectic state of the system, into which gout and scrofula often enter as elements. He adds—"I have sometimes thought also that an inherited syphilitic taint frequently constitutes another element of this peculiar cachexia; at any rate I have very often seen the deposition of the phosphate of lime associated with a remote, but obviously syphilitic taint."†

Mr. Spencer Wells, in his work on gout, has contributed a valuable chapter on the influence of syphilis, which he shows to be a frequent accompaniment of that disease. He is convinced that "the poison may induce a condition of the blood which must not only modify every disease, but also become the cause of disease in some of the organs which depend upon a supply of pure blood for their health." (p. 99.) We have already pointed out that in proportion to the nearness of relationship of any disease to syphilis will be the efficacy of mercury and iodide of potassium as curative agents; and we have indicated the fact of that efficacy as a confirmative test of the essential nature of the malady. Now the usual and best treatment of chronic rheumatism, chronic gout, and of rheumatic gout, is iodide of potassium; and, as observed by Mr. Spencer Wells, in cases of gout visibly complicated with syphilis, the effect of a few doses of this medicine "appears quite magical." (p. 100.) This precious remedy combines iodine as an antidote of the original poison, and the alkaline base potassium to neutralize the morbid excess of acid which that poison has induced in the system by perverting the nutritive and transformative processes. Its therapeutic

* "On the Nature and Treatment of Stomach and Urinary Diseases." By W. Prout, M.D., F.R.S. Pp. 64, 65.

† *Ibid.*, p. 272.

application in these diseases is one of the countless instances in which empiricism anticipates, and is ultimately justified by science. Excepting those forms of rheumatism which arise immediately from, and accompany venereal diseases, we regard the usual malady, whether acute or chronic, when originated by the venereal poison, as either more remote from its source, or as occurring in more debilitated systems, than is the case with its kindred affection, gout. The rheumatic constitution is more irrevocably broken down, rheumatism being accompanied, as stated, by Dr. Copland, by "a deficiency of red globules and poorness of blood." How prevalent is this group of diseases consisting of gout, rheumatism, rheumatic neuralgia, or tic-doloreux, rheumatic gout, and their accompanying or kindred affections which result in stony concretions, every one knows. What is the proportion of them generated directly or indirectly by the venereal poison it is impossible to say, but that a large proportion are thus originated does not admit of a doubt. We may add that the indirect fatality of these diseases is very considerable.

As we stated above, eminent pathologists hold the opinion that latterly diseases have gradually changed their type, and that patients cannot now bear with safety the same vigorous treatment as was formerly practised with success. How far the comparatively mild treatment, and the so-called "supporting system" constituting the present medical fashion are results of actual observation that the opposite methods were injurious, and how far they are only results of fanciful theorizing, we shall not attempt to decide; but certain it is that evidence of the most reliable kind justifies the belief that in England, at all events, the human constitution is deteriorating, that it is more prone to disease than it was thirty years ago, and that within the same period, notwithstanding the boasted progress meanwhile in the science and art of medicine, the average duration of life has lessened. According to the returns of the Registrar-General, almost all diseases notable for their fatality are, *in proportion to the number of persons living*, much more fatal than they were formerly.

Joint-disease (which is most frequently of scrofulous origin) destroyed 52 per million twenty years ago, and 82 per million between 1863-66, each year. Cancer shows an increase of fatal cases between 1850 and 1866 from 280 to 395 per million.

Brain disease has very gradually, but very greatly increased: whereas there were only 1407 cases in 1838, there were 5605 in 1866; and during the same time the number of deaths due to paralysis increased from 4975 to 10,504.

Heart disease is recorded to have proved fatal in 1838 to 3319 persons; in 1850, by gradual yearly increase, to 10,450; in 1860, to 17,815; and in 1866 to 21,197. Dropsy and asthma, the diseases most likely to be transferred to "heart disease" under improved registration, show an aggregate diminution in the same periods of about 7000. But if this number be deducted from the number of fatal cases of heart-disease, the increase of its destructiveness is still enormous.

Bronchitis, however, is of all diseases the one which seems to have increased most wonderfully. According to the Registrar-General it destroyed in 1838, 2067 persons; in 1847, 1600; in 1851, 1700; in 1853, 22,000; in 1855, 27,000; in 1858, 29,000; in 1860, 32,000; in 1864, 38,000; and in 1866, 41,000. The proportion of deaths to each million of living persons rises from 135 in 1838 to 1968 in 1866. This remarkable increase in figures is *partly* due, as observed by Dr. Elam, to "a practice which has been prevalent of late years, of calling phthisis by the name of bronchitis." Still as a matter of fact there is no decrease in the numbers of persons registered as having died of consumption; the number destroyed by pneumonia (inflammation of the lungs) has notably increased; and there is no decrease in the mortality of other diseases to justify the supposition that the increase of mortality in those mentioned is apparent only.

Therefore we must be prepared to expect what is actually the fact, that during the period under review the average duration of life has steadily lessened.

In the seven years from 1838 to 1844 inclusive, the average of deaths was 2.189 to each 100 persons living—

In 29 years, from 1838 to 1866, it was 2.242.

In 7 years, from 1860 to 1866, it was 2.261.

In 4 years, from 1863 to 1866, it was 2.348.

In short the increase of the death-rate during the period over which the above figures range, is about one in the thousand. "This corresponds to 3000 additional deaths in London alone; and to about 22,000 in the whole of England and Wales," every year.

These vital statistics have been arranged by Dr. Elam in the *Lancet* (Nos. 17, 23, and 24, for 1869) as an argument to prove "that our *power over* disease is in no wise proportionate to our *knowledge* of it; and that our treatment is less efficient now than it was thirty years ago." We believe, however, that while it is impossible to prove this proposition, it is very improbable that during the last thirty years English medical art has so deteriorated as to warrant the accusation just stated. Indeed Dr. Elam does "not think that the medical profession is solely and altogether to blame for the melancholy results on human life above men-

tioned. There are sources of evil greatly prevalent in society at large which have been vastly multiplied during late years." Nevertheless, he "cannot attribute any *considerable* proportion of the increased mortality to these causes." Now it seems to us that if these causes had been allowed to operate during the last thirty years with no more efficient contravention of their results by medical art than was possible during the previous thirty years, the present annual death-rate, 23 per 1000, showing an increase of about 1 per 1000, would have become still greater than it actually has done. The students of special groups of diseases believe that as a rule those with which they are specially acquainted are less fatal than formerly, and confidently ascribe the alleged results to improved methods of treatment; and this observation applies most forcibly to the most destructive of all diseases—pulmonary consumption. Moreover, if Dr. Elam's formidable charge against modern medicine is to be admitted, how can the medical department of the Privy Council, with its host of medical inspectors, alleged to be great in the art of "preventive medicine," justify its existence? We are no believers in "State medicine," and it may be that the Medical Department of the Privy Council is worse than useless; but it may also be that it does some good, though at a cost in other shapes than that of hard cash, so high as to render the expediency of its continued existence more than questionable. At all events in presence of the extreme difficulties which beset any conscientious endeavour to determine what is the nature and extent of the influence exerted by the 20,000 medical men of this country on the duration of human life, we cannot get beyond the region of conjecture; but on the whole our impression, the result of considerable observation, is that during the last thirty years the medical profession has done more to assuage suffering and prolong life than it ever did before; that were it not for the labours of that profession the death-rate in England would be even greater than it is, and that if in spite of those labours, and of the increasingly numerous hygienic influences which are being exerted, the death-rate has nevertheless increased from 22 to 23 per 1000 annually, there must exist some secret or imperfectly recognised degenerative agent which is slowly, but surely, destroying the health and strength of the British people. Is that agent syphilis! That it is so to a large extent is rendered certain by the evidence we have adduced; that several subordinate agents are, however, co-operating with it, we have no doubt; whether or not it is the chief or almost sole agent, is a question which, admitting of no positive answer, may be fitly left to each reader to meditate on and determine for himself.

We have now placed before our readers a description of the twofold malady,—prostitution and the physical disease associated with it; and as we have forced this painful and difficult subject on their attention they may reasonably expect us to propose some method by which the formidable evils we have described may be greatly lessened if not wholly subdued. We have unfortunately already exceeded the limits assigned to this article, and are, therefore, precluded from discussing the question of remedies now; but we frankly avow that all our interest in this subject centres in that question, and were it not that we have a strong and earnest conviction that if it is to be answered at all it is of the utmost importance to this country that it be answered rightly, we should have shrunk alike from the labour we have undertaken, and from asking our readers to consider a subject every feature of which is at once saddening and repulsive. Prostitution presents two aspects—one social, the other physical, and hence two questions for solution—*first*, how may prostitution itself be eradicated? and, *second*, until it is, how may the diseases engendered of it be extirpated, or at least reduced within the narrowest possible limits? Any adequate discussion of the first involves such a wise and comprehensive consideration of every aspect of the relation of the sexes as few men, if any, of the present day are duly qualified to undertake; the other, dealing only as it does with certain results of prostitution—the diseases we have described—is more simple, and this we propose to grapple with hereafter, and pledge ourselves to prove that this question can and ought to be practically dealt with; that the plan of dealing with it now vigorously pressed on the legislature, of extending the Contagious Diseases Act to the civil population,* will both signally fail to accomplish the object in view, and will itself entail evils far greater than those it is intended to remedy, and that there is a plan open to no such objection, in harmony with the free spirit of English institutions which, if practised, will be successful, and which it is our intention fully to explain in a succeeding number of this Review.

* The Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Contagious Diseases Act, 1866, recommends its application throughout the United Kingdom; and a Committee of the House of Commons has just been appointed to hear evidence and report on the same subject.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

"THE Jesus of History" is a treatise well worthy to take its place by the side of Strauss's "Lives," of Renan's "Life," and of "Ecce Homo." It is not indeed so elaborate and exhaustive as the two first, not so fanciful as the second, not so sentimental and illogical as the last; but it will recommend itself to English readers by the calmness and straightforwardness with which the extant material for a Life of Jesus is analysed, and the possible conclusions from it reviewed. Every historian of the past must assume for himself an imaginary local and chronological stand-point. Accordingly the author has endeavoured to place himself as nearly as possible in the position of an inquirer living in Palestine before the fall of Jerusalem. The very first question which thus meets him is—what portion of the historical material now extant was extant at that period? His proceeding is thus much simplified. For if the fourth Gospel be clearly of a much later date, and not the work of an apostle; if even the third Gospel is at least later than the ruin of Jerusalem, and shows marks of design prompted by the then altered relations of the Jews and Christians to the Roman people, the actually available and reliable material is confined nearly within the limits of the first Gospel. Very justly, therefore, as it seems to us, the author observes—

"The Jesus whom M. Renan depicts appears to be a purely ideal character, having no relation to the actual circumstances of the time and country, and satisfying the requirements neither of the critic nor of the believer. And this is in a great measure owing to his adoption of the fourth Gospel as an authority. It is true that the 'Vie de Jésus' is professedly somewhat of a historical romance; even thus regarded it appears to be wanting in truth of colouring, and to present an inaccurate picture of Jesus. At the same time it is only just to acknowledge the service which it has rendered to all future enquirers by setting the example of depicting Jesus as a real human being."—pp. 13, 14.

The following is the outline of the portraiture which is derived principally from the indications of the first Gospel confirmed by the ascertained circumstances of the Jewish nation at that date:—

"The Jesus who appears to be depicted in the original tradition of the disciples, the pre-Christian tradition, is a Jew preaching to his own countrymen the immediate coming of that kingdom of heaven for which they were waiting, and repentance and amendment as the conditions of entrance; protesting against the narrow technical morality and the absorbing ritual observances of the

¹ "The Jesus of History." London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

religious guides of the people, whose hostility he thus excites, winning at first an amount of popular favour that awakens the fears of the government, to avoid which and the hostility of the Pharisees, he retires to Syrophenicia; then publicly entering Jerusalem in the avowed character of the King of the Jews, renewing his conflicts with the Pharisees, and exciting the fears and the enmity of the Chief Priests and Elders, delivered by them to Pilate as a rebel against the authority of Rome, and as such crucified. Thus viewed, his own proceedings and those of his adversaries appear natural and consistent, and his death to have been the inevitable consequence of his assumption of the character of the Messiah."—pp. 14, 15.

Inasmuch as the author does not accept the belief in the proper deity of Jesus, he is aware that his work will be esteemed by some persons irreverent and even profane. Nevertheless, he justly asserts that the tone of it is not unsuitable to the discussion of the most solemn questions. And we would add that he exhibits a forbearance for which those who have arrived at conclusions similar to his own receive little credit. He abstains from saying that the recognition of the Divinity of Jesus as usually understood can only appear to him as even worse than profane. The orthodox English Protestant will understand something of the feeling now hinted at when he remembers his own first impression on witnessing Mariolatry in Belgium or Italy—a feeling very much like that which we may suppose to have been experienced by the Apostle on beholding the city of Athens wholly given to idolatry. We refer to this subject in prospect of controversy touching more and more closely this central theme, and in order to point out the necessity of charitable construction and considerate language on both sides, for on both sides equally harsh and offensive things may be said of the other. In the course of the present work, however, theological questions are kept as much as possible in abeyance. It is as a man that Jesus can become the subject of history: whether or not he was more than human, all modern Christians assert that he was "truly and emphatically man." His life, therefore, like that of other men cannot be understood apart from his relations to his contemporaries and to surrounding circumstances. If his was a true humanity, and we would not fall back into Docetism, we must suppose it to have been, in the aggregate of his knowledge, feelings, and opinions, the product of the national life which he inherited and of the national culture which surrounded him. At least these factors must be taken account of, whatever originality may be attributed to himself. The sources of information concerning these surrounding circumstances must be sought for in the Jewish literature which, inasmuch as it lies outside of the New Testament writings, is capable to some extent of illustrating and controlling the narrative contained in them. These sources of information external to the New Testament, are treated of in the first chapter of the work, and the nature of the Messianic expectations and of the relations of the Jewish people to the Romans is deduced. The bulk of the material which professes to give the data for a Life of Jesus is at the most very small. And such as it is it must be considerably reduced in various ways. For the fourth Gospel being rejected as a post-apostolic writing, probably of the middle of the second century, and the third as a reconstruction of existing

material for a particular purpose, the evidence, or that which can with any appearance of reason be rightly so-called, is reduced to the first and second Gospels as containing or founded upon, though not identical with, the two most ancient sources mentioned by Papias, the "Logia" of Matthew, and the "Memoirs" of Mark.

"The first Gospel may be assumed to represent the traditions as to the ministry and death of Jesus current in the Church at Jerusalem, written about thirty years after his death. The second would be founded almost exclusively upon the first; and the third would be derived partly from the first two Gospels, and partly from other sources of information, oral or written, moulded into a form that embodied the author's own views, and, in many respects, profoundly modified in the process."—p. 65.

From these sources taken together, we might hope to form a conception reliable as far as it goes of what Jesus was, what he taught, and what he suffered. But if we attempt to take in the fourth Gospel, there is hardly a point in which the story derived from it touches that deduced from the Synoptics, until we come to the night of the betrayal. The question of the relative value of the four Gospels, and particularly the grounds for not admitting the genuineness of the fourth, are extremely well treated in the second chapter. It is well pointed out how devoid of weight is the fourth Gospel as a record either of fact or of doctrine—that is, of original doctrine derived from Christ himself. It has no doubt exercised an influence in Christendom, greater perhaps than that of any other of the New Testament writings, but an influence the reverse of peaceful, loving, or conciliatory. It has mischievously sharpened in minds ecclesiastically or mystically disposed, the sense of severance between the Church and the world; in no other part of the New Testament, in no other writing assuming to represent the mind that was in Christ Jesus, is there exhibited such a spirit of scorn and hostility towards unbelievers. It has intensified love to the brethren, but only by narrowing the terms of brotherhood (p. 90). In the third chapter the author's review of the phenomena presented by the Synoptics, leads him to conclude that although there is no certainty that we possess any one of the Gospels in its original form, there is reason to believe that they all represent faithfully the Christian tradition of the first century after the death of Jesus. Moreover, the Gospels as we now have them have received various additions and modifications, made doubtless in good faith with the object of rendering them more perfect, but which have had the effect of blurring the lineaments of Jesus as originally portrayed. Even in the first Gospel, two different if not conflicting classes of ideas are to be met with. Generally, Jesus is exhibited in the character of a Jewish prophet and reformer, but there are passages at variance with that representation. Hereupon a twofold question arises, whether the discrepancies are to be attributed to the author or authors of the narrative, or to a variation in the views and teaching of Jesus himself. Additions and variations attributable to authors or compilers may have been made in thorough good faith, although suggested by different feelings and dispositions of the writers. The author sums up his review of the phenomena presented by the Synoptics in the following hypothesis—

"If we might add one conjecture to the many that have been made upon this subject, it would be that the original of the first Gospel was a combination of the 'Logia' of Matthew and the 'Memorabilia' of Mark, composed in Greek almost immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Logia having been completed a year or two previously; that the second Gospel which we probably possess almost in its original form, was abridged from this a few years later for the use of Gentile converts, who began to find some portions of the original Gospel unsuitable; that the third was a free compilation from the two others and from independent sources, about the beginning of the second century; and that the first has subsequently been largely interpolated. This view, at least, appears to satisfy all the conditions of the problem."—p. 110.

The more vital question is whether Jésus himself at different periods entertained different conceptions of his own Mission. And here the conclusion cannot be escaped that there were such differences; that in the earlier or Galilean period of his ministry he came forward as a Jewish teacher addressing Jews, and attempting to spiritualize the Mosaic Law, taking up in fact a like work to that of John, as a herald and precursor of the Kingdom of Heaven. After his failure in Galilee and a visit to the Phœnician coasts, he sets forth on his journey through Judea with a belief growing upon him that he was himself the Messiah, a belief destined to disappointment and about to terminate in so sad a catastrophe. It is true that even in the first Gospel there are passages which, according to their present place in the history, are not consistent with this orderly development of ideas in the mind of Jesus. In Matt. xiv. 33, the disciples worship him as the Son of God, but in xvi. 16, 17, Peter is credited with a special revelation to that effect, as if the acknowledgment were then made by him for the first time. Our present author admits that even from the supernatural point of view, Jesus might be supposed to have allowed his claims to make their way gradually, while from the historical stand-point it may well be supposed that the nascent belief in his own character and peculiar mission required to be reflected and confirmed by the opinion of others. Closely connected with this part of the subject is the inquiry into the nature of the Miracles attributed to Jesus. According to the supernaturalist view of Jesus and his Mission, the Miracles occurred as Divine interventions for the purpose of attesting his Character and Office. In a purely historical disquisition it must first be ascertained what occurred, and then what bearing it had on the Mission of Jesus. The metaphysical method will be of little service towards arriving at a solution of the problem of the Gospel miracles. It must be sought for by the historical or evidential process. The subject of Miracle is discussed in the present work partly in the fourth chapter, entitled "Probabilities," and again taken up where the evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus is treated of, pp. 324-337. It may be objected to those who, like the author, confine themselves principally to the first Gospel as the best accredited source of the Life of Jesus, that in this way due attention is not paid to the accumulation of testimony from the different Gospels, to which is replied acutely enough—

"When two or more narratives bear the mark of being copied the one from the other [or, it may be added, derived from a common source] the events they relate have no greater claim to be regarded as authentic because of their agree-

ment, and when they relate different events, each such event rests solely upon the authority of the one writer, subject to such deductions as may be due to the circumstance that others in writing the same biography have either not known, or not thought it important to record the occurrence. And almost every miracle recorded in the Gospels falls within the one class or the other."—p. 114.

There are many other parts of this excellent treatise which we should have wished to refer to, but space does not permit.

In connexion with this part of the subject we have to notice a little work entitled "*Contributions to Christology*,"* by Dr. Bonavia, which, though not sufficiently elaborated, is well worthy of attention. In connexion with a theory that "mind is a mode of motion of the brain atoms," which he thinks assists in explaining the phenomena of animal magnetism, or, as he prefers to call it, of animal radiation, he supposes that Jesus Christ was a very powerful magnetizer. It is possible he may have been taught to use his power, but more probably his exercise of a healing force arose in some such way as the following—

"That Christ accidentally discovered that by touching somebody, who may have been suffering from neuralgic pains, he gave him great relief. That the discovery once made, the experiment would have been tried again is quite natural. That finding he had the power of curing various diseases by this simple means, he from a benevolent feeling continued this practice. The people flocked to him from all directions, and his fame spread all over the land."—p. 99.

The author acknowledges that this hypothesis does not account for all the miracles attributed to Jesus Christ, nor for many of them more than incompletely; but inaccuracy of observation and the readiness of Orientals to exaggerate will account for others, so that the really insoluble residuum will be very small. Dr. Bonavia gives (p. 149) a classification of Christ's Miracles from his baptism to the end of Matthew's Gospel, from which will be seen how small this residuum is upon his theory. There are (1) three Quasi-miracles (iv. 18-20; 21, 22; ix. 9) the calling of the five disciples. (2) Five Miracles abandoned as unexplainable by animal magnetism, that is to say, the Quieting of the Tempest; Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (twice); Walking on the Sea; and the Miracle of the Fig-tree. (3) Sixteen special Miracles, which, making allowance for great exaggeration, are explainable by the laws of animal magnetism. (4) Seven indefinite Miracles—such as healing of great multitudes, explainable by habitual mode of speech among Orientals. (5) Seven, which may be called Miracles of attestation—the Voice from heaven at the baptism; the Temptation in the Wilderness; the darkness at the Crucifixion; the rending of the Temple Veil; the resurrection of the bodies of the saints; the Resurrection of Jesus himself; his appearance to his disciples. The three under number 1, hardly require explanation; the seven under number 5, require each of them separate examination. It will be exceedingly useful for any student of this subject to draw out in detail a similar Table of Classification for himself.

* "*Contributions to Christology*." By Emmanuel Bonavia, M.D., Lucknow. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

The purpose of the collective volume entitled "*Religious Republics*"³ is to put the Congregational System in a favourable point of view before the public by explaining the principles and practice of the Independents, and endeavouring to remove prejudices and misapprehensions. In some respects the explanations here entered into may be serviceable to the cause of Congregationalism, but not, we think, always. The first Essay is by Mr. William Mitchell Fawcett, Barrister, on the Congregational "Polity," and is directed to justifying the internal organization and working of the "Churches," the government of the "members," the choice by them of Pastors and Deacons, and the exercise of discipline. He considers that he shows,

"The evils sometimes attending the popular government of these societies have been grossly exaggerated; that the system does not necessarily or usually lead to division of opinion upon the election of the pastor, or to incessant changes in the pastorate; that it does not tend to lower the standard of attainments required from the occupants of that office, or to render them subservient to their people; that the discipline of the Church is not in general unfairly administered; that the so-called purity of communion adopted by Congregational churches is neither impracticable nor necessarily identified with any narrow system of theology."—p. 57.

Nevertheless, we learn from this author, that the preachers most in vogue are "the stern upholders of the dogma of the natural depravity of the human race" (p. 36), and that a "belief in the Divinity of Christ and his Atonement" is required for "membership" (p. 42). The second Essay, by Thomas Martin Herbert, M.A., minister of the Independent Church at Cheadle, is concerned with the "External Relations of Congregationalism." His object is to demonstrate that the conditions of Congregational "Membership" are not such as to involve invidious judgments concerning those who are outside their own communities. In developing his argument he states what these conditions are. The principle of personal allegiance to the Divine Christ governs the external relations, because it is the spring of the internal organization of Congregational Churches. Congregationalists do not associate their members in order to lead them to the Divine Kingdom, they associate them as already belonging to it. There are thus two qualifications which must precede membership, the one of personal devotion to Christ, and the other of definite opinions respecting him; these definite opinions embrace, as authoritatively declared by the New Testament writers, among other tenets, that Christ was "God manifest in flesh, and that his death was the propitiation for human sin" (p. 65). We are not here about to dispute that "the differences of creed which divide Congregationalists from Unitarians, for example, and from Roman Catholics, are sufficient to justify them in standing apart" (p. 81). What is important to be pointed out is, that Congregationalists have practically and substantially a "Creed"—though not drawn up in the forms of the old Ecclesiastical Creeds: for "Divine disclosures," we are told, "must naturally have a dogmatic and exclusive character;

³ "*Religious Republics. Six Essays on Congregationalism.*" London: Longmans. 1869.

and an external revelation claiming Divine authority like the Bible," must speak on the gravest questions in the language of positive assertion. The third Essay, by Edward Gilbert Herbert, LL.D., Barrister, undertakes to describe, which it does perhaps not unfairly, the Congregationalist character.

"Less fervid than the Wesleyan, but with religious feelings more equable; insisting upon doctrine like the Evangelical, but still with a love of intellectual freedom as real as that of the Broad Church, though more restrained both by faith and prejudice; unlike the Ritualist in his disregard of the machinery of devotion, in his view of the simple and direct relations established between God and man, and in his appreciation of the best enjoyments of this world, and resembling them in impatience of any control of religious work by secular authority."—p. 96.

The author then traces very well the operation of a modern tendency to modify the old Puritan type of character, relaxing opinion or practice relatively to the observance of the Sabbath Day, the estimation of the Old Testament writings, and the lawfulness of many social amusements. He thinks even that the relation of the Minister to the Congregation as dependent on them and dismissible at their will, may not prevent a modification to some extent of the doctrine of the pulpit, provided that is, it represents a change already in process of common opinion.

"If common opinion should soon recede from the old doctrine of everlasting punishment, the minister will partake in the general movement with his people. Such cases have been frequent in recent years. The new views not long since introduced, but now adopted by many Congregationalists, as to the verbal nature of Inspiration, and as to the supposed geology of the book of Genesis, are examples."—pp. 128, 129.

This is to admit, rather than to meet or explain away, the objection to the Congregationalist system—that the Minister becomes the follower, not the leader of his people. The subject of the fourth Essay is Congregationalism and *Æsthetics*, not a very promising one, and the contributor, Mr. Thomas Harwood Pattison, Baptist Minister at Rye-hill, cannot be said to have made much of it. It is a bold statement at p. 145, that Christ himself was a Dissenter all his life—Church reformer undoubtedly he was, but no Nonconformist. Feeble is also the fifth Essay on Congregationalism and Science, by Philip Henry Pye Smith, M.D.

"No one ever pretended that the truth of Christianity was demonstrable. If it were so faith would no longer exist, but so long as we have the great probability that the events recorded in the Gospels actually happened, and that the writings of the New Testament are substantially genuine, so long as we know that no philosopher, however learned, can assert that miracles never occurred, or that God does not exist, reasonable men may well be satisfied to let the facts of revelation exert their due moral influence upon the affections and the conscience."—p. 189.

The sixth Essay, on the Spirit of Nonconformity, by James Anstie, Barrister, is vigorous enough; it is indeed the only one in which we have noticed anything of acerbity. There is both doctrinal and ecclesiastical controversy in it. Thus we have a long discussion as to [Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. R

John iii. 3, and baptismal regeneration, without apparently the least misgiving that the whole of the ground on which the polemic is carried on may be undermined: whatever inference may be fairly deducible from the words of the Gospel it will be valueless if the Gospel were not written by St. John, and if the words reported cannot be proved to be Christ's words, except so far, indeed, as they may have an historical interest in showing the growth already of Sacramental opinions in the age to which they can be traced. We have repeated also in this Essay, the Congregationalist Theory of "an immediate and personal relation of the believer to God" (p. 205), combined with the requirement that his belief should embrace the essentials of the Creed, and only upon a profession or assumption of this immediate personal relation to God and Christ of persons believing in certain historical events and certain leading doctrines, can such an organization as that of the Congregationalists be founded. This Essay, together with the rest, and more than the others, suggests the reflection that the volume itself is erroneously entitled—that instead of "Religious Republics," we should read "An Apology for Calvinistic Oligarchies." We do not refer at all to that part of Mr. Anstie's polemic which relates to the Church of England as an Establishment; we do not suppose, though he is not insensible to the grievances of Dissenters, that he goes so far as to maintain that Establishment, or endowment, or State control are unlawful in the sight of God, or so contrary to the mind of Christ as to unchristianize; but he and those who with him claim the highest of all spiritual positions, should consider whether their own system is not open to parallel objections to those which are brought against an established Church, as well as to some other practical objections peculiar to their own: and whether their own system must not in some degree, and at no distant time, submit to a modification according to which the "call" of the minister in its highest sense shall be from above personally to himself, and the "call" in another sense shall be from the preacher, teacher, or Apostle, to the Congregation who will listen to it, and not *vice versâ*. To the Platonic Socrates the present practice would have appeared as unreasonable as if the crew of a ship should elect their pilot, or the common soldiers of an army should choose their own general.

There is nothing to alarm even the most conservative in Dean Alford's revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament.⁴ The object of it is certainly not to alarm, but to keep open the question of a Revision of the Existing Version by authority and in reference to the now ascertained Greek text, and with correction of inadequate renderings. Nevertheless, like all that Dr. Alford does, it is marked with timidity and inconsistency. Among the antiquated words retained in the Authorized Version, there is none perhaps so indefensible as the word "ghost." Accordingly, Dr. Alford has for the most part substituted for it the word "spirit," and this even where "the Holy

⁴ "The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, after the Authorized Version, newly compared with the original Greek, and revised." By Henry Alford, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. London: Strahan and Co. 1869.

"Ghost" is spoken of, as in numerous passages of the Acts. But he has not been quite consistent with himself: for in the baptismal formula (Matthew xxviii. 19), he retains the word "Ghost," although in Acts xix. 2 he renders "we have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Spirit:" so he has Spirit instead of Ghost in John xiv. 26, Tit. iii. 5, and almost uniformly throughout; and in the benediction, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, communion of the H.S. instead of Holy Ghost. But in Matthew i. 18, 20, where the Incarnation is referred to, he employs the phrase "Holy Ghost;" and then what is most curious of all, in Luke i. 35, where the allusion is to the same event, he says, "the Holy Spirit shall overshadow thee." Dr. Alford makes no difference in his rendering of *διαβολος* and of *δαμων*, both of which he Englishes by "devil," nor generally between *γεεννα* and *αδης*, both of which he represents by "hell"—except that in Rev. i. 18 he translates "have the keys of death and of Hades." He has very properly substituted "office" for "bishoprick" in Acts i. 20; but then we are totally at a loss to understand why, in Acts xx. 28, he should say "bishops" in contradiction to the Authorized Version, which has "Overseers." Dr. Alford even modifies texts such as Rom. ix. 5, 1 Tim. iii. 16, which as they stand in the present Version render a special dogmatical service; and he should have credit for a very good emendation (Matthew xxi. 27), getting rid of a silly play upon the word "tell" which has no foundation in the original. Very characteristic, however, is the note at pp. 105, 106. The Dean is grievously frightened at telling the truth about the last twelve verses of the second Gospel.

Mr. Liddon has, we believe, the reputation with those who have had the best opportunities of watching the fluctuation of theological opinion in the University of Oxford in recent years, of being the person to whom is due more "unbelief" among the juniors than to any other. If it be so, we can readily understand the cause of it. For nothing can be more repellant than the form in which Mr. Liddon presents Christianity to the acceptance of his hearers.⁵ His controversial method is totally unlike that of the Great Apostle, who became all things to all men, and whose renown consists greatly in the tact with which he sought to establish a common ground between himself and those whom he desired to convince of their errors, an evidence not only of dialectical skill, but also of a large-hearted charity. But no one can impute to Mr. Liddon any willingness to shade over the differences between the Christian and the non-Christian: the person who is almost persuaded to be a Christian is exactly the person for whom he has the least sympathy, whom he is most anxious to drive forth into the outer darkness to which he properly belongs, if he will not accept Mr. Liddon's Christianity in its most dogmatic and repulsive form. There is no concession to modern thought on the part of this Nicene dogmatist.

"My brethren, Jesus Christ is God. His divinity is not any acquired deco-

⁵ "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford." By H. P. Liddon, M.A., Student of Christ Church, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury. Third Edition, revised. London and Oxford: Rivingtons. 1869.

ration of His human soul in His maturer years. It is not merely the highest degree of creaturely likeness to the Universal Father. It is not the reward and fruit of a tender and delicate spiritual conscience. It is not the faultless and royal lustre of a soul perpetually communing with God. Our Lord's Divinity is not the mere crown and beauty of His Manhood; it is not the moral beauty or power that went forth from Him, when as Man He had in His sublime perfection reached what other men account the superhuman. Still less is it the reflected admiration of a loving and grateful disciple, or the idealizing effort of an infant Church, warm in its reverential love, and too intent on worship to be capable of reserve or criticism."—p. 200.

A very different argument in justification of the claim to be called Son of God is put into the mouth of Jesus himself by the author of the fourth Gospel (John x. 34-36).

We have often wondered at the little apparent resentment or resistance manifested by Jews in this country under the offensive attacks made upon their faith, and upon the least instructed and most needy of their people, by Evangelical proselytizers. We have been inclined to attribute this reserve to a traditional habit enforced upon the Hebrew in Christian countries by long ages of persecution, of seeking safety in isolation from insult and injury. It is doubtful, however, whether this hypothesis will enable us sufficiently to account for the reticence of the Jews on the Christian controversy in a country like our own, where the freedom of speech and of printing is so complete. The narrow range of instruction to which the Jewish Rabbi or Minister has usually been accustomed to confine himself is greatly the cause of it. Thus the ordinary Jew, though he may have been drilled in the customs and the ritual is taken at advantage by any Christian assailant, because "so ignorant of the Bible and of the signification of the words in the original, and so little acquainted with the context of passages which may be quoted" (p. 3). With the design of supplying in some degree this deficiency, Dr. H. Adler has undertaken to point out and explain to his lay co-religionists in a series of sermons⁶ "the principal passages of scripture that are adduced by Christian theologians in support of their dogmas" (p. 4). The explanations thus given of a number of perverted texts are as far as they go such as would be admitted not only by German scholars, but also by English Broad Church Hebraists. No competent person thinks of founding an argument for the doctrine of the Trinity on Gen. i. 1, or understands "Shiloh" (Gen. xlix. 10) of a person, or interprets "Kiss the Son" in Psalm ii. of adoration due to Jesus as Son of God, or supposes there is any reference in Balaam's "Star out of Jacob" (Num. xxiv. 18) to the Star said to have led the wise men to the manger in Bethlehem, or that there is the least suggestion of a miraculous conception and birth in Is. vii. 14. It was not to be expected that the author should be successful in all the interpretations which he himself recommends—the difficulties of some passages have hitherto baffled all expositors, as for instance the details

⁶ "A Course of Sermons on the Biblical Passages adduced by Christian Theologians in support of the Dogmas of their Faith." Preached in the Baywater Synagogue. By Hermann Adler, Ph.D., Minister of the Congregation. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

of Daniel's prophecy of the Seventy weeks. This publication is likely to be really serviceable for the purpose for which it is intended. Nevertheless, in appealing to criticism at all, and in all submission to received interpretations, the orthodox Jew is taking up a two-edged weapon. For in showing the groundlessness of the Christian interpretation of so-called Messianic prophecies, he of necessity suggests doubts whether the Jewish expectations which are connected with them are in any degree better founded. Dr. Hermann Adler, however, adheres to the anticipation of a restoration of Israel to their own Land, of a personal coming of Messiah, when Jerusalem shall become the centre of the adoring nations, and "there shall be no more heathenism, pantheism, or atheism; no more slavery, intolerance, or despotism" (p. 153). In the days of the Messiah the worship of One God shall become the religion of the world, "the whole of Palestine shall be a Temple, the whole earth a Holy Land" (p. 157); moreover, the Temple is to be rebuilt according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, and the observance of the Law restored in all its particulars. Within what a marvellously narrow circle of ideas do the minds of these old-fashioned Jews move in the midst of an advancing civilization; expecting the restitution of bloody sacrifices, of the laws of defilements, of the Sabbaths and festivals, the years of rest and of jubilee. If these dreams are even wilder than those which some Christians entertain of a Millennium, their notions of Scriptural infallibility surpass even those of extreme Evangelical literalists. "The word of God could not have been imperfect or incomplete so as to require either correction or development" (p. 171). We are not surprised at this one-sidedness. A Jewish friend was once discussing with us some of the miraculous stories in the Gospels, and dilated on the absurdity of supposing a human body carried up into heaven as that of Jesus Christ is described to have been, when on a question what could be thought of the ascent of Elijah with his chariot and horses of fire, the reply was, "Oh! that is quite different; he was a prophet, and that is *written*." We are perfectly aware there are many learned Jews, even in this country, capable of applying an even critical measure to the histories contained both in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, but Dr. Hermann Adler cannot be said to be one of them.

We do not know of any work of a German author on Biblical criticism better deserving of an English translation, or more likely to be really useful than Bleek's Introduction to the Old Testament.⁷ And it is certainly a matter of congratulation that this translation is given to the English public by persons apparently of "Evangelical" opinions, but who are candid enough to acknowledge the want hitherto felt of a work which could be honestly recommended to theological students; they recognise Bleek's Introduction as a "storehouse of well-sifted and trustworthy Biblical material." A most valuable part of it consists

⁷ "An Introduction to the Old Testament." By Johannes Bleek; edited by Adolph Kamphausen. Translated from the Second Edition (Berlin, 1865) by G. H. Venables, Esq. Edited by Rev. Edmund Venables, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Lincoln. In Two Volumes. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

in the thorough history given of the literature belonging to every branch of the subject, so that the inquirer, who may doubt concerning Bleek's own conclusions, is directed to sufficient sources for pursuing his own investigations independently. And it is very creditable to the translator and editor, after entering a sort of protest against some of Bleek's conclusions, as concerning the composite authorship of the Pentateuch—the second Isaiah—the Maccabæan date of the book of Daniel, to have added, “even where we disagree most widely, we must acknowledge the scrupulous care with which the investigation has been conducted; the earnest desire after impartiality that has generally governed it, and the spirit of reverence which animates the whole.”—p. vii.

Another indication of the loosening of prejudices in some degree, is to be seen in the translation by Mr. Glover of Emmanuel College of a portion of Ewald's Isaiah.⁸ A few pages of preface are given acknowledging that the view taken by Ewald of the office and work of the prophet is very different from that usually held among ourselves: with Ewald also Mr. Glover supposes that the predictions of the fall of Babylon were given to those whom they practically concerned; nor is he afraid to recognise the hands of several authors in the book which is now called by the name of Isaiah. Moreover, the revelations of prophecy, according to Ewald, are not limited to one age or country, much less can the prophet be supposed to have said in effect to his contemporaries, This prophecy does not in fact interest you, it will be of value to those who shall be living some thousand years hence. For prophecy, at least generally, is concerned with general truths and declarations concerning the method of the Divine government of mankind. It does not primarily relate to facts or particular occurrences, but only as they illustrate the working of the universal moral laws. Mr. Glover is assured, as he well may be, that no one who reads this portion of the great work on the prophets but will feel his admiration of the Book of Isaiah intensified, and the distrust with which Ewald is often regarded in this country greatly diminished.

The eleventh and twelfth volumes of Messrs. Clark's Ante-Nicene Library consists of a first volume of Tertullian, and a second volume of Clement of Alexandria.⁹ This is a really great undertaking, and is being carried through without any failure in the literary execution, or any faltering in the engagements made by the publishers with their subscribers.

Mr. Lupton's publication,¹⁰ from a MS. in the library of St. Paul's

⁸ “The Prophet Isaiah, Chapters i.—xxxiii.” From the German of H. Ewald. By O. Glover, B.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

⁹ “The Writings of Quintus Sept. Flor. Tertullianus,” Vol. I. “The Writings of Clement of Alexandria.” Translated by the Rev. William Wilson, M.A., Musselburgh. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1869.

¹⁰ “Joannes Coletus super Opera Dionysii.” Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius. By John Colet, D.D., formerly Dean of St. Paul's. Now first published, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes. By J. K. Lupton, M.A., Sub-master of St. Paul's School, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

School, of Dean Colet's Treatises on the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies of Dionysius, called the Areopagite, is a very scholarlike contribution to the history of a Reformer who is less known and has been less honoured than he has deserved. Mr. Lupton indeed quotes a maxim of his, *Si vis Divinus esse late ut Deus*. He appears to have written little, and the two treatises here given are now first brought to light. Mr. Lupton discusses in his Introduction the causes which probably awakened in Colet an interest in these mystical productions, and endeavours to trace a historical thread connecting him with the Platonic movement of the Florentines Ficino and Pico Mirandola in the fifteenth century. For the general reader the treatises themselves will possess but little interest.

Mr. Maskell was one of the ablest members of the then High Church party who seceded to Rome nearly twenty years ago. His own course at that time was very much determined by reflections suggested to him by the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Mr. Gorham. He points out that now in the case of "*Martin v. Mackonochie*," the great question arises as it did then, Whether the Church of England has any, and if any, what definite teaching on the subject of the Christian Sacraments; now also, as then, is agitated the question of the sufficiency of the present Court of Final Appeal in causes Ecclesiastical.¹¹ Mr. Maskell presses upon the present generation of High Churchmen with great force that their motives to quit the ambiguous position in which they stand are if possible more cogent than those which drove their predecessors to Rome. Far as the Ritualists have gone they must feel that their own doctrine of the Eucharist is not permitted in the Church of England; whereas in the previous case the High Church theory of Baptism was only not allowed exclusive possession, and Mr. Gorham's was admitted. Nor does he suffer the Ritualists to escape under cover of the agitation for a reconstruction of the Final Court of Appeal. For the old Court of Delegates, in which the Church of England had acquiesced for three hundred years, derived its authority wholly and entirely from the Crown as the present Court does: it also, as well as the present Court, was solely a tribunal of construction or interpretation. Nor would it be any improvement in the judgment of any, that such cases as those of Mr. Gorham and Mr. Mackonochie should be submitted to a committee of six High Church and six Low Church bishops, rather than to the Committee of Council. For, urges Mr. Maskell—

"The fault is not in the constitution of the Court itself, nor, so far, in the source from which its jurisdiction flows: but it is owing to the character of the formularies, on which it is bound to rest its decisions. These are purely and really Acts of Parliament, as much as a turnpike-road act, or the last railway bill. For all purposes which can come under the consideration of the Judicial Committee, lawyers, educated and practised for years in the intricacies and

¹¹ "The Present Position of the High Church Party, in the Established Church of England, considered in a Review of the 'Civil Power in its relations to the Church,' and in Two Letters on the Royal Supremacy and the Want of Dogmatic Teaching in the Reformed Church." By William Maskell, A.M. London: Longmans. 1869.

subtleties of English law, are the very best judges which can be named to interpret these no less than other statutes of the realm. Why should Mr. Joyce or his party throw on them the blame which in reality, if due at all, is due to the 'stammering lips' of the formularies themselves? Is there any one great Christian doctrine, any one chief article of the Faith, which those formularies, in some part or other of them, do not allow to be held in (it may be) half a dozen different, and it may be contrariant senses. If there be such a doctrine, What is it?"—pp. 45, 46.

The principal part of the new matter in this volume consists of a review of a book published in 1865, entitled "The Sword and the Keys," by Mr. Joyce; there is also a brief notice of Mr. Ffoulkes's pamphlet. The rest is made up of a reprint of two letters originally published in 1850.

There are two Voluntary Bodies now organized within the Church of England, organized both for attack and defence, the Church Union, for the suppression of Protestantism, and the Church Association, for the repression of Romanism, and, we believe, of Rationalism also. A leading member of the latter Society is Mr. Edward Garbett, whose volume¹² is a collection of unbroken authorities from the era of the Reformation in this country to the present time, adverse to the sacerdotal claims and Eucharistic doctrine of the High Church party. Even if a catena of patristic authorities would preponderate in favour of the High Churchmen, it would not affect the question of ecclesiastical law at issue between these two bodies—at least that is the vital point—whether the doctrine of the Church of England is or is not to be taken wholly from the Reformation Settlement.

Mr. Cazenove gives not only a more just estimate of the Reformation movement itself, but shows on all sides a much better capacity for judging impartially both friends and opponents than is usually met with in clerical controversialists.¹³ A great deal may be learnt of the relations of the various ecclesiastical bodies towards each other in the "Some Aspects" which Mr. Cazenove has given: and he is by his own tone and method fully justified in addressing to his brethren such words of admonition as the following:—

"Is it too much to ask of my brethren, the reverend clergy, whether they sufficiently lay to heart the undeniable truth that they, like all other classes, lawyers, statesmen, nobles, merchants, physicians, have their own special class temptations? They are for example, as a rule, deficient in judicial temper. . . . We see how great an evil is that painful severance, which in France, and even still more in Italy, has arisen between the clergy and laity. It is from no wish to compromise truth that I would say, let us beware of a like danger springing up at home."—p. 171.

In his preface to the "Gospel and Modern Life,"¹⁴ Mr. J. L. Davies

¹² "Voices of the Church of England against Modern Sacerdotalism;" being a Manual of Authorities on the Nature of the Lord's Supper and the Christian Ministry, selected and arranged, with an Introduction, by Edward Garbett, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Surbiton, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury. London: William Hunt. 1869.

¹³ "Some Aspects of the Reformation." An Essay suggested by the Rev. Dr. Littledale's Lecture on "Innovations." By John Gibson Cazenove, M.A. Oxon., Provost of the College, Isle of Cumbrae, Scotland. London: Ridgway. 1869.

¹⁴ "The Gospel and Modern Life: Sermons on some of the Difficulties of the Day." By the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies, M.A., Rector of Christ Church, St. Marylebone. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

breaks a lance with the *Pall Mall Gazette* on behalf of his friend Mr. Thomas Hughes. Mr. Hughes does not pretend to be a theologian, but his efforts are conciliatory, something like, Let us shake hands all round and say no more about it. We cannot think this is the tendency of Mr. Davies's theology. Under a mystical varnish there lies only half-concealed, and but little modified, the old dogmatic Christianity from which more and more persons are becoming alienated. Nevertheless, there are often striking things and sometimes sensible things to be met with in these sermons. The sermon on "Human Corruption" has sensible things in it, and that on "Giving by Calculation" contains good practical suggestions.

The public had quite enough of the case of "Saurin v. Starr," and will not be much interested in the comparison drawn in this "Autobiography," between the practices of Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic nunneries.¹⁵ The trivialities, inconsistencies, and indecuments which have prevailed in some of these latter institutions are already well known. The case referred to is sufficient evidence that similar absurdities may take place in houses under Roman regulations.

The European mind has been greatly shocked recently by the disinterment of evidence in the capital of Spain, of the atrocities of the *autos da fé*, which have happily become mere matter of history. An instructive account of the process against Francis Moyon, a Frenchman, who was confined for many years in the prisons of the Inquisition at Lima, has been translated by Dr. Duffy from the Spanish.¹⁶ This narrative is not in itself so full of horrors as some others, there is no interest attaching personally to Moyon beyond his sufferings, and he died, as far as can be ascertained, in shipwreck, as he was being conveyed a prisoner to Spain by the officials of the Inquisition.

The relation of the late R. Rothe to the modern theology was described in a recent number of this Review as hesitating and transitional; and such is the character of the literary remains given to the world by his surviving friends.¹⁷ The two volumes of Sermons noted below differ in this respect, that one of them has been scrupulously edited by Dr. Schenkel from Rothe's manuscripts. This was a task of no ordinary difficulty. They represent the period from 1829 to 1842, and exhibit, says Schenkel, a growing process of liberation from the trammels of the old dogma, and an ever-deepening love to God and the brethren through faith in Jesus Christ. The other volume has not been printed from any manuscripts of the author. During the period of his professorship at Bonn in 1849-1854, to which these sermons relate, he ceased to transcribe his sermons for delivery. The greater part, however, of those contained in this volume were taken down in shorthand by the present editor, who acquired the art expressly for

¹⁵ "Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood and Ten Years in a Catholic Convent. An Autobiography." London: Longmans. 1869.

¹⁶ "Francisco Moyon; or, the Inquisition as it was in South America." By B. Vicuña Mackenna. Translated from the Spanish with the Author's permission, by James W. Duffy, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c. &c. London: Sotheran. 1869.

¹⁷ "R. Rothe's nachgelassene Predigten." Zweiter Band. Herausgegeben von Dr. D. Schenkel. Dritter Band. Herausgegeben von Johannes Bleek, Pfarrer. Elberfeld. London: D. Nutt. 1869.

that purpose. We meet, however, in these Sermons, as in the others, with a traditional clinging to the substance of the dogma, although the strict form of it was abandoned. The twenty-fifth Sermon, on the Resurrection, is an example of this, and still more remarkably the seven-teenth, on the subject of a world of evil spirits, the existence of which is maintained on the authority of Luther and St. Paul.

Various essays of Mr. Martineau's, which appeared from time to time in the "National" and other Reviews, embracing critiques on Comte, J. S. Mill, Dr. Mansel, and Mr. Bain, were published in a collected form about three years ago in the United States. A great number of friends, and we are sure not a few opponents, will rejoice to see them now republished in England.¹⁸

We have to speak in terms of the highest praise of Mr. Murphy's work entitled "*Habit and Intelligence*."¹⁹ He will be found on various points in opposition to opinions differing from his own on the right and on the left; but his style is exceedingly good and his controversial tone unexceptionable. His Inquiry reaches even somewhat further than the title of his book would at first indicate; for with the author, and in the sense wherein he uses the term "habit," it includes all induced phenomena presented by organizations and successions of organizations as such, and "intelligence" stands for the competent cause of these organizations. Organization is a result of life, though there may be life without organization (p. 113), and thus physiology is the most characteristic part of biology—namely, on its functional side (p. 119). Are there then in organizations evidence of means, purposes, adaptations: and are the parts for the whole or the whole for the parts? It should be premised that final or absolute ends are out of our reach of observation, and that relative means and purposes are all that can be ascertained or presumed. "Such adaptations of organization are to be referred to the operation of an Intelligence that transcends ordinary physical causation, though working through it" (p. 122). Nor is this inconsistent with a belief to the fullest extent in the development theory; for the origin of species and of life are totally distinct questions. Species may have originated by descent "from one vitalized germ," but the original germ must have been vitalized "by the same Creative Power that gave their origin and their properties to matter and energy" (p. 131). An important factor in development is habit, which is not only acquired by individual organizations, but is transmitted by them and assists in continual modification of species; and in fact, all vital actions tend to become habitual and to repeat themselves. So that besides the laws of the transformation by the agency of living beings of matter and energy, the laws of habit are the only laws which in biology are elementary and universal (p. 176). The author then refers to Butler's doctrine concerning passive impressions and active habits, which the Bishop applied only to moral habits, but

¹⁸ "*Essays Philosophical and Theological*." By James Martineau. In two volumes. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

¹⁹ "*Habit and Intelligence, in their connexion with the Laws of Matter and Force: a Series of Scientific Essays*." By Joseph John Murphy. In two volumes. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

our author says it is found to hold good far down in the unconscious life. Besides, however, the operation of the laws of habit on living beings, account must be taken of the variation of circumstances in which they are placed. And so Mr. Murphy comes to discuss more fully the question of the origin of Species, and gives his own modification of Mr. Darwin's and Mr. Herbert Spencer's theories (Ch. xvii). After treating of embryology, of classification, and pointing out that specific change is generally in the direction of progress, he recurs to the necessity for an organizing Intelligence (p. 323). Mr. Murphy in this part of his treatise does not at all recoil from the hypothesis of the possible derivation of the human species, as to its animal nature, from an ape, or something like an ape, but he assumes apparently what he calls a spiritual nature in man, "the relation of which to his animal nature is one of the greatest of all mysteries; but the relation of life to matter is equally mysterious, though it is a lower kind of mystery" (p. 331). It will of course be objected even by those who conceive "life" to be distinct from "matter," that the evidence is wanting to show "Spirit" as distinct from life. The author touches again on the hypothesis of "Spirit" in his chapter on the "Grounds of the Moral Nature" (vol. ii. p. 64). Dropping, however, for the present this hypothesis of Spirit, Mr. Murphy goes on to set forth his doctrine of organizing Intelligence, and he concludes that—

"Vital intelligence is the same throughout. I believe that the unconscious intelligence that directs the formation of the bodily structures is the same intelligence that becomes conscious in the mind. The two are generally believed to be fundamentally distinct: conscious mental intelligence is believed to be human, and formative intelligence is believed to be divine."—Vol. ii. p. 4.

And after saying that the identification of organic intelligence with mental intelligence will be startling to the generality of English people, who have been accustomed to refer all organic adaptations to direct creative action, he continues—

"Such an hypothesis was inevitable for believers in a Personal Creator, at least so long as the world and all that it contains was supposed to have been created in a few days. But now that we know the antiquity of the world to be almost immeasurable; and now that arguments which I believe to be conclusive, have been brought forward to prove that every organized form is the result, not of a simple creative act, but of slow development; it appears more reasonable to believe, that this slow development has taken place, not in virtue of a fresh exercise of Creative Power at every one of the almost infinite stages, but in virtue of a principle of intelligence, which guides all organic formation and all motor instincts, and finally becomes conscious in the brains of the higher animals and conscious of itself in man."—Vol. ii. p. 6.

We do not think the author's subsequent vindication of himself from the possible charge of Pantheism to be very happy. Passing over his discussion of idealism and the hypothesis of 'forms of thought' belonging to the human mind, which he repudiates, the most important question remaining is that of the source of the moral sense. Mr. Murphy conceives it to be an ultimate fact: and although developed out of the love of pleasure and the fear of pain, that it contains an element which altogether transcends organic life and sensation. We are promised a fuller discussion of this part of his subject, and we

are confident that even those who may feel most at issue with Mr. Murphy on many important points will be most glad to meet him again in another treatise.

Mr. Mackay's translation of the "*Meno*,"²⁰ with an Introduction, is intended as a protest against, and if it might be, a corrective of the self-indulging utilitarian spirit rife in our own age and country. Neither the Legislature nor the Church endeavour to counteract the downward tendency; our own educators are mere sophists directing their teaching merely to purposes that will pay; our scientific instructors are initiators into methods of application which will make comfortable or make rich; we have no class even pretending to the influence of the Greek philosopher, nor again have we any drama—

"For the office of the dramatist, in the Greek conception of it, may in some sort be said to stand midway between that of the legislator, looking mainly to external compulsion, and that of the true moral teacher or philosopher, aiming at a thorough internal regeneration by directing the highest faculties to the highest objects of aspiration."—p. 76.

Besides the ordinary action of the drama in purifying the emotions through pity and fear, it gave as aids to the will hints of a retributive future life. But religion among ourselves is reduced externally to a collection of uncouth symbols, while internally it fosters individual conceit and self-sufficiency. Socrates, "by continually questioning reason hoped to find an expression for the universal good," and Plato "went on endeavouring to get a firmer hold of the universal truth underlying diversities of appearance, the ideal certainty on which alone morality could be based" (p. 87). Mr. Mackay acknowledges that there is much in the Platonic Republic which appears monstrous when brought face to face with a more complete analysis of human nature; but he defends the philosopher from the charge of sacrificing entirely the individual to the polity:—

"And here perhaps will be found the main distinction between the Platonic State and its caricatured historical exemplification in the Christian Church—namely, that in the latter, the individual is really suppressed and merged in a self-seeking political corporation; whereas in Plato freedom is rescued and the moral character of the community preserved by the true spirit of idealism, depending on self-regulation, mutual co-operation, and a philosophical education of the highest kind."—pp. 90, 91.

The original Pauline conception of the "perfect man," and the "holy temple," "growing by that which every joint supplieth," was not open to this criticism—the Church or Ecclesiasticism is; and subjective Protestantism is open to exactly the opposite reproach—that it knows nothing but units. The whole of Plato, according to Mr. Mackay, may be considered an undogmatical system of education; it is an inquiry into the nature of ideal good, and the means of realizing it in human

²⁰ "*Plato's Meno: a Dialogue on the Nature and Meaning of Education*;" translated, with Explanatory Notes and Introduction, and a Preliminary Essay on the Moral Education of the Greeks, by R. W. Mackay, M.A., Author of "*The Tübingen School and its Antecedents*," &c. &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

Souls and Societies"—for the philosophic educator is not an empirical politician, aiming successfully at the material equipment of the State, he is an improver of the mind and character of the people (p. 98). As may be supposed, Mr. Mackay gives the preference to the moral theory of Plato over that of Aristotle; many points of contrast, however, between the two great philosophers are well indicated:—

"Though Aristotle supplies a far more extensive catalogue of the items of the educational ascent from vague natural aptitude, to its acmè in the morally and intellectually accomplished individual, the description lacks the effect produced by the glowing eloquence of Plato; the process is confined within narrower limits, having no dim reminiscences of antenatal glories at its commencement, and at its end, instead of a sort of heavenly kingdom or moral communion with the just, with an outlook into futurity, stops short at the contemplative meditations of the solitary student."—p. 104.

Whether in other particulars of the comparison Mr. Mackay is more than just to Plato, or less than just to Aristotle, is another question.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

TO give an account of Mr. Mill's¹ precious little volume on the "Subjection of Women" is only an easy task because it is a superfluous one. Every one will and must read every word of it for himself, and that too again and again. Of few books can it be prophesied with more certainty that *decies repetita placebit*. The argument indeed and the general conclusions contain little that can take by surprise the devout student of Mr. Mill, but even if the formal argument be of the same kind as those he has handled so often before, yet a certain magical novelty attaches to it through the loving spirit of accuracy, the exquisitely diversified modes of scientific approach, and the countless accidental moral and psychological speculations that are always cropping up by the way. This work is a brilliant exhibition of every one of Mr. Mill's characteristic excellences. He never loses sight, from his first page to his last, of the stern revolutionary purpose he has set before him. He never abuses an argument, and he never fails to turn to the fullest account those he has at his hand. He never misrepresents an imaginary antagonist, and yet he never fails to descry the possibly weak point at which such an antagonist may be looked for. It is from this inimitable use of logical mechanism that Mr. Mill has the power of carrying a complete and soul-subduing conviction home to the minds of men, which is the source of an influence that, for its extent and penetration, is probably unparalleled since the days of Socrates. Among the subsidiary considerations entered upon by Mr. Mill in this book, we consider those concerned with the real nature of nervous differences as implying a greater or less capacity of "*sustained excitement*," the relation of

¹ "The Subjection of Women." By John Stuart Mill. London: Longmans. 1869.

"practical" to "theoretical" qualities, and their respective values for different ends, the knowledge of human nature possessed by Englishmen and Frenchmen severally, and the sole conditions of true happiness and spiritual enlargement in married life, as some of the most important contributions to general speculative politics Mr. Mill has ever made. With the appearance of this work we trust the old era of female subordination has finally passed away. The positive inquiry as to woman's true place and functions in the scheme of future social organization may now receive the undivided attention it demands. The investigation as to the position of woman in relation to the past and the future forms part of a much larger problem, which has to be solved for all the social forces existing in the countries of modern Europe. On the one hand, the particular mode in which these forces have evolved themselves has to be rigidly scrutinized, so that every distortion and corruption that has been due to human selfishness, ignorance, and indolence, may be finally discredited. On the other hand, the true lessons taught by the past as to the natural and most efficient mode of operation of these forces have to be wrung out of the history of the past as well as out of observed facts in the present. Mr. Mill's direct purpose is to kindle people's curiosity and energy up to the point of unflinchingly cross-questioning familiar sequences, in order to ascertain how far they are the only possible or most desirable ones. This noble scepticism has, under the guidance of a line of courageous thinkers and philanthropists, of which Mr. Mill is not the least, done the greatest things in the regions of philosophy, religion, and politics. The region of family life still remains almost unscathed, and, if it is the hardest to assault, it is, from its subtle implication with all the other regions of human relationship and practical interest, the worthiest to win. Mr. Mill proves, from his high ideal of a happy marriage state, that he is no mere reckless iconoclast here, any more than elsewhere. He indicates even a belief that there are fine shades of intellectual difference which mark off the sexes from each other, and which may ultimately be found to point to different kinds of employments. We would even go farther than him in this direction. The future organization of society will no doubt be founded upon a sense of equality and unity, now quite inappreciable, coincidently with a recognition of diversity and speciality, as well as of individuality, of which society at present affords scarcely a symptom. In order to bring about this, the first thing to do is to get rid of all the merely accidental lines drawn by past barbarity and tyranny. Then comes a period of calm scientific investigation, warmed and energized by noble aspirations and an indomitable faith in the capacities of the human race. That in the state of society hereafter to emerge the situation or the faculties of women compared with men will be anything to which the word inequality in the minutest degree corresponds, we profoundly disbelieve. That, however, of all differences at once leading to a division of labour and increasing mutual honour and sympathy through a sense of mutual dependence, that of sex will be found to be the most permanent and decisive, we think far from improbable. If there is any lack in Mr. Mill's book, it is, perhaps, that of an exhaustive theory of the marriage

state, which of course must rest on a comprehensive theory of morals, and yet must be established or assumed in every treatment of the permanent social relations of man and woman.

A very courageous and well-advised step towards carrying out the principles of Mr. Mill's work has been made by Madame Bodichon,² who is well known to the enlightened English public for her unresting and single-minded energy and benevolence in carrying forward important social objects, especially those concerned with the amelioration of the position of her own sex. Madame Bodichon rightly holds that, with a view to making new laws, the first stage is to apprehend clearly and compendiously what are the old ones. For this purpose she does what professional lawyers have no mind or heart to do, that is, she "codifies" the part of the English law which specially concerns women. There are some cases where the proverb may fairly be reversed, and "angels step in where fools fear to tread." The whole plan and conception of this little work is most excellent, and betrays a naturally keen juridical instinct. It would be out of place to apply any rigorous criticism to the details either of the definition of the terms or of the mode of classification. The Appendices on some recent facts in the modern exposition of English law, and on the laws relating to women abroad, are especially valuable.

The Irish Church question has now passed out of the region of speculation into that of definite political action, and hence the further discussion of it is only interesting on account of the light it sheds on the relations of Church and State generally. We had in our last number to speak favourably of the scheme of disestablishment proposed by the author of "*The United Kingdom and the Disunited Church*," and we pointed out its resemblance to that actually adopted by Mr. Gladstone. The third part,³ on "Construction," which now appears, is scarcely worthy of its predecessors. The author contemplates devoting the surplus revenues to what may be called the general "endowment of Christianity in Ireland." "As these endowments were granted to Christians for Christian uses, the clergy or ministers accepting their share under this ecclesiastical policy should declare that they and the body in which they minister hold the Christian Faith." This profession of "Christianity," which is to entitle certain persons to receive funds taken away from other persons, is scarcely likely to be favourable to the improvement of morals and religious conscientiousness, any more than it falls in with any conceivable theory of political justice.

The unspoken speech of an "Englishman"⁴ on the Irish Church is certainly better than a good many spoken speeches, and contains a curious mixture, though scarcely chemical union, of opposite lines of thought. The writer, or speaker, evidently would like a repeal of the

² "A Brief Summary in Plain Language of the most important Laws of England concerning Women, together with a few Observations thereon." By Barbara D. S. Bodichon. Third edition. London: Trübner. 1869.

³ "*The United Kingdom and the Disunited Church. Part III. Construction.*" London: Longmans. 1869.

⁴ "*The Irish Church.*" By an Englishman. London: Ridgway. 1869.

Union, but regards it as impossible. This being so, he considers it the duty of England to maintain her own religious creed, whatever it is, as the national profession of faith of all parts of her dominions, and therefore of Ireland, but to abstain from all coercion of dissentients. The writer, however, has a very strong view on the land question, and on the propriety of the English Government protecting the pauper tenant against oppression on the part of a bad landlord.

Dr. Todd's "*Observations on the Irish Church Bill*,"⁵ contains an examination of all the pernicious and iniquitous consequences supposed likely to flow from the several clauses of Mr. Gladstone's Bill. A little initial prejudice is likely to be entertained against the deliberateness and candour of a writer who sets out with describing the policy of the bill as proposing "confiscation" unparalleled in the history of the civilized world, and, in the opinion of the author, equally opposed to the laws of God and man.

In his pamphlet on "*Modern Theories on Church and State*,"⁶ Mr. Amos has approached the problem of the organization of society at a point a good way removed from that at which the exigencies of immediate legislation accustom us to its being viewed. We have often had occasion in this Review to investigate the pernicious consequences certain to flow from the extension of law over inappropriate fields. There is something that law can do; there is more that it cannot do. The union of Church and State, as that union is understood in modern politics, is only one instance out of many of the confusion of the field of coercive and imperative law with other fields in which some other agency is to be employed. That the field of law must be narrowed as much as possible and kept rigidly distinct from all other fields, is an axiom on which Mr. Amos is fixedly intent throughout, although he contrives to make the confession of its truth emerge from the arguments of the different classes of reasoners with whom he deals in turn. He assails (1) the "materialists" as only dealing with the legal side, and providing no machinery whatever for coping with the moral wants of the age. However deeply these moral wants are felt by some of them, these wants are held capable of being amply supplied by law, or of being grappled with by the desultory agency of individuals. On the (2) Protestants, as representing all the narrow religionists within the Church of England and all sectarian bodies outside it, Mr. Amos is very severe. In view of what he calls the Individualism, Intolerance, and Asceticism that persistently cling to Protestantism, he considers all their affected and partial constructions as utterly worthless for the purpose of general social organization. Mr. Amos then goes on to allege that only two real attempts have been made to provide a moral machinery embracing a whole nation,—that is, (3), the Essay of the Catholic Christian Church in its several national branches, and (4) the system of M. Comte. Mr. Amos expounds the nature of these two theories with some particularity, and

⁵ "*Observations on the Irish Church Bill*." By Charles H. Todd, LL.D. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

⁶ "*Modern Theories on Church and State*." By Sheldon Amos, M.A. London: William Ridgway. 1869.

briefly examines the nature of the issues upon which their competitive claims will be decided. The last (5) theory investigated is that which underlies most of the political reasoning of the great philosophers of Germany, and which may be taken as affording a speculative basis in thought for the two theories immediately preceding. According to this theory, the more complete the social union the higher the possible morality and free development of faculties. A progressive nation is constantly approaching an ultimate stage of *absolute morality*, and the handmaid, as well as the token of its advances, is *positive law*. Mr. Amos's conception of a church as an educating and moralizing force nearly approaches that of Coleridge, on which it is in fact based.

There can be few more edifying spectacles for Englishmen, than the picture of their Parliamentary system as it presents itself to a colonial politician. Mr. Todd (who is librarian of the House of Commons of Canada) has just brought out the second volume of his important work on "Parliamentary Government in England." There is no such work written by an English writer to compare with it. It has been proceeded with more rapidly than the author had intended, in order to place it in the hands of public men "before the constitution of the new dominion should be enforced, in the hope that it might be helpful in the settlement of various political questions which were likely to arise at that juncture." Mr. Todd makes interesting mention of the late Thomas D'Arcy McGee, whose lamented and untimely decease he alludes to as that of a friend who took the warmest interest in the progress of the work from its very commencement. We are told that after a large experience in political life, at the beginning of which he evinced a decided preference for a republican form of government, Mr. McGee acquired, in mature years, a profound enthusiasm for the British Constitution. "With the enthusiasm of his poetical temperament, as well as with the sagacity of a practical statesman, he loved to speak of its great and varied excellences, and especially to dwell upon the benefits resulting from the monarchical principle as the true foundation of all stable government." In the part of his work in which Mr. Todd dwells upon the responsibility of Ministers of the Crown to Parliament, he is led to quote one of Mr. Mill's speeches to the House of Commons, in which he resents the notion of the general body of the House constantly interfering in matters of mere administration. It was the chief duty (Mr. Mill thought) of a popular assembly to see that the business is transacted by the most competent persons, confining its own direct intervention to the enforcement of real discussion and publicity of the reasons offered *pro* and *con*; the offering of suggestions to those who do the work, and the imposition of a check upon them if they are disposed to do anything wrong. Mr. Todd has accumulated a great mass of authorities for the purpose of illustrating the different points of constitutional law and practice which he is called upon to notice, and the whole work may be described as at once erudite, ex-

⁷ "Parliamentary Government in England: its Origin, Development, and Practical Operation." By Alpheus Todd. In two volumes. Vol. II. London: Longmans. 1869.

haustive, and replete with matter of the greatest historical and political interest.

Mr. Palgrave's Lectures on the history and practice of the House of Commons,⁸ delivered to a working-men audience, afford an excellent specimen of the mode by which it is possible to give political instruction to classes for which politics hitherto has been little more than an arena for the display of unbridled party-passions, or else a heaven-sent mechanism for obtaining money without working for it. In these lectures, Mr. Palgrave makes the daily work, as well as the great developing historical facts, of the English constitution, living and touching realities to his audience. He describes in minute detail the actual method of dividing the House, and does not omit its ludicrous attendant circumstances. In the same way the actual duties and difficulties of the Speaker are precisely enumerated, and almost chatted about in a way at once friendly and serious. Some good, or at least characteristic, stories are inserted every now and then, such as that two hundred years ago the glare of eyes fixed on a Speaker, expectant of his casting vote, so unnerved him that he stammered out first "I am an 'Ay';" then, "no, no, I am a 'No,' I should say;" a state of puzzlement that provoked laughter and rude remarks that "Mr. Speaker was gone." Some historical events often talked about, but the exact circumstances of which have almost been forgotten, or were never known by those who talk most glibly, are given in great detail. Thus, Gunpowder Plot, the Lord George Gordon Riots, and the attempted arrest of the five members by Charles I. are very vividly described. Mr. Palgrave notices that Gunpowder Plot failed simply because "it was too horrible—because it surpassed too greatly the deeds of the most wicked. To some of the plotters, the death of those dear to them was an intolerable thought." We think any working man giving heed to the matter of these lectures would, at least, learn that the present position of the House of Commons has not been attained without many a struggle, much self-sacrifice, much self-control, and with much of that which, though it may sound like compromise is, in truth, very different from it, being rather a mutual recognition by contending parties of each other's sincerity, nobility, and courage. There are moments when a flashing intuition of this will make the best men on all sides combine to bring about great issues. What is the value of institutions, and what the value of personal character, and what the relation of the one to the other, are questions which all Englishmen in these days may well carefully ponder.

We have no scruple in pronouncing Mr. Droop's essay on the political and social effects of different methods of electing representatives as one of the best pieces of political speculation that have appeared of late.⁹ After merely noting the different modes suggested by way of

⁸ "The House of Commons. A Course of Three Lectures, delivered to the Reigate South Park Working Men's Club." By Reginald F. D. Palgrave. London: Macmillan. 1869.

⁹ "On the Political and Social Effects of Different Methods of Electing Representatives." By H. R. Droop, Esq. London: William Maxwell. 1869.

representing minorities, Mr. Droop distinguishes generally between all methods whatever of what he calls "single voting" on the one hand, and "majority voting" on the other. His proposal is, that constituencies should be enlarged throughout the country, so that each should have five or six representatives, and that one or other of the schemes should be adopted by which any fraction of the constituency exceeding one-sixth or one-seventh should be able to return a member. He considers this proposal to be more expedient than Mr. Hare's scheme of making the whole country into one constituency, and also to be more easily worked. The advantages of single voting are investigated and detailed with great precision and acuteness. Mr. Droop, for instance, notices that, as things are, not even the majorities are fairly represented on any except one or two leading questions which, through the management of party leaders, have been forced into unnatural and artificial prominence. Hence only such candidates can stand a chance who have no particular opinions on a large number of important political topics, and, on the question of the day, have decided views one way or the other of a complexion readily appreciated by the ordinary voter. Under a system of single voting, Mr. Droop anticipates that bribery would largely diminish, as most of the members would be chosen by parties in the constituency with decided political views, and, inasmuch as more candidates would present themselves, there would always be a strong chance of their all being chosen on strictly political grounds. Mr. Droop further establishes with great clearness that majority voting produces an unnatural division of all active politicians, and, to a certain extent, of all electors, into two, and only two parties, and concentrates the attention of Parliament and of the country almost exclusively upon certain questions which are, or are likely to become, party questions, while single voting would restore both the combinations of politicians and the course of public opinion to their natural state of freedom.

A very happy method of single voting, or, as the author calls it more precisely, "Proportional Representation," is given us by Mr. Baily.¹⁰ His plan is that the candidates should, by each framing lists of the other candidates, determine the order in which the votes superfluous or useless for themselves, may be put to the credit of the rest. "These transfer lists are to be published after the nomination of the candidates, and sufficient time before the polling day for every elector to know how his vote is liable to be transferred. The position of a candidate at the poll will then depend to some extent upon his transfer list, and he will find it desirable to frame that list as nearly as he can in the manner that is agreeable to his supporters, or, in other words, to place the candidates in the order in which their political opinions approximate his own." Mr. Baily shows that he has foreseen all the mechanical difficulties likely to arise in applying his scheme, and he has given an elaborate specimen of the mode of applying it. There is no doubt that it is the most complete of all modes of representation yet suggested,

¹⁰ "A Scheme for Proportional Representation." By Walter Baily. London: William Ridgway. 1869.

but the coarser simplicity of some of the other methods will probably give them the preference.

Among the different modes of reconstituting the government of the nation, not the least remarkable one that has been suggested, is what is called by the anonymous writer the "Organization of the Press."¹¹ The idea is that bills instead of being discussed in the House of Commons should be discussed in the public journals, and after the result of such discussion has been digested by a central committee, the bills in their improved and amended form should be sent to the House for the mere purpose of being passed. Beyond this rather startling proposal there is some really valuable and vigorous material in this pamphlet on the inherent vices of parliamentary government at the present day. Thus the author notices the imperfect mode of testing the value of a measure afforded by debate. "One source of error is the difficulty of forming a correct opinion from the conflicting arguments of opposite factions, without they are systematically examined and each argument separately followed to its source. But this is scarcely to be expected except from those who spend their lives in the pursuit. And if this be too severe a task for individuals, how can we expect public assemblies to accomplish it during *vivâ voce* debates?"

The "Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment"¹² have republished, in a brief pamphlet form, some extracts from the evidence produced before the recent Capital Punishment Commission. The real deterrent influence of a punishment is, undoubtedly, a very complex fact to evaluate, and most witnesses on the subject generally produce their alleged facts in far too gross and unsifted a form to make them worth much. For instance, there is no doubt that capital punishment does prevent a large number of murders being committed. It strikes a general awe of the State, on its judicial side, into large classes of persons of feeble imagination, and who have no other consciousness of their relation to political life and of their civic responsibilities. It is also true, no doubt, that several desperate members of the community are induced to stop short in the course of committing crimes of personal violence, for fear of being hung. It is useless to gainsay these two broad facts, and the exact number of persons who are beneficially restrained from crime through them is less relevant to the inquiry than is sometimes imagined. The tender and susceptible feelings expressed by Bomolochus¹³ in his pamphlet on the same subject express the other side of the case. A certain amount of additionally deterring power (assuming it to be as great as its supporters would have it to be) is too dearly purchased if the general progress of the nation in civilization is checked and hampered by it. In a very lawless, ignorant, uncultivated age, the coarsest and most

¹¹ "The Democracy of Reason : or, the Organization of the Press." London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

¹² "The Capital Punishment Commission. The Deterrent Influence of Capital Punishment." London : Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.

¹³ "Is Capital Punishment Necessary? A Few Simple Reasons for Altering the Present Law." By Bomolochus. London : Ridgway. 1869.

startling punishments are the only effective preservatives of the order which is the condition precedent of all future advance. But when the highest crimes have become matters of universal execration, and their perpetration either confined to the very dregs of the population or to one and another partly diseased fanatic here and there, there is no ground in reason to keep up a punishment of exaggerated ferocity which keeps the idea of violence to human life familiarly before the mind, and turns all the tenderest instincts of the best part of the population into sympathy with the murderer, instead of lasting indignation against him. To deter in this way from one form of crime is to multiply a legion of less tangible and assailable ones.

We are always glad to give prominence to any appeal on behalf of the lower animals. Professor de Vericour in his paper on the "Claims of the Dumb Creation"¹⁴ lays the foundations of his argument very deep. He says "that the general indifference as to cruelty to animals, and the exercise of it, arise from a deep chasm in our social state. The education and development of the human feelings is ignored." He is of opinion "that the Teutonic races are generally considerate, humane, kind to animals, whilst the Celtic, Neo-Latin races often evince a heartless cruelty to the dumb creation, resulting undoubtedly from the impetuosity and vivacity of their temper, but attaining sometimes an incredible degree of fiendish ferocity.

Mr. Joseph Payne,¹⁵ whose name is well known for his assiduous efforts to make an impression on the dead mass of educational conservatism, has printed a valuable paper read before the College of Preceptors on the training of a teacher. Mr. Payne believes the results of English education are most unsatisfactory, and that these are due to the haphazard way in which teachers are selected and prepared for their work. The whole argument, which is precise, exhaustive, and full of interesting detail, must be read for itself.

Dr. Arnott's "Observations on the Fundamental Principles and Existing Defects of National Education"¹⁶ are interesting as recognising that all education must be founded (1) on a survey of the field of knowledge; (2) on a theory of the human faculties that have to be educated. To Dr. Arnott the imparting knowledge of physical facts is the main portion of education, and inasmuch as the due reception of any compact and systematized body of science involves the exercise of most moral as well as most intellectual qualities, this view is not really so one-sided as it may appear.

A really valuable contribution to the knowledge of the working of existing educational machinery in Ireland is supplied by the answers

¹⁴ "The Claims of the Dumb Creation." By Professor de Vericour. Dublin. 1869.

¹⁵ "The Training and Equipment of the Teacher for his Profession." By Joseph Payne. Read at the evening meeting of the College of Preceptors, April 14, 1869.

¹⁶ "Observations on some of the Fundamental Principles and Existing Defects of National Education." By Neil Arnott, M.D., F.R.S. London: Longmans. 1869.

to questions submitted by Mr. Vere Foster¹⁷ to members of the Irish National Teachers' Association. The sets of answers are given in large numbers, but without the names of the teachers who sent them in. As the answers to the same question differ a good deal in different districts, it would not be fair to precipitate a conclusion by partial extracts.

Mr. Maclaren's work on Physical Education¹⁸ touches on a very important topic, the more so as the rage for athletic sports now dominant is apt to lead, on the one side, to excessive and dangerous exertion, and, on the other, to the increased indisposition on the part of weak boys of sedentary tastes to take any part in them. Thus a clear scientific investigation into the real use of gymnastics, with practical suggestions, is likely to be doubly useful.

It is what some people would call (rather contumaciously) a "French idea" to try and systematically organize the relation of a father to his son. For those who can get over any incipient prejudice on the ground of strangeness and novelty, M. Legouv  presents a most readable and interesting little work,¹⁹ which is not without its value in that department of education which is conducted under the family roof, and immediately precedes the introduction of the young to the public stage of life. M. Legouv  notices that an unhappy change has latterly been creeping over the relations of children to their parents, and that this change is only another aspect of the universal modification of all relations, social, political, and ecclesiastical, which has been eminently characteristic of modern times. Mere physical and despotic force is losing its potency, and unless moral control can step into its place, general anarchy is the necessary consequence. M. Legouv , in view of this danger, lays down with considerable precision what he considers to be the main duties of an anxious and conscientious father of a youth of about eighteen years of age. By giving a kind of dramatic form to some of the situations likely to demand special address and diligence on the father's part, M. Legouv  makes his work very lively and popular, while he never loses sight of the earnest purpose which he has in view. Thus, under the head of "l'amour," M. Legouv  paints a most embarrassing turn of affairs, which indeed could scarcely be presented in English society, and yet which is not without a good general moral. Maurice, the hopeful youth, has unfortunately become attached to the young wife of a lieutenant-colonel aged sixty-eight. Maurice's anxious father (who by-the-bye holds himself entitled to read *billets-doux*, and to spy and peep about with an alacrity no doubt very commendable) discovers this, and, apprehending no harm, for a time allows it to go on. At last, fearing the consequences of a final interview, before the husband and wife leave Paris, the father has a

¹⁷ "Evidence of the Irish National Teachers' Association in Reply to Questions addressed by the Commissioners to Vere Foster, Esq., and submitted by him to their consideration." London: Marcus Ward.

¹⁸ "A System of Physical Education, Theoretical and Practical." By Archibald Maclaren. Oxford: Macmillan. 1869.

¹⁹ "Les P res et les Enfants au XIX^{me} Si cle." Par Ernest Legouv . Troisi me  dition. J. Hetzel. Paris.

violent scene in his son's private room, in which he forcibly detains his son a prisoner till the hour of the interview is passed. Shortly afterwards the son confesses that the chain is voluntarily broken. Another curious illustration of the sort of protectorate M. Legouvé would have a father exert over a son is afforded in the chapter in which the propriety of educating him in the doctrines of the popular faith is discussed. We believe that a true system of early education would prepare a young man for far greater freedom at the age of eighteen than M. Legouvé contemplates, though M. Legouvé has a very high sense of the moral responsibility of persons standing in such a position of influence as parents do, and owes what is doubtful in his suggestions far more to the manners of his country than to his own most liberal and generous habits of thought.

Mr. Froude's theory of higher education in the present day enunciated in his "Inaugural Address" at St. Andrew's²⁰ has the felicity of including all the more valuable and avoiding all the more questionable suggestions of the other eminent men who have recently been lecturing in Scotland on the same subject. Mr. Mill, for instance, would extend the boundaries of actual information to be given to the young very far beyond anything now recognised as essential, and from this larger field of world-facts really well-taught would promise the earnest and persevering student a life-long reward. Mr. Carlyle would imbue the young with the generous influences to be drawn from contact with the biographies of great men, the history of great events, and the stimulating voices to be evoked out of great books. Mr. Lowe, again, would remind the young that doing, rather than thinking and being, is what education is properly concerned with, and, in view of hard work to be done in a hard world, would draw the youthful mind away from the history and examples of the distant past and substitute modern history, science, and languages for the ordinary teaching of English schools and universities. There is much instruction conveyed in each of these recommendations, but, inasmuch as they all have a reactionary stamp, and are rather a protest against current errors than the adequate expression of the whole minds of the several thinkers, the views conveyed can scarcely be looked upon as exhaustive. We are disposed to think Mr. Froude, in his address, says more that is profitable and less that is mischievous or liable to misapprehension than any of his predecessors. Mr. Froude fixes his attention undeviatingly on the formation of personal character, and so neglects, on the one hand, the aim of mere intellectual distinction, and on the other, that of worldly success. At the same time he holds, that for furthering the special end he has in view, the largest amount of knowledge, and, above all, the assiduous habit of patient routine work, are indispensable. He reminds his hearers that a man's first duty is to earn his bread, and that it is very rare for a man to be able to do this by purely intellectual labour. "I will work with my hands, and keep my brain for myself," said some one

²⁰ "Inaugural Address" delivered to the University of St. Andrew's, March 19, 1869." By James Anthony Froude, M.A., Rector of the University. London: Longmans. 1869.

proudly, when it was proposed to him that he should make a profession of literature. Spinoza, we are told, waving aside the pensions and legacies that were thrust upon him, chose to maintain himself by grinding object-glasses for microscopes and telescopes. Mr. Froude notices that in the English universities of old a man was educated to be a scholar by being taught to dispense with luxurious living, whereas now the universities are the main supports and propagators of luxurious habits in the community. Mr. Froude makes some lofty remarks upon the kind of preparatory work that can be done at a university, and nowhere else so well. Every profession has a scientific groundwork, and requires some auxiliary knowledge, such as Latin, mathematics, and modern languages, which may properly be learnt before the student's mind is perplexed by the details of a special study. We are inclined to think Mr. Froude might have pressed this view of the functions of a university still more courageously. He might have said that in every special study there is a lurking proclivity to quackery. Any man fixing his whole attention upon one branch of knowledge, and concerned with no other methods of inquiry than those appropriate to that branch, is almost necessitated to make that branch the centre of the universe, and to look with scorn upon all methods of inquiry with the use of which he is not familiar. Now the universities present an opportunity to a young man to look at all branches of knowledge at once as from a central observatory. He is not immediately goaded on, as he soon will be, to an absorbing devotion to one alone. He has leisure to look around, to think, to compare, to watch the points of contact and modes of interdependence between pursuits and regions of investigation apparently most alien to each other. It is peculiarly the province of a university teacher to foster this habit of cosmopolitan thought and observation. He must indeed teach some one science thoroughly and exhaustively in order to show what knowledge is, but he will also do what no special teachers or books can afford to do afterwards. He will show, for instance, how any one physical science is linked with all the others, and with the knowledge of the material and psychological constitution of man. He will also show how every method of inquiry belongs to the general art and science of logic, and how logic again depends, for its laws and the meaning of its terms, upon another class of sequences bound still more intimately with the nature of man. This opens out all the world of history and biography, and all the modes of investigating the mental constitution of man both in society and in an individual. Mr. Froude's great aim in this address is the proper estimation of intellectual culture as not the destiny of all men, and not to be used for the purpose of worldly self-advancement. Nevertheless, no one could rate higher than Mr. Froude its true value, nor inspire in the earnest student a more laudable, though modest and self-restrained, ambition. As to the practical limitations of abstract studies Mr. Froude says, "History, poetry, logic, moral philosophy, classical literature, are excellent as ornaments. If you care for such things, they may be the amusement of your leisure hereafter; but they will not help you to stand on your feet and walk alone; and no one is properly a man till he

can do that. You cannot learn everything; the objects of knowledge have multiplied beyond the powers of the strongest mind to keep pace with them all. You must choose between them, and the only reasonable guide to choice in such matters is utility."

Dr. Maurus's "Principles of the Science of Political Economy"²¹ from the standing-point of social reform is valuable, both as an educational treatise, and as a compendious view of all the main problems of modern society in its economical aspect. Dr. Maurus has a correct view of what man's wants are, and what they gradually become, under the very influence of their progressive satisfaction. Political economists have generally hitherto held themselves confined to treating of the satisfaction of one class of wants, those due to the strictest material necessities. There is certainly great convenience in this continence, as that class can be readily isolated from all others, and treated in most precise and lucid language. Such wants, on the contrary, as the want of ease, personal display, kindly consideration on the part of others, opportunities for free expression of opinion, and the like, are not susceptible of such rigid expression and examination; and being less universal, little is known about their effect. Nevertheless, the statesman will demand of the economical professor that he does not elude them altogether, and it may be said that, as if in reply to this demand, the chapter on "Social Philosophy" at the close of Mr. Mill's *Logic*, supplies some of the most valuable contributions to political speculation he has ever made. Dr. Maurus follows Mr. Mill in spirit, and he is imbued throughout with the ambition of a social regenerator. This especially appears in his last chapter, in which he summarizes the social reforms he considers most necessary to correct existing abuses. Perfect freedom of all kinds, the abolition of all permanent privileges, including copyright and patents, for which he would substitute an immediate payment, the gradual equalization of capital through associations of workmen, the most absolute free trade, are the kind of visions on which the author's glowing eye is undeviatingly fixed. The largest discussion of the value of all these measures is imperatively called for, especially on the Continent, though there are some moral considerations which may qualify the conclusions to be drawn, and of which Dr. Maurus takes no account.

Mr. Dudley Baxter's work on "Taxation"²² is a large-minded view of a subject which, more than any other, is apt to become obscured by an absorbing attention to minute details, and likewise, more than any other, suffers from such obscurity. Mr. Baxter demands that the subject be approached as a whole, and in this spirit he considers what is the due share which should be levied; (1), from land, (2), from personalty, and (3), from industrial earnings; and then, what is the actual share levied at present from each of these sources. He holds that, inasmuch as income from land does not repre-

²¹ "Die Grundsätze der Volkswirtschaftslehre." Vom Standpunkte der sozialen Reform. Von Dr. Heinrich Maurus. Heidelberg. 1868.

²² "The Taxation of the United Kingdom." By A. Dudley Baxter, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1869.

sent its marketable value in the way that income from personalty does, it ought in justice to pay a percentage of taxes one-fifth higher than the percentage on incomes from personalty. The actual taxation, however, on real property, Mr. Baxter thinks too high and out of proportion to the taxation on personalty and on the industrial incomes of the upper and middle classes. Mr. Baxter's main suggestions, some of which have been carried out in Mr. Lowe's budget, are, that taxes on locomotion, insurance, and corn, should be abolished, that the laws enforcing licenses for selling tea and sugar should be repealed, with a view, among other things, to relieve the manual labour classes, and that rates should be equalized in the metropolis and other large towns of the kingdom. The book is full of valuable statistics.

We have before had to notice Mr. Nicholson's important contributions towards a scientific and rigorous treatment of coinage and monetary problems in this country.²³ In the third edition of his "Observations" on these topics, he reinforces the suggestions he has made with so much lucidity and energy on former occasions. These suggestions, which turn on reorganizing the Mint, the Clearing House, and their relations to the Bank of England, as well as the adoption of one standard of value, are of too technical a nature to be reproduced in a shorter form than they are conveyed in Mr. Nicholson's condensed pamphlet itself.

The detailed account of special manufactures, including their history, is a kind of literature which, from the nature of the case, is not likely to be supplied very rapidly. Those who are most cognizant with the facts are, from the circumstances of their education and employments, perhaps the last persons to sit down and write about them. Mr. Fairbairn's copious and precise account of all the processes concerned in the manufacture of iron is therefore all the more valuable.²⁴ It is replete with statistics, and the most important parts of the machinery are illustrated by carefully prepared diagrams. The most recent improvements are embodied in this, the third, edition.

A similar work, published in Philadelphia, is supplied on the manufacture of cotton, from the papers of the late Robert H. Baird.²⁵ This work is said to be published "for the mutual advantage of employers and operatives." It is added, "that as the interests of both are inseparably united, the motto 'United we stand, divided we fall,' is truly applicable to cotton-growers, mill-owners, and operative cotton-spinners."

If Mr. Bremner's work on the "Industries of Scotland"²⁶ is a book of

²³ "Observations on Coinage, and our Present Monetary System." By N. A. Nicholson, M.A. Third edition. London: Trübner. 1869.

²⁴ "Iron: its History, Properties, and Processes of Manufacture." By William Fairbairn, C.E., F.R.S. Third edition. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1869.

²⁵ "The American Cotton Spinners' and Managers' and Carders' Guide." Collected from the papers of the late Robert H. Baird. Philadelphia: Baird. 1866.

²⁶ "The Industries of Scotland; their Rise, Progress, and Present Condition." By David Bremner. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1869.

facts rather than of reflections, the facts are, at any rate, of the most precious kind, and such as have not often been collected and arranged in this form before. The author, following Lord Bacon, calls his performance "mechanical history," or "the history of industrial arts;" and it is his opinion, which, it must be said, he amply sustains, that the history of Scotch industry "is peculiarly rich in that profitable knowledge which Bacon held to belong to such investigations." The range of subjects thoroughly discussed as matters of history and statistics is enormous, and, in fact, covers everything that can be said about the manufactures of Scotland. Thus the history of the working of coal mines, the manufacture of iron, cotton, floorcloth, leather, confectionery, is treated side by side with such more popular topics as railways, shipbuilding, printing, and brewing. Large parts of the work will form very interesting matter for the general reader, while the accumulated statistical details in other parts will prove of the greatest service both to the manufacturer and to the legislator.

The laborious spirit of German investigation has been turned to good account by Von Büchsenenschütz in his account of "Besitz" and "Erwerb,"²⁷ as these ideas were represented in the economical condition of ancient Greece. The explanation of "Besitz" is indeed a little new and startling, but, when once it is apprehended, the value of the book is quite independent of it. By "Besitz," which is generally translated in English as "Possession," Von Büchsenenschütz implies all those economical advantages with which a man starts in the race of life, and which he needs no labour to have ready to his hand, or, at least, no greater labour than that of bare occupation. "Erwerb," on the other hand, represents at once the process and the results of the process of turning initial economical advantages to account. This mode of definition being clearly understood, the author's distinction is original and valuable. Thus he commences by glancing generally at the peculiar resources and deficiencies of the soil and climate of Greece, and traces the effect on general social life of the poverty due in early times to the mountainous nature of the country, and of the difficulties in the way of agriculture and pasturage. As time went on and intercourse with other nations progressed, the mines began to be opened, native products to be interchanged with those of other nations, and, generally, a premium to be put upon bare ownership which for a long time prevented moral excellence receiving its due recognition for its own sake. Curious passages from Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar are cited to illustrate this state of society. Land, mines, animals, and, above all, slaves, formed the chief materials of production which determined the economical history of Greece. The dynamic forces that wrought with these were agriculture, trade, breeding of cattle, and the employment of men in such more intellectual services as musicians, rhetoricians, painters, architects, and the like. Towards the close of the book there is an interesting inquiry into the true meaning of the word "riches," whether it is absolute or relative. Von Büchsenenschütz is of opinion that the

²⁷ "Besitz und Erwerb im Griechischen Alterthume." Von B. Büchsenenschütz. Halle. 1869.

disintegration of Greece was due to the alienation of free citizens from industrial employments, and the separation of the crowds of slaves and metics from all State concerns.

A valuable contribution to constitutional history, and thereby to political science, has been made by Mr. Clode in his work on "The Military Forces of the Crown; their Administration and Government."²⁸ The relation of the army to the sovereign political authority of the day is quite as important and difficult an one to determine as that of a church to the same. Mr. Clode investigates the way in which that relation has been finally determined in England. It may be said that the chronic jealousy of a standing army which our ancestors entertained from the earliest times has been the main safeguard of political liberty. The device of passing a Mutiny Act *for a limited time* was conceived in the first year of William III.'s reign to meet a special emergency. Mr. Clode gives a full and particular account of this Act, as well as of the Articles of War, which the Mutiny Act of Geo. I. (3 Geo. I.) for the first time gave the Crown the power of making "for the better government of his Majesty's forces within the kingdoms of England and Ireland." This work contains a compendious account of all the important Acts and parliamentary documents relating to the topic treated of.

Sir Charles Trevelyan's speeches,²⁹ reprinted in the cheapest possible pamphlet-form, on the topic of army reorganization touch upon matters of increasing political moment. He demonstrates that England pays far more for a small and ineffective army than great Continental nations do for an enormous and effective one. The remedy is to be found in limiting the term of service, making it more attractive, and creating a large reserve force by passing as large a portion as possible of the whole population through the ranks.

Sir John Burgoyne in his pamphlet,³⁰ clearly and cogently written, on "Our Defensive Forces" looks less hopefully to a reserve popular force or to the Volunteers, and believes that the basis of a reserve in this country must be the militia.

Colonel Baker³¹ again, who commands the Cambridge University Volunteers, points out with great precision and force that the Volunteers can only be rendered really effective through a wide-spread organization, of which the germs scarcely exist at present; while General M'Murdo,³² addressing the commanding officers of volunteer corps, distinguishes with great acumen the different conditions of that service from those appertaining to that of the regular army. Among the changes that an enlarged humanity and extended scientific knowledge are bringing

²⁸ "The Military Forces of the Crown; their Administration and Government." By Charles M. Clode. In two volumes. Vol. I. London: John Murray. 1869.

²⁹ "A Standing or a Popular Army." London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

³⁰ "Our Defensive Forces." By Field Marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B.

³¹ "Our Volunteer Army: a Plan for its Organization." By James Baker. London: Macmillan. 1869.

³² "The Rifle Volunteers. A Letter to Commanding Officers." By Major-General M'Murdo, C.B. London: John Murray. 1869.

about in the conduct of war, not the least important are those concerned with maintaining a high level of average health among soldiers in time of peace, and relieving the wounded more expeditiously in time of war. From Dr. Löffler's account,³³ who speaks with the authority of a royal physician and professor of the "Science of Military Health," we gather that the Prussian Government has, since the last war of 1866, been making almost as many improvements in this department as had already been made in the use and construction of small arms. The problem Dr. Löffler proposes to Europe is the one discussed in 1863 at the Great International Conference, "Whether official medical and general attendance could suffice so as to dispense with voluntary and gratuitous aid?" The Crimean and Italian wars seemed to answer in the negative. Dr. Löffler describes the elaborate official machinery employed by Prussia to meet the end in view. It would seem obvious that a government is responsible from first to last for the best health and comfort of the soldiers it employs.

Military science is undoubtedly one of the numerous branches of knowledge that contribute to form the whole science of politics. In fact, the relative effective power of personal genius and of the numbers, discipline, and skilful manipulation of an army no less than their combined power, are scientific facts which it may be of the greatest moment to take into account in estimating the political situation of a nation. For this reason such a work as Colonel Chesney's "Waterloo Lectures"³⁴ has a much higher purpose to fulfil than that of merely gratifying a vain historical curiosity on some of the minor incidents to which French, Prussian, and English writers attach a very different value. These lectures were written in connexion with the military education conducted at the Staff College of which the author was lately a professor. It has been the practice of this institution to commence the course of military art and history by the critical study of a single great campaign, that of Waterloo being generally selected. The author joins issue with M. Thiers on several points as to the condition of the staff service in the French army, and the particular orders alleged to have been given by Napoleon on the 18th of June. Colonel Chesney investigates M. Thiers's evidence with great minuteness and vigour, and decides that his view is untenable.

The readers of this Review are by this time not unfamiliar with the political situation in Victoria. As a confirmation of what has been said on one side of this hotly-debated controversy, Mr. Martineau's "Letters from Australia"³⁵ are of much interest and value. He describes the impression produced in Victoria by the article in the *Westminster Review* for April, 1868, called "Democratic Government in Victoria." He says that in Melbourne it created such a

³³ "Das Preussische Militär-Sanitätswesen und seine Reform nach der Kriegsführung von 1866." Von Dr. F. Löffler. Berlin. 1869.

³⁴ "Waterloo Lectures: a Study of the Campaign of 1815." By Lt.-Col. Charles C. Chesney, R.E. Second edition. London: Longmans. 1869.

³⁵ "Letters from Australia." By John Martineau. London: Longmans. 1869.

sensation that there was a rush to obtain the Review at almost any price; it was reprinted and lectured upon and became one of the chief topics of interest. It will be remembered by some of our readers that the object of this article was to establish that the democratic condition of society in Victoria introduced some especial evils, particularly a corrupt abuse of the engine of government, which called for correction or resistance before the full benefits of democracy could be attained. In this work Mr. Martineau gives further illustrations of the same truth, and also describes the existing political and social condition of the other colonies of Australia. Mr. Martineau remonstrates against the recent land laws, and alleges that the discretionary power which, in certain cases, is vested in the Executive of selling or not selling land on particular runs gives the Government an undue influence, and is liable to lead, as experience has shown, to gross corruption amongst members of the Assembly and others who have influence with the minister for the time being. Mr. Martineau is of opinion that Democracy has made a bad beginning in Australia. It will be well (says he), what with bad legislation and the far worse and more fatal vice of corruption, if the word "democracy" does not, in course of time, earn for itself in that part of the world a *special* sense, as derogatory as that which the word "tyranny" bore in Greece of old. In this vehement abuse of democracy, as such, in which many Australian writers indulge, we cannot help discerning the fire of a long-kindled party zeal. Democracy is a necessity for these Colonies, and they cannot create artificially an aristocratic condition of which the very seeds do not exist. It were far better for writers to invite their countrymen to show self-control and mutual consideration for each other, as well as to construct really just institutions, rather than to indulge themselves in such incessant and reactionary declamations. Mr. Martineau's book, however, is a really good, pleasant, and useful one.

An important addition to the narrative of the Abyssinian Campaign is supplied by Mr. Rassam,³⁶ who, it will be remembered, was Assistant Political Resident at Aden, and who was charged by Her Majesty's Government in June, 1864, to undertake a mission to King Theodore, for the purpose of conveying a letter from the Queen, demanding the liberation of Consul Cameron and the Protestant missionaries. Mr. Rassam tells us that whereas he is a Chaldean by birth, Great Britain is the country of his adoption. He remarks that he has found especial difficulties in correctly describing King Theodore. "So fickle was his temper, so intermingled his good and bad qualities, so inscrutable his motives, that the attempt to draw a full and correct portrait of him has always baffled me." Some of the conversations related to have passed between the king and Mr. Rassam show that, with all his reckless cruelty, the king was a very remarkable and keensighted man. Some of his observations are almost touching, from the amount of sensitive feeling they seem to disclose. Thus, when the English army was approaching, the king said, "Were I as powerful as I once was, I

³⁶ "Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia." By Hormuzd Rassam, F.R.G.S. In two volumes. London: John Murray. 1869.

should certainly have gone down to the coast to meet your people on landing; or I would have sent and asked them what they wanted in my country. As it is, I have lost all Abyssinia but this rock, and it would therefore be absurd in me to say anything." He remarked, further, that he had been in constant trouble since July, 1866, owing to the refusal of his people to pay the regular taxes. The whole country had risen against him, and the rebels had driven him to desperation. "You yourself have witnessed," said he, "what trouble making these roads and moving these guns have given me; but I hope you do not imagine that I had the guns cast out of any animosity towards your people; I had them made against my own countrymen." Afterwards he looked very sad, and, although he made several attempts to be cheerful, he could not hide the care which was hanging on his mind. Mr. Rassam says he shall never forget the melancholy expression of his countenance when, glancing at the half-clad men who were hauling up the guns, he exclaimed, "How can I show those ragged soldiers of mine to your well-dressed troops?" This work contains a complete account of all the circumstances of the captivity, the expedition, and the siege, as well as of the country and its inhabitants.

"Our Life in Japan,"³⁷ which is the account of a residence in that place by Mr. Jephson and Mr. Elmhirst, two officers of the 9th Regiment, is a very pleasant and entertaining book. The authors have avoided with care, indeed, with almost excessive care, the charge of being dull. The consequence is, that it is rather difficult to pick out from the mass of lively adventures and scattered pictures of Japanese life, the facts which are really accessions to our political knowledge. A very striking account is given of the beheading of a criminal who had already undergone a year's preliminary imprisonment, and whose offence had been entering a house in the dead of night, with, it was said, the combined objects of plunder and revenge. On the way to the place of execution two men preceded the criminal, bearing placards raised on poles, the one proclaiming the nature of the crime for which the offender was to suffer, and the punishment he was condemned to undergo; the other inscribed with his name and native place. The actual circumstances of the execution are described in great detail. The dead man's head was exposed on a kind of gallows for six days. We are told that thieving, more particularly when accompanied by violence, stands almost highest in the list of crimes. Death,—the style to be determined by the amount stolen and the way the offence is perpetrated,—is the punishment for robbery of anything over the value of forty ichibops (about sixty shillings). Confessions, wrung out in sweating agony by means of the bastinado, by the application of crushing weights piled gradually heavier and still heavier on the yielding chest, by severing member after member, and limb after limb from the quivering trunk, may be followed by beheading, by crucifixion, by impalement on blunt spears, by tearing asunder by means of wild cattle rendered mad by flaming torches, or by some other of

³⁷ "Our Life in Japan." By R. Mounteney Jephson and Edward Pennell Elmhirst. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

the awful forms of death at their disposal. Notwithstanding this cruel disposition, it appears that there is no lack of amusement amongst the Japanese. Besides top-spinning, kite-flying, wrestling, juggling, and many of the minor sports, they have theatricals, of which they are passionately fond. A piece generally lasts throughout the day, and a regular Japanese playgoer will sit it out the whole time, having his meals brought to him. The Japanese themselves are described as being the very reverse of the uncivilized barbarians Englishmen are apt to imagine them, and no people in the world are more polished in their manners, not only towards strangers, but towards each other.

There is no doubt that the only true way of treating modern American politics is the strictly historical one. Von Blankenburg has recognised this in an excellent work on the recent Civil War.³⁸ The opposition between North and South can only be truly appreciated by going far back, even to the days before the War of Independence. The first part of this work is a keen and sagacious analysis of all the different forces that tended to drive the two parts of the English population in North America violently apart. The difference of classes that the emigrants belonged to, made some of these separating forces. Thus Virginia, which was the first southern state, was founded by English gentlemen under a patent from James I., and reinforced under Charles I., by cavaliers flying from Oliver Cromwell. Then again, the climate and the soil of the South led to slavery being retained with far greater tenacity in the South than in the North. The persistence of slavery prevented the rise of a middle class, and this, in turn, prevented the formation of habits of commerce and trade. Thence followed all the differences, social and political, between a moneyed and mercantile community and a poor and agricultural one. The necessity for extending the area of slavery brought out new oppositions of interests. Slavery was, as Von Blankenburg points out, the Achilles heel of the South, rather than the solitary or chief cause of the war. The Western States are, in the author's opinion, the main hope of America, as those States are likely to mediate between the North and the South under peculiarly favourable circumstances. They had already solved for themselves the labour question, by inaugurating a free-labour system, before the slavery problem had come generally to the surface. They contributed largely in men to the maintenance of the Union, and yet they are more allied in spirit to the South than to the New England States. The story is brought down by Von Blankenburg to the election of Grant to be President. To him, says the writer, is reserved a parallel work to that of Washington. He has personal popularity and the fame of military prowess in his favour, and he is now called upon to do a political work scarcely less difficult than the first amalgamation of the thirteen States.

M. Guizot's republication of some of his more important political essays, written at intervals during a period of fifty years, are interesting at the present moment as recalling the leading events of French

³⁸ "Die innern Kämpfe der Nordamerikanischen Union." Von Heinrich Blankenburg. Leipzig. 1869.

history during this century, and also as characteristic of what may be called the strictly constitutional habit of M. Guizot's mind.³⁹ In his preface M. Guizot speaks of the present Emperor as having committed the sin of converting what is naturally only a temporary and special resource, that is, a dictatorship, into a permanent institution; and, in harmony with this vicious policy, the most contradictory ideas have been forcibly reconciled, and temporary expedients erected into lasting parts of the State fabric. M. Guizot gives some interesting notices of Louis Philippe, whom he accuses of a too distinct and almost ostentatious interference with his ministers, though M. Guizot repudiates the doctrine that a constitutional king can ever be reduced to a mere cipher; and that in effect, whether by silent influence, ultimate appeal, or original suggestions, he always "governs" as well as "reigns."

We have already had to notice the English edition of M. Esquiros' work on "England and English Life,"⁴⁰ in which he gives a most accurate and entertaining account of objects and institutions which are lying all round Englishmen, and especially Londoners, and yet which they have never seen and know very little about. Such are the Docks, Greenwich Observatory, the Sailors' Home, the Admiralty, Lloyds, and the like. The French edition will enable Frenchmen to know as much about all these things as M. du Camp⁴¹ enables us to know about Paris in his work describing all the main public institutions, conveniences, and, incidentally, the sights and sounds of that city. The French enthusiasm for the Seine, even as compared with the Thames, is very interesting. "Paris a le droit d'être fier de son fleuve; nulle autre capitale, pas même Londres, n'offre un tel cours d'eau si bien aménagé, si dompté, si précieux, &c." Writing of this description draws out the best French style, and many most curious facts are scattered up and down this book.

A pleasant and very readable account of "Athens and the Morea,"⁴² as visited by the late Earl of Carnarvon in 1839, is edited by his son, the present Earl. In the Preface the editor makes some good remarks on the changes which have since occurred. He is of opinion that "for the moment it is probable that the best chance of Greek regeneration lies in the personal control of an able sovereign, and the action of a strong executive." The account of the Maina district affords a curious picture of society (if such it can be called) in the Morea forty years ago. It is said to be vastly improved now. The Greek Church is described as "stationary and inelastic" compared with the Latin one, and "though she has preserved a rigid continuity of doctrinal form, the principle of an ever-expanding and all-absorbing vitality has been wanting."

The work on the "German-Russian Conflict on the East Sea"⁴³

³⁹ "Mélanges Politiques et Historiques. Par M. Guizot. Paris, 1869.

⁴⁰ "L'Angleterre et la vie Anglaise." Par Alphonse Esquiros. Paris.

⁴¹ "Paris, ses Organes, ses Fonctions, et sa vie dans la Seconde Moitié du XIX^{me} Siècle." Par Maxime du Camp. Tome premier. Paris, 1869.

⁴² "Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea." By the late Earl of Carnarvon. London: John Murray. 1869.

⁴³ "Der Deutsch-Russische Konflikt an der Ostsee." Von W. von Boeh. Leipzig. 1869.

contains two historical and patriotic treatises on the early relations of the German and Russian races. The relations of Germany to Russia are treated of something in the way in which an Anglo-Indian speaks of the advances of Russia upon Afghanistan, which indeed is a comparison the author himself employs.

The Central-Asian question,⁴⁴ in relation, especially, to the alleged designs of Russia, has recently been assuming considerable prominence, and its discussion will derive no small degree of light from the able and striking essay by an unknown writer which is dated from Madrid. It is full of information apparently good and founded on long experience, and the arguments are fair, calm, and never overstated. The main positions contended for are (1) the necessity for England maintaining a strong government in Afghanistan, (2) the importance of doing nothing by which the moral any more than the physical potency of England may seem to be damaged in the eyes of watchful Indian native rulers, (3) the need of watching the designs of Russia, whose ultimate, though not immediate, aim is crippling England through India. The work is written in a vigorous and almost brilliant style, and well deserves reading.

The improvement of the diplomatic service is a change which it is difficult to make interesting in the public eyes, and yet the writer of the pamphlet on "Our Foreign Relations"⁴⁵ contrives to show how serious is the damage done to international relations through having an unpaid diplomatic staff and no promotion except through seniority.

A little book to guide people about to marry in the thorny path of "Choosing and Furnishing a House"⁴⁶ with as little expense as possible, to the gratuitous enrichment of the harpies and vultures for whom the first stages of wedlock afford a natural, or rather monstrous, repast, will be found a great boon to many interesting young people for whom love and material realities are found to be in appallingly near proximity. This book, however, is wholly beyond the powers of our criticism, though it seems compendious, sensible, and good in every way.

Messrs. Fullarton's "Descriptive Hand Atlas of the World"⁴⁷ is a fine specimen of the beautiful and yet cheap effects in the way of mapping that are now quite a feature in educational literature. A concise statement of the main characteristics of each part delineated accompanies the map.

Travellers in the southern valleys of Monte Rosa will not fail to put in their pockets Mr. Adams-Reilly's carefully drawn map or ground-plan taken from an actual survey in 1865-6.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ "The Central-Asian Question from an Eastern Stand-point." London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

⁴⁵ "Our Foreign Relations, and How they should be Conducted." Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1869.

⁴⁶ "A House and its Furnishings: How to Choose a House and Furnish It at a Small Expense." By Mrs. Warren. London: Bemrose.

⁴⁷ "A Descriptive Hand Atlas of the World." By J. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S. London: Fullarton.

⁴⁸ "The Valpellines, the Valtournanche, and the Southern Valleys of the Chain of Monte Rosa." From an actual survey made in 1865-6-7. By Adams-Reilly, A.C., F.R.G.S.

Debrett's "Peerage"⁴⁸ and "Baronetage"⁵⁰ are too well known to the public to need any further notice than that the editions for 1869 betray, like their predecessors, an honest and sanguine hope on the part of the publishers of the continued existence in England of aristocratic forms.

SCIENCE.

THE notion that all the physical forces are to be regarded as varying manifestations of one fundamental force has not unfrequently been entertained, but it has been reserved for Mr. Crisfield Johnson to determine what is this fundamental force. On the title-page of his little work entitled "The One Great Force,"¹ he states his proposition as follows:—"The One Great Force of the Material Universe is the Self-Repulsion of Caloric, acting on the Inertia of ordinary Matter." He assumes that what he calls "caloric" is "a subtle, eternal, self-repellent fluid, extending through all space," and not only manifesting itself in the forms of heat, light, electricity, and magnetism, and altering the conditions of material objects by permeating their substance, but also acting upon them by pressure from without, the highest manifestation of this mode of action being displayed in the phenomena usually ascribed to gravitation. A few of Mr. Johnson's definitions will do more to show the peculiarities of his views than anything we can say about them. Thus *attraction* is said to be "the result of screening a substance from pressure on one side, leaving it to be driven towards the screen by the pressure from the other side." *Planetary motion* "is the effect produced on the planets by the concentrating streams of caloric from the outer side, acting on the rectilinear motion produced by explosion," the planets themselves being thrown off from the sun by explosion. *The tidal wave* "is the pressing out of the elastic sea at both ends of the line of least pressure." *The circulation of the blood* "is the result of the caloric contained in it driving it through the veins;" and the *contraction of the muscles* "is the result of their lateral expansion by the caloric admitted into them." After this, who can doubt that the fundamental force has been discovered?

Dr. Hager has published already, under the title of "Erster Unterricht für Pharmaceuten," a volume of instructions in pharmaceutical chemistry, arranged in "Lectures," or portions for reading and meditating upon. He now publishes a similar work on Botany,² for the

⁴⁸ "Debrett's Illustrated Peerage and Titles of Courtesy." London: Dean. 1869.

⁵⁰ "Debrett's Baronetage and Knightage." London: Dean. 1869.

¹ "The One Great Force: the Cause of Gravitation, Planetary Motion, Heat, Light, Electricity, Magnetism, Chemical Affinity, and other Natural Phenomena." By Crisfield Johnson. 8vo. Buffalo: Bred and Lent. London: Trübner. 1868.

² "Erster Unterricht für Pharmaceuten: Botanischer Unterricht in 150 Lektionen, für angehende Pharmaceuten und studirende Mediciner." Von Dr. Hermann Hager. 8vo. Berlin: Julius Springer. 1869.

benefit of the student of pharmacy; or, more constitutes the second volume of his "Erster Unterricht." It is divided into one hundred and fifty "Lections," each of which the author seems to think may be advantageously made the subject of one week's study, so that we have in this volume a three years' course of botanical reading. Dr. Hager by no means confines himself to pharmaceutical botany; indeed, of the one hundred and fifty chapters eighty-seven, or considerably more than half, are devoted to general botany and vegetable physiology, as introductory to the study of those portions of the vegetable kingdom which are specially interesting to the pharmacist. The work is exceedingly well executed, and is illustrated with a great number of very good wood engravings.

Mr. Rhind's "History of the Vegetable Kingdom,"³ published apparently as a companion to Goldsmith's "Natural History of Animals," is decidedly compiled to too great an extent from rather antiquated sources of information. The author states in his preface that "in a popular work of this nature it is impossible to proceed altogether on a strictly scientific plan;" but he need hardly have made such a confused mixture of plants as he has done under many of his headings. His knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of plants seems also to be rather behindhand. The work is illustrated with a great number of plates and wood-engravings; and notwithstanding the drawbacks indicated above, it will no doubt be found useful by many as a work of general reference.

Another botanical work that we have to notice is Professor Balfour's "Elements of Botany,"⁴ a little book which is well adapted to its intended purpose—namely, furnishing an outline of the principles of the science for the use of beginners.

Will the vexed question as to who was really the inventor of the Electric Telegraph ever be satisfactorily settled? In a former number of this Review we noticed a book on this subject, published by Mr. T. Fothergill Cooke, claiming the invention for his brother Mr. W. Fothergill Cooke, and charging Sir Charles Wheatstone with all sorts of malpractices in claiming for himself, of allowing others to claim for him, the credit of bringing to a practical result this wonderful application of electrical force. Not contented with this, Mr. Cooke now returns to the charge, and publishes a pamphlet⁵ containing various articles from the *Scientific Review*, with a copy of the award given by Sir M. I. Brunel and Professor Daniell, in 1841; and including among other evidence a letter from the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, stating that the well-known article on the Electric Telegraph in that periodical, in which the whole credit of its invention was ascribed to

³ "A History of the Vegetable Kingdom." By William Rhind. Revised Edition, with Supplement. 8vo. London: Blackie. 1868.

⁴ "The Elements of Botany, for the Use of Schools." By John Hutton Balfour, M.D., F.R.S. 12mo. Edinburgh: Black. 1869.

⁵ "Invention of the Electric Telegraph: the Charge against Sir Charles Wheatstone of 'Tampering with the Press,' as evidenced by a Letter of the Editor of the 'Quarterly Review.'" 8vo. London: Simpkins. Bath: Peach. 1869.

Sir Charles Wheatstone, and no mention made of Mr. Cooke, "was prompted exclusively by Wheatstone." We have already stated that Mr. Cooke's case is a very strong one, and it certainly now behoves his adversary, as a man who has received great distinctions on this very account, to make some reply to the grave charges here raised against him.

"Chips and Chapters" is the title of a little book by Mr. Page,⁶ containing a series of popular essays on various subjects connected with geology. Most of them will be found exceedingly interesting, and all contain valuable information, conveyed in a clear and easily intelligible form. In the present state of public opinion we should call the attention of readers especially to the essays on the aim and objects of geology, on the nature of geological evidence, on the present aspects of geological inquiry, and on geology and modern thought, as being admirably adapted to dispel those prejudices with regard to the results of geological researches which still, to a great extent, linger in the minds of many people as the consequences of narrow early education. The last chapter contains a curious extract from Verstegan's book on the Antiquities of the English Nation, relating to the former junction of England and the Continent of Europe.

We have frequently to record the appearance of books belonging to a peculiar quasi-scientific series, in which some particular set of natural phenomena, some particular part or parts of the earth's surface, are treated from the most varied points of view. One of the earliest of our modern writers in this style was, as far as we remember, Dr. Hartwig, whose "Sea and its Living Wonders," has been followed by several other similar works, and now by a popular account of the "Polar World."⁷ In this book the author describes the general phenomena of climate, &c., presented by the polar regions of the earth, and then proceeds to a detailed description of the plants and animals, and of the human inhabitants of the Arctic and Antarctic regions, extending the range of his work indeed a little beyond their strict limits, so as to include in the former the subarctic parts of both the eastern and western hemispheres, and in the latter, Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia. By liberal and well selected quotations from the writings of naturalists and travellers who have visited the countries referred to, which he has the art of uniting and combining very admirably, Dr. Hartwig has produced a volume which will be found exceedingly interesting, and in many respects instructive.

Dr. Hartwig has been closely followed in France by M. Figuier, several of whose books have been translated into English, and now by M. Arthur Mangin, translations of two of whose works, "edited and enlarged," by the translator of Michelet's "L'Oiseau," are now before us. One of these takes up Dr. Hartwig's first subject, and under the title

⁶ "Chips and Chapters: a Book for Amateur and Young Geologists." By David Page, LL.D., &c. 12mo. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1869.

⁷ "The Polar World: a Popular Description of Man and Nature in the Arctic and Antarctic Regions of the Globe." By Dr. G. Hartwig. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1869.

of the "Mysteries of the Ocean,"⁸ gives a very popular description of the physical phenomena of the sea, and of its animal and vegetable productions. The other, which is denominated the "Desert World,"⁹ does not confine itself strictly to the description of those parts of our globe which are called deserts in common parlance, but treats more or less of all wild and uncultivated countries inhabited only by savages and wild animals. This, as will easily be seen, gives the author a very wide field in which to disport himself. Both these works appear to be pretty well done, both as regards the author and the editor, but the latter is evidently unfamiliar with natural history, if we may judge from the numerous blunders in the nomenclature of the animals figured, and the gross mistakes made in some instances, as when a cormorant does duty for a black-backed gull, an elk for the eland antelope, and a group of prairie wolves for the prairie dogs of North America, with the curious statement that they represent "Prairie Wolves (*Arctomys ludoricianus*)". We may add, that the illustrations of these two volumes, which consist of numerous wood engravings, are for the most part very beautifully executed.

Very different from these, both in scope and execution, are two books which we have now to notice. Whilst Dr. Hartwig, M. Figuier, M. Mangin, and their fellows, seem to find the world and all its phenomena almost too narrow a field for the exercise of their genius, and treat the cosmos generally as if it belonged to them in fee simple, the authors of the works to which we now allude, are contented to confine their ambition within much narrower limits, and to devote their labours to the thorough elucidation, not merely of single groups of animals of no very great extent, but even to those forms of these groups which occur in Britain. These works are the "History of British Hydroid Zoophytes," by the Rev. Thomas Hincks,¹⁰ and the "History of British Sessile-eyed Crustacea," by Messrs. Spence Bate and Westwood,¹¹ the former published at the end of last year, and the latter recently completed, after being in progress for several years. Both form parts of that admirable series of 'Treatises on British Natural History, for the publication of which we are indebted to the zeal and enterprise of Mr. Van Voorst. Both contain the results of long and arduous study on the part of their author, and each in its own line fills up an important gap in the literature of British Zoology. The hydroid zoophytes include, besides our common fresh-water *hydra*, a multitude of marine forms, mostly compound and endowed with the power of secreting a horny polypary, generally very slender, and often of great elegance, such as those delicate branching structures which are commonly regarded by

⁸ "The Mysteries of the Ocean: Translated, Edited, and Enlarged from the French of Arthur Mangin." 8vo. London: Nelson. 1868.

⁹ "The Desert World: from the French of Arthur Mangin." 8vo. London: Nelson. 1869.

¹⁰ "A History of British Hydroid Zoophytes." By Thomas Hincks, B.A. Two Vols. 8vo. London: Van Voorst. 1868.

¹¹ "A History of British Sessile-eyed Crustacea." By C. Spence Bate, F.L.S., and J. O. Westwood, M.A., F.L.S. Two Vols. 8vo. London: Van Voorst. 1861-1868.

visitors to the seaside as horny "seaweeds." The latest publication treating of the forms of these creatures inhabiting our coasts, is Dr. Johnston's "History of British Zoophytes," which is now more than twenty years old, and, owing to the rapid progress of research upon the lower animals since its appearance, is, scientifically, quite out of date. It is since the publication of Dr. Johnston's work that the intimate relation between many of the so-called Hydroid Polypes and the little Naked-eyed Medusæ has been fully made out, and the importance of the discovery of such a phenomenon as this in the natural history of a group of animals can hardly be overrated. The reader will find it fully treated and beautifully illustrated in Mr. Hincks' volumes. The number of species and genera detected in the last twenty years has also been very great. The second work above-mentioned, on the British Sessile-eyed Crustacea (the Edriophthalma of Latreille), is also one which has long been wanted. Fashion influences the direction of the studies of scientific amateurs almost as much as it does the size of ladies' bonnets or the amplitude of their skirts, and thus in Natural History we find that one group of animals will obtain a whole army of students, whilst another, perhaps immediately related to it, will scarcely have a single votary. The Crustacea generally have been more or less neglected by British Naturalists, but the upper group of the class, including the Crabs, Lobsters, and Shrimps, have been studied to a considerable extent, and the lower forms, the Entomostraca and allied forms, have also attracted the attention of some of our zoologists, whilst the middle term of the series, the great Sessile-eyed group, including the well-known Shore-hoppers, the common Woodlice, and a host of allied forms, has for some reason been left almost in oblivion in this country. Mr. Spence Bate has, however, been devoting his attention almost exclusively to these curious little animals for many years, and we have in the two volumes which he has published in conjunction with Professor Westwood, the results of his personal investigations of the British species, aided by the researches of those continental, and especially Scandinavian zoologists, who have devoted their attention to the same subject. We may add that both the works here noticed are profusely illustrated, the latter with beautiful woodcuts, the former with woodcuts in the text, and with a whole volume of plates.

A new edition (the sixth) of the late Mr. Maunder's "Treasury of Natural History" has just been published under the editorial care of Dr. Cobbold.¹² We know of no popular book in which the natural history of animals is better treated than in this little volume, which contains an immense amount of information, collected from sources not often consulted by the compilers of such works. The subjects are arranged alphabetically, but a systematic index to the articles is prefixed. The present edition contains a supplement by Dr. Cobbold, in

¹² "The Treasury of Natural History; or, Popular Dictionary of Zoology." By Samuel Maunder. New Edition, revised and corrected, with an extended Supplement, by T. Spencer Cobbold, M.D., F.L.S. 12mo. London: Longmans. 1869.

which several interesting results of recent zoological researches are described.

A translation of Dr. Fritz Müller's work, "*Für Darwin*,"¹³ originally published five years ago, has lately appeared. The main object of the work may be stated as follows:—Dr. F. Müller, well known to naturalists as a careful investigator of the lower forms of animals, set himself to test the principles of Darwinism by applying them to the study of one of those classes of animals with which he was most familiar, in order to see whether the phenomena ascertained by observation were in accordance with Darwin's principles, justly concluding that if any positive contradiction could be detected, this would settle the question at once and for ever. So far from this, all his investigations led him more and more to the adoption of Darwinism, and in the little book above mentioned he published the results of his investigations into the natural history of the Crustacea, which was the class selected by him for his studies. It is impossible in a brief notice such as the present, to give any idea of the general contents of a book which is crammed with "facts and arguments" from beginning to end, but we may state in general terms that the author finds arguments in support of the Darwinian theory in the special structure of certain species of the class, in the general phenomena of morphology in the crustacea, in the very curious and interesting phenomena of the respiration in land crabs, in the structure of the heart in certain groups, and especially in the history of the development of the whole class. The chapters treating of the last-mentioned subject, and leading to the discussion of the general principles of classification and the mode of evolution of the Crustacea furnish a most brilliant example of the combination of the powers of accurate observation and argumentation of which Dr. Müller eminently possesses, and will be read with interest and pleasure even by those who differ from him *toto cælo* in his theoretical views.

Dr. Carl Liman,* who has had considerable experience in reporting upon the responsibility or irresponsibility of persons of doubtful mental condition, for the information of courts of justice, has published a detailed account of eighty-five cases in which his opinion was demanded.¹⁴ In a short introductory chapter he explains concisely the different points of view from which the lawyer and the physician look at insanity, when its existence is alleged in support of the plea of "not guilty." Insanity or crime is the issue which the physician earnestly maintains; while the lawyer perceives no inconsistency in asserting the coexistence of insanity and crime. If the accused person knew what he was doing at the time, and knew that his act was wrong, notwithstanding that his mind might be confessedly diseased, he is held to be legally responsible and a proper subject for punishment. Dr.

¹³ "Facts and Arguments for Darwin." By Fritz Müller. With Additions by the Author. Translated from the German by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. 12mo. London: Murray. 1869.

¹⁴ "Zweifelhafte Geisteszustände vor Gericht." Von Dr. Carl Liman. Berlin: Hirschwald. 1869.

Liman agrees with all those who have had practical experience of insanity in rejecting this principle as unjust, and in advocating more enlightened and more merciful views of the incapacitating effects of mental disease. His book is almost entirely occupied with full descriptions of the cases which have come under his observation, some of them very instructive, and nearly all of them presenting points of some practical importance. It is by no means a complete treatise on the medical jurisprudence of insanity, but contains materials which may be found useful in the compilation of such a treatise.

The author of a "*Study of Extinct Diseases and New Diseases*"¹⁵ makes a protest against the unreflecting disdain of the historical study of diseases which he finds so prevalent at the present day. He is distressed, needlessly, it appears to us, because without sufficient cause, at the ungrateful habit of depreciating the old writers and their immortal writings, and in language which is apt sometimes to become both "tall" and vague, he inveighs against the blind conceit which would replace the tried labours of twenty centuries by the hasty product of a few years of work. Medicine, viewed in its historical evolution, should, he asserts, represent an uninterrupted chain which has only been lengthened by the addition of new links. This flourishing language of a lengthy introduction had prepared us to expect a philosophical exposition of an uninterrupted evolution of medical doctrines, founded on a careful historical survey, instead of which we discover it to be the high sounding prelude to a somewhat popular description of the principal epidemics of ancient and modern times. "The time is now come," he exclaims, "to write the history of those popular diseases, extinct and new, which are recognised by their triple attributes: the strangeness of their symptoms, their universal prevalence, their inevitable fatality." Accordingly he proceeds to give a lively, learned, and interesting history of the plague of Athens, of the great epidemics of the second and third centuries, of the epidemic of the middle ages known as St. Anthony's fire, of the black pest, of the sweating sickness, of the syphilitic epidemic of the fifteenth century, and of the great epidemic of cholera in this century. He also enters into elaborate historical inquiries whether smallpox and scarlatina existed in ancient times, arriving at the conclusion, on insufficient data we think, that they are of modern origin.

In his official capacity as Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, Dr. Smith has made a sanitary survey of Pooree, a visit to the temples of Juggernaut, Bhubanessur, and Jajipoor, and a tour through the province of Orissa.¹⁶ His report contains a vivid account of the abominations resulting from the want of any proper sanitary arrangements at all the places of pilgrimage which the Hindoo considers it a sacred duty to visit. Indeed, these pilgrimages appear to be attended with a vast amount of evil, physical and moral; and although most persons

¹⁵ "*Étude sur les Maladies Éteintes et les Maladies Nouvelles.*" Par Charles Anglada. Paris: Baillière et Fils. 1869.

¹⁶ "*Report on Pilgrimage to Juggernaut in 1868; with a Narrative of a Tour through Orissa.*" By David B. Smith, M.D. Calcutta: E. M. Lewis. 1868.

of authority seem to be agreed that it would not be right for the Government to do violence to the religious feelings of the people by putting a stop to them despotically, still there is evidently room for great improvement, through the organization of proper sanitary arrangements adapted to prevent the production and spread of disease. The International Cholera Congress arrived at the conclusion that these pilgrimages "are the most powerful of all the causes which tend to the development and propagation of epidemics of cholera." But although Dr. Smith is deeply convinced of the harm which results from bad sanitary arrangements, he is by no means satisfied that they actually develop cholera, and has brought together a considerable body of evidence to prove that the disease does not, on the whole, occur more frequently among the pilgrims than it does over the country generally. It is somewhat disheartening to find him expressing a decided opinion "that the visitations of cholera are quite independent of the existence or non-existence of quarantine, and, what is still more wonderful, independent of a continuance of the most insanitary local conditions."

An elaborate treatise on the so-called *manie raisonnante* of French, the *moral insanity* of English, writers, by Dr. Campagne, consists of a laboured and somewhat tedious development of views first put forward in an essay, to which a prize was awarded by the Medico-Psychological Society of Paris.¹⁷ Notwithstanding an appearance of great system and completeness in dealing with his subject, the author fails to throw any satisfactory light on it; in fact, his book has a vaguely theoretical, rather than a practical, character; it is wanting both in the results of observation, and in knowledge of the literature of the subject. After an introduction discussing the faculties of the mind, there is an historical chapter, which carries matters no further back than Pinel in France, and makes mention only of certain French writers since his time, taking no account even of the well-known work of Prichard. It appears to us that the author starts with a fundamental mistake in assuming, as he does, that moral insanity, which is symptomatic of various forms of mental derangement, is a disease of itself, as special and distinct as general paralysis. The consequence is, that he takes hold of certain passions, which neither sane nor insane persons are free from, and, describing with great elaboration their effects on conduct, regards these as the special symptoms of his *manie raisonnante*. He does not communicate the means of discriminating between what is simply vicious and what is truly pathological. Though the work thus seems to fail in accomplishing its aim, it still contains numerous suggestive reflections, and the results of the author's investigations into the hereditary antecedents of some cases of moral insanity are both interesting and instructive.

The second edition, in two large volumes, of M. Michel Lévy's well-known treatise on public and private Hygiene,¹⁸ will doubtless meet

¹⁷ "Traité de la Manie Raisonnante." Par le Dr. Campagne. Ouvrage couronné par la Société Médico-Psychologique. Paris: Masson et Fils. 1869.

¹⁸ "Traité d'Hygiène publique et privée." Par Michel Lévy. Cinquième édition, revue, corrigée, et augmentée. Vols. II. Paris: Baillière et Fils. 1869.

with as favourable a reception as its predecessors have had. It is the most complete work of its kind, so far as we know, in any language. Although the third and fourth editions were very carefully revised, this edition has undergone many modifications and additions, some articles being new, and others having been further developed. It would be well to consider whether any additions which may be necessary in a future edition might not be made by a closer digestion of some of the existing material, without increasing the already large bulk of the volumes.

We have received the first part of a work by M. Liégeois which, when completed by the appearance in due time of five more parts, is to constitute a complete treatise on physiology.¹⁹ After some general introductory observations concerning the nature of organization, the properties of tissues and the conditions of life, the author enters at once on the description of the functions of reproduction, which occupies all the rest of the volume. He commences with them because it appears to him more natural to begin with functions which make us acquainted with the origin and the development of man and animals than, as is the usual practice, to end with them after having studied all the phenomena of the complete organization. We doubt much, however, the wisdom of the plan, for the functions of reproduction and the manner of growth and development of the embryo are a very difficult study, and it would certainly appear to be advantageous to the student to know something of the nature and functions of tissues and organs in the animal economy, before attempting to follow the obscure processes of their development from the *area germinativa*. Putting aside the questionable wisdom of the plan, there is no fault to be found with its execution thus far. The second part, when it appears, will treat of the functions of locomotion, prehension, and expression; the third, of the functions of innervation; the fourth, of the functions of digestion; the fifth, of circulation and respiration; and the sixth and last, of nutrition, secretion and excretion, and of death.

A large and rather clumsy volume of more than a thousand pages contains the substance of the lectures delivered during many years in the chair of General Pathology and Therapeutics at Montpellier.²⁰ The preparation of the lectures for publication, in which the Professor was engaged at the time of his death, has been completed by his son, who has prefaced the book with a friendly biographical account of his father. The subjects treated of are of a very general character, and the consequence is that there is a great deal of vague and theoretical disquisition, with comparatively little exact information. It is indeed evident that speculations concerning such very obscure matters as the relations of diseases, the nature of hereditary influence, diathesis and temperament, however subtle and ingenious, must in the present state of knowledge be to a great extent barren. A careful and humble ob-

¹⁹ "Traité de Physiologie appliquée à la Médecine et à la Chirurgie." Par Th. Liégeois. Paris: Masson et Fils. 1869.

²⁰ "Traité de Pathologie et de Thérapeutique Générales." Par F. A. Jaumes. Paris: Masson et Fils. 1869.

servation of facts, in order to put meaning into the abstract generalizations, will be more profitable than the most brilliant attempts to evolve the meaning of the concrete out of the abstract.

A treatise on Diseases of the Skin by Dr. Baudot is written, not for the purpose of offering any new ideas, but expressly to propagate the scientific and therapeutical doctrines of his former distinguished teacher, M. Bazin.²¹ These he has concisely and lucidly summarized in one volume, well suited to supply the wants of the student and practitioner, for whose use it is designed. The method of dealing with the subject is distinctly clinical, the distinguishing characters of each disease being succinctly described, its ætiology, course and prognosis then set forth in a few words, and the different means of treatment briefly indicated. The merits of the book are those of a manual for the practitioner, not of a full and scientific treatise.

Dr. E. Krieger's monograph contains the results of his painstaking studies of menstruation and its anomalies.²² He endeavours to determine, from the comparison of numerous carefully-observed facts, the time of appearance and cessation of the catamenia, the influence of constitution, social position, and climate upon their appearance, course, and duration, and the connexion of the function with various sympathetic cerebral and spinal phenomena. His book will be found a useful contribution to obstetrical science.

An Essay "On Going to Sleep,"²³ by Mr. Charles Moore, is interesting and suggestive. The old notion that there was an increased quantity of blood in the brain during sleep has now been abandoned, and it is universally admitted that the stream of blood is lessened when the brain takes its rest in sleep. Mr. Moore brings together from different quarters various facts which appear to him to justify the conclusion that a contraction of the cerebral arteries, shutting off to some extent the supply of blood to the brain, is the physical occasion of sleep; this contraction being due to the unimpeded energy of the sympathetic ganglia which comes into play when the inhibitory action of the brain upon them is withdrawn. He conjectures also that states of somnambulism and double consciousness may be produced by the separate contraction of particular arteries, the area of brain dependent on other arteries not being asleep.

The second edition of Dr. Habershon's book on "Diseases of the Stomach,"²⁴ differs from the first edition only in the addition of a chapter on "Spasm of the Stomach," the particularization and separate discussion of this symptom being thought by him to be of practical value.

Dr. Macpherson has written a readable but rather sketchy account

²¹ "Traité des Affections de la Peau." Par Dr. E. Baudot. Paris. F. Savy. 1869.

²² "Die Menstruation. Eine gynäkologische Studie." Von Dr. Eduard Krieger. Berlin: Hirschwald. 1869.

²³ "On Going to Sleep." London: Hardwicke. 1868.

²⁴ "On Diseases of the Stomach: the Varieties of Dyspepsia, their Diagnosis and Treatment." By S. O. Habershon, M.D. Second edition. London: Hardwicke. 1869.

of the "Baths and Wells of Europe,"²⁴ or rather of those that are not much out of the track of the English migration. Regretting, however, that the stream of English to Continental baths should run so much in one direction—to German baths—he points out that many of the French baths leave nothing to be desired, and gives rather a full notice of some of the Italian and Spanish baths, particularly such of the latter as are not far distant from Pau and Biarritz. His book may take a useful place among guide-books, to which it has a general resemblance, and from which much of it appears to have been compiled.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE first volume of a valuable and scholarly work is completed. That work is professedly edited after Spelman and Wilkins, but guided by sounder canons of historical and philological knowledge, supplying deficiencies and correcting errors, Messrs. Stubbs and Haddan aim at much more than a mere reproduction of Spelman, or even of Wilkins, whose "*Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*," they pronounce to be a monument of gigantic labour and learning.¹ In their projected, and in part accomplished collection of "*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*," they propose to introduce considerable modifications. In the first place, they traverse a less extensive field than their predecessors, limiting their area, at least for the present, to a period antecedent to the Reformation. In the second place, they avail themselves of materials within that area unused by Wilkins; and as they freely add so they freely reject, with no other rule to guide them than that which their own judgment affords. They further adopt their own arrangement, placing the documents of natural or local church interest chronologically under each of the periods and divisions to which they correspond, and in observing a chronological order—as Wilkins also does—not scattering them, so as at times to lose the connexion, but keeping them closely and systematically together. In the prosecution of this literary enterprise they have turned to account new collections and new editions, and have profited by the researches and critical labours of Kuntzman, Wassersleben, Thorpe, Schmid, Liverani, Theiner, and others. The published volume, the interest of which is chiefly antiquarian, is edited by Mr. Haddan, who will also be responsible for the second, which will contain the early Scottish and Irish documents. Professor Stubbs will complete the Saxon period in vols. iii. and iv. Notwithstanding the limitations

²⁴ "*The Baths and Wells of Europe: their Action and Uses.*" By John Macpherson, M.D. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

¹ "*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland.*" Edited after Spelman and Wilkins. By Arthur West Haddan, B.D., and William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Vol. I. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1869.

of the present volume, the editors claim to have thrown a light on questions of some importance. In particular, they are of opinion that they have already shown the groundlessness of the alleged Orientalism of the early British Church; the non-existence of such fictitious personages as King Lucius; the gratuitousness of such an assumption as that of St. Paul's preaching in these islands; the fatality, injustice, and mischief of Papal appeals; the fearful abuse of spiritual power; and the exceeding worldliness of the Church during the period in which Henry III. and Edward I. were employed in reducing the old freedom of the Welsh Church, and in gradually Anglicising Wales. The Saxon documents in this volume have been translated into English, and a historical summary of contents, indicating leading events, and prefixing the years of occurrence, offers to initiate the reader into its archæological mysteries.

The history of England in the Dark and Middle Ages is variously illustrated by the newly issued volumes of the Record Office. Ralph, or Ranulph Higden, a Benedictine monk of St. Werbergh's monastery, in Chester, who died in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, was the author of the "*Polychronicon*," the second volume of which, edited by Mr. Churchill Babington, contains the Latin text of two books, together with an anonymous translation of the fifteenth century, and that by John de Trevisa, printed by Caxton in 1482.² The first book is rather geographical and ethnological than historical, enumerating roads, rivers, cities, shires, peoples, languages, and dialects. "The geography of the world is properly followed," says Mr. Babington, "by the history of the world, that is, of man, who is himself the microcosm, or little world." This preliminary topic of the second book is followed by a recital of the statements of the Biblical narrative of the Creation, the Flood, and the history of the Jewish people, to the death of Saul, interspersed with notices of the contemporary events of Greece, Phœnicia, Rome, of course not omitting the wanderings of Æneas, whose grandson Brutus, "in accordance with the Trojanizing notions which held our mediæval historians spell-bound," is said to have given his name to Britannia. Possibly the earlier portion of the volume may supply geographical intimations not without value; but more than half of it is an exemplification of the Pindaric aphorism, that fables supplant truth, and that the authority of a real or fancied grace often confers credit on the incredible.

The compilation of Roger of Hoveden is a work of different mark, and able, in the main, to stand the test applied by that After-time, which the same poet tells us is the best convincer. The second volume, introduced with a thoughtful and informing preface by an editor already mentioned, the Regius Professor of Modern History in

² "*Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translation of John Trevisa, and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century.*" Edited by Churchill Babington, B.D., F.L.S., &c., Disney Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge; Rector of Cockfield, Suffolk; late Fellow of St. John's College. Vol. II. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

the University of Oxford, closes with the death of Henry II.³ Mr. Stubbs, speaking of the one occasion on which heresy lifted its head in England during this reign, shows that the king was tolerant, and that he refused to allow the burning of *Publicani* in his dominions, at the time when they were being burned in France. He thus disproves Milman's assertion, that fires were kindled, and heretics burned in Oxford. The punishment of these heretics—scourging, and branding, and outlawry—was severe enough, even if they did not miserably perish—as William of Newburgh affirms—but disappeared into Normandy, according to the alternative report of Walter Maps. But in itself the sentence was lenient, compared at least with the rigour of the criminal law, or even of the forest jurisdiction. In the present instalment of the entire Chronicle, which is described by Mr. Stubbs as partly an abridgment partly an expansion of the "*Gesta*," *Regis Henrici Secundi*, known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, Hoveden has some passages not found in the original annalist. Among these are "the new letters on the history of Thomas Becket, the sketch of the manner of his life, and the amplification of the details of the martyrdom;" the Acts of the Council of Clombers in 1176; the Laws of England, given under the year 1180; and a variety of small incidental stories. In the letter which the Archbishop of Sens wrote to the Pope, on the martyrdom of Becket, is an account of the miracles which followed that transaction. The martyr himself reappeared frequently. In particular, he was seen by a monk named Niel. "*Dicitur namque*," says the Papal correspondent, "*et constanter asseritur, post passionem suam, in visu apparuisse multis, quibus perhibet se non mortuum esse sed vivere; et non vulnera sed vulnerum tantum cicatrices ostendat.*" Mr. Stubbs has an interesting discussion on the Laws of William the Conqueror in Hoveden's legal Appendix. The conclusion at which he arrives is, that the objections which he adduces are surely enough to prove that the longer form of the Charter is not William's, but the work of the lawyers, whose history is bound up with that of the reign of Edward I. The second article in Hoveden's legal Appendix is a version of the code known as the Laws of Edward the Confessor; but which, as it refers distinctly to the great Danegeld levied by William Rufus, to raise the sum required for the mortgage of Normandy on the occasion of Duke Robert's departure for the Crusade, "bears on its face evidence of a date later than that which it claims in the title."

The third and concluding portion of the "*History of Matthew Paris*," edited by Sir Frederick Madden,⁴ carries us over the period

³ "*Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden.*" Edited by William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, Fellow of Oriel College, and sometime Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Vol. II. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, &c. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

⁴ "*Matthæi Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum sive ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Item ejusdem Abbreviatio Chronicorum Angliæ.*" Edited by Sir Frederick Madden, K.H., F.R.S., late Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. Vol. III., A.D. 1246-1253. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

1246-1253. In the preface to the present instalment all available biographical notices are brought together, and some critical remarks are added to demonstrate the historical value of the writings of the Monk of St. Albans. Born about A.D. 1200, and dying in 1259, not, as is sometimes said, in 1278, the historian numbered comparatively few years. In 1236, he attended the nuptials of Henry III. at Westminster. Nine or ten years later he was despatched by Papal mandate to Norway, to act as visitor of the Benedictine Order. His historical labours are duly recounted by the present editor. The "Continuation of Roger of Wendover," the "*Chronica Majora*," the "*Gesta Abbatum*," the "*Historia Anglorum*," the "*Abbreviatio Chroniconum*," and the "*Libri Supplementorum*," exhaust the catalogue. Matthew Paris is known as an artist, a worker in metals, a herald, and a cartographer. Modern historians almost unanimously commend him. For a large portion of the reign of Henry III. he is almost the sole authority. A copious index facilitates reference to the "*Historia Anglorum*," completed in the volume before us.

"The Chronicles of the Monastery of Melsa"⁵ also reach their close in the newly issued volume, containing the narrative of occurrences under six successive abbots, of whom William Wendover was the twentieth and last. Melsa, which was an extremely rich foundation, was rarely without a lawsuit. Its wealth tempted the depredator; the Pope drew revenue from it; the bishop had an eye to all remunerative business, especially the exaction of fines; and the nobles used their power unscrupulously in plundering it of its property. According to Mr. Bond, in his analytical preface, good came of all the litigation to which its riches gave rise, in the shape of respect for judicial proceedings; for direct violence and fraud being incompatible with the character of a religious institution, legal redress was sought where wrong was attempted, and "legal chicanery was the medium they relied upon for obtaining unjust advantages."

Mr. Luard, in the fourth volume of the "*Annals of Osney*," very fairly puts the case of the old annalists, praising them for their vivid narrative of the inner life of monasteries, and for their occasionally ample recital of public events.⁶ He insists too that, after all deductions on the score of demerit, the great monastic establishments were the centres of religion and civilization, protecting in a pitiless age the poor and old; preserving historical literature, if not general literature, cultivating and improving lands, and leading a life which had some sparkle of divinity in it. The "*Annals of Osney*," which are now

⁵ "*Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, a fundatione usque ad annum 1396. Auctore Thoma de Burton, Abbate. Accedit continuatio ad annum 1406, a Monacho quodam ipsius domus.*" Edited by Edward A. Bond, Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, &c. Vol. III. London: Longmans and Co. 1869.

⁶ "*Annales Monastici*," Vol. IV. *Annales Monasterii de Oseneia* (A.D. 1016-1347); *Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes* (A.D. 1066-1289); *Annales Prioratus de Wigornia* (A.D. 1-1377). Edited by Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, &c. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners, &c. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1869.

printed for the first time, relate to a monastery founded on an island of that name at Oxford, for Augustinian canons, by Robert d'Oyley, in 1129. The Chronicle of Wykes, which accompanies it, has in its earlier portion much that is found in the Osney chronicle; but after the year 1258, when we come upon the Provisions of Oxford and the Barons' War, the two are perfectly distinct, the writers taking opposite sides in that great struggle. The explanation is given by Mr. Luard in his prefatory essay. The Chronicles are followed by the Worcester Annals, which, in the editor's opinion, will always rank very high as an authority for the latter years of the thirteenth century. These Annals extend from the Incarnation to the year 1308. They have never been before printed *in full*. The Index, with some other occasional papers, occupies the whole of the fifth volume of the "Annales Monastici."

Mr. E. A. Bond, the editor of the "Chronicle of Melsa," noticed above, discovered, as is known to readers of the *Fortnightly Review* (August, 1866), fragments of a contemporary Household Account in which occurs the name of Geoffrey Chaucer, whose life and writings are the subject of critical comment in two pleasant volumes of an author, whose pseudonym is Matthew Browne.³ From Mr. Bond's discovery it appears that Chaucer was attached to the service of Prince Lionel as early as the beginning of the year 1357, and that he was present at different celebrations and entertainments, from that period till the invasion of France, when he joined the royal army in the retinue of the Prince—in the course of which service he was made prisoner by the French. Mr. Matthew Browne finds himself unable to agree with Mr. Bond as to the year of the poet's birth, arguing that Chaucer was not likely to be born in 1340, as he was married not later than 1360, when he would have been but twenty years of age, and must have written the "Parliament of Birds," which relates to John of Gaunt's union with the Lady Blanche of Lancaster, when he was but eighteen. Whatever may be the date of his birth, it is not disputed that Chaucer died on 26th October, 1400. Chaucer's England, the argument of Mr. Matthew Browne's disquisition, is the England of the second half of the fourteenth century, the England of chivalry—though of a somewhat Brummagem sort—the England of growing parliamentary and religious freedom, the England of a great commercial activity—the England of peasant insurrection, of drought, whirlwind, earthquake, war with Scotland, war with France; the England of the knight and the priest; the England that lay under the shadow of the Church, yet the England of Protestantism incipient; the England of forest and castle, of the hawk and the hound, of heron and marsh, of friar and pilgrim. All that is implied in this catalogue, and much more relating to the life and the manners of that gorgeous century, is set forth in the pages of Matthew Browne's book. Historical, bio-

¹ "Annales Monastici," Vol. V. Index and Glossary. Edited by Henry Richards Luard, M.A., &c. Published by the authority, &c. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1869.

³ "Chaucer's England." By Matthew Browne. In two volumes. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1869.

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXI.]—New Series, Vol. XXXVI. No. I. U

graphical, descriptive, critical, it has its place in this section only because somewhat of the first two elements is comprised in it. To express sympathy or join issue with the critic in his comments on Chaucer's characteristics as a poet, would be hardly within the scope of this section. We must be contented to commend the work for its grace, its knowledge, its ease, its appreciation of the many aspects of life and poetry, which a study of the great father of English song has suggested to its accomplished author. If his knowledge of history is not very profound or accurate, Mr. Browne's taste in general is excellent, and his moral tone frank and healthy. We doubt, however, if in his anxiety to speak the truth, he has not exonerated the age at Chaucer's expense. If we rightly understand him, nearly all Chaucer's coarseness is of Chaucer's own deliberate seeking; the age, in fact, was purer than the poet. Quite allowing that much of what Mr. Browne says in defence of the age, is plausible, we still think that the coarseness in the "Canterbury Tales" very fairly represented the coarseness of the times to which they relate. Without insisting on this, and letting Chaucer's case stand over for consideration, we must protest vehemently and indignantly against the utterly preposterous criticism on Dante. Dante, in Matthew Browne's view, is filthy and mean. Certainly there is, in some cantos of the "Inferno," what our critic would call *filth*, because we are carried into the hell of the filthy; and the Devil of Dante is a mean devil. But are we therefore to say that Dante is filthy, or to quarrel with his hell for its meannesses, except as we quarrel with the worn-out mediævalism which it embodies? Mr. Matthew Browne is but partially acquainted with Dante, and will probably be of a different opinion when he is familiar with the light and beauty of the Purgatory and the Paradise, and the meanness that is in the divine poem is seen to have its appropriate place and justification. That there are mean horrors in Dante we allow, but they have a right to be there; the extravagances of his representations we concede, but were they not the extravagances that were inherent in the faith of the Middle Ages? And, side by side with all of grotesque and pitiful devilry, do we not see the noble scorn, the gentle magnanimity, the tender sensibility, the serene loveliness, which mark that glorious though still sectarian poet of a religious faith, ever more and more remote from our own sympathies?

Francisco Pizarro was born, perhaps about seventy years after the death of the English poet of whom Mr. Browne discourses with such pleasing grace of thought and diction. The discoverer and conqueror of Peru has his story told by the Rev. F. Watkins on the basis supplied by Mr. Helps in his "History of the Spanish Conquest."⁹ His soldierly qualities, his capacity for government, his indomitable courage, his life of adventure, make him a typical man, worthy to range with the heroes who appear in the great tragedy which Mr. Helps has circumstantially related. The story of Pizarro is conveniently broken up

⁹ "The Life of Pizarro, with some account of his Associates in the Conquest of Peru." By Arthur Helps. Author of "The Spanish Conquest in America," &c. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

into books and chapters; and the voyages, the battles, the negotiations in which he was engaged, are described at sufficient length to awaken interest and satisfy curiosity. The fate of the poor Inca, Atahualpa, the victim of those "raving missionaries" the Spaniards, again excites our pity and indignation; and the success of the conspiracy in which the renowned captain perished shows how weakly confiding, where his own countrymen were concerned, was the man who was the first to suspect an ambuscade of Indians. The stern conqueror of a nation was slain on 26th June, 1541, by the disaffected men of Chili, who gathered around the young Almagro, whose father had been the rival, the enemy, and the victim of Pizarro. The part played by the horse in the conquest of the New World was too remarkable for our biographer to pass without notice:—"The horse made the essential difference between the armies. In truth, had the horse been created in America, the conquest of the New World would not improbably have been reserved for that peculiar epoch of development in the European mind, when, as at present, mechanical power has in some degree superseded the horse."

The century in which the ferocious piety of those armed missionaries the Spanish Conquerors of Mexico and Peru, was obliterating a people and a civilization, was marked in Europe by a grand and beneficent event, the Protestant Reformation.¹⁰ The history, however, of the Reformation, is regarded by Dr. D'Aubigné, one of its popular literary champions, as distinct from that of Protestantism, and he has practically recognised that distinction by the chronological limitation which he has assigned to his history. This voluminous work is divided into two series for the convenience of the public, but is announced as a continuous whole by its author. The volume before us is the tenth of the History of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the fifth of the second series. The first series, we are told in the preface, described the history of that great epoch from its commencement down to the Confession of Augsburg (1530). The second will include the years intervening between that period and the triumph of the Reformation in various parts of Europe. The new volume opens with a sketch of the history of England, 1534-1536, is succeeded by a narrative of the events which led to the triumph of the Reformation in Geneva, and concludes with a picture of Calvin's life at Ferrara, his flight there, when menaced by the Inquisition, and his settlement in the republican city of which he was so long a kind of episcopal autocrat. Respectable erudition, a commendable sympathy, a fluent elocution, and a tolerably lively presentment of facts, with a talent for the graphic which reminds us of the late Mr. G. P. R. James, make D'Aubigné readable enough, though deficient in all the highest qualities of a true historian. In the narrative with which he opens this fifth volume he appears to have consulted all the stock authorities, Strype, Tyndale, Fox, Burnet, the State Papers and other cognate documents. His

¹⁰ "History of the Reformation in Europe in the time of Calvin." By J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, D.D. Author of the "History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century," &c. Vol. V. England, Geneva, Ferrara. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

judgment on the whole is pretty much that of most educated persons who follow the common history books, but not that of Mr. Froude on the one hand, or of the Anglican minister whom our author censures for disparagement of the Reformers and rejection of the Reformation, as being a "Deluge and not a Pentecost." Henry's justification of the execution of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More he considers futile; Anne Boleyn he believes to have been innocent: the secession from Rome to have had a national as well as regal character. His estimate of Cranmer is, we think, quite just. A man naturally pious, with a sincere predilection for the Reformation doctrines, but infirm, faltering and timid. Cranmer's concessions he explains by the two considerations of the king's despotic will and the archbishop's characteristic weakness. The circumstances of his position brought out conspicuously the servility of Cranmer, in an age when servility was synonymous with loyalty. Like Seneca, Cranmer was deficient, fatally deficient, in that courage which never submits or yields in the presence of extreme dangers, where submission is guilt, and resistance the only righteous and honourable course. In a less menacing period, Cranmer would probably have exhibited sufficient heroism to have passed blamelessly through life. But in that time of universal cowardice, and the moral prostration that made the nobles of England succumb before the fascination of despotic will, Cranmer failed in that magnanimous self-assertion, which, had he possessed it, would have had for its results the anticipatory substitution by the headsman's bloody doom of the fiery sentence that overtook him at last. On the whole, however, in spite of his weak concessions and guilty connivances, Cranmer was a good man, and in the main faithful to the principles of the Reformation which he advocated. The second portion of the narrative contained in this volume carries us to Geneva, and introduces us to men cast in more heroic mould than Cranmer. The attack and defence—the destruction of the castles—the insurrection of the Genevese people,—the liberation of Bonivard and of Furbity, and the line of action taken by Farel, are among the interesting topics of the last second division of the volume. In his preface Dr. d'Aubigné complains of the occasional incredulity of his foreign critics. To prove the historical reality of some of his statements he inserted in the preface to the French edition of his volume details which he considers superfluous for the English edition, but he indicates the principal points which have been the subject of debate. They relate to Le Fèvre of Etaples, to William Farel, to Thomas ab Hofen, the friend of Zwingli, Olivetan, and Calvin.

The Warriors of the seventeenth century may have their turn after the Reformers of the sixteenth.¹¹ Biographical notices of more than thirty exemplary captains, great by land or sea, have been compiled with care by General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L. Maintaining that military history is the only true teacher of the science and phi-

¹¹ "Lives of the Warriors who have commanded fleets and armies before the Enemy: Warriors of the Seventeenth Century." By General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L. Author of the "Annals of the Wars." Vol. III. Parts I.-II. London: John Murray. 1869.

losophy of war, Sir Edward, disturbed by the intrusion of a new school at our military colleges, recommends a knowledge of the past, or, as the American general to whom he addresses his dedicatory letter, calls it, Practical Strategy, in opposition to the Theory of War advocated by the actual instructors of Military History. This, if we rightly understand him, is the moral to be drawn from his lives of distinguished warriors. Among them we find commanders of many, if not all, nations : England, Scotland, Poland, France, Germany, Holland, and India ;—Monk, Duke of Albemarle, Frederick William the Great Elector, John Sobieski, Viscount Dundee, Aurungzebe, Admirals Blake, Tromp, De Ruyter, Benbow, Rooke, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. How far this rich repository of biographical incident may directly advance Sir Edward Cust's object, we are hardly qualified to pronounce ; but if our inability to discern how the art of war is to be got out of his pages is not a personal infirmity, but a justifiable ignorance, we may still fall back on the merit which such a work possesses, as an instrument for awakening sympathy for military excellence, and encouraging those whose predilections for the practice of war leads them to adopt a profession capable of being consecrated by patriotic or social considerations, to imitate the virtue of those "praised men in history," which, as the general's motto tells us, is the true and public learning.

Among the warriors of the seventeenth century, "the Lady of Latham," the high-spirited Countess of Derby, is entitled to rank by courtesy for her bold and sagacious defence of that English stronghold against the Parliamentarians.¹² A complete recognition of her merits may be found in a volume having for its title the honourable name which the Countess earned by her resolute valour, and by which she is still known in the neighbourhood of her exploit. The recent discovery of the original letters of Charlotte de la Trémouille, Countess of Derby, to her mother Charlotte de Nassau, and her sister-in-law Marie de la Tour d'Auvergne, supplies the direct inducement for the compilation of a biographical sketch by Madame Guizot de Witt. Consulting such sources of information as the *Genealogical History of the House of Stanley*, Halsall's *Siege of Latham House*, and the *State Trials*, the authoress has not only sought to make clear the inner life of this remarkable woman, but has done what in her lay to place the portrait of the noble husband beside that of the heroic wife. The biography is broken up into chapters suggested by leading topics or events, and is a creditable enough production, evidencing royalist sympathies and conservative preferences. The portrait of the Lady of Latham prefixed to the volume, is engraved from an original in the possession of the Earl of Derby.

A volume of "Lives of Indian Officers," designed to illustrate the history of the civil and military services of India, is before us. Confessedly one of several biographical instalments, it has no numerical distinction on its titlepage, though from the preface we learn that it

¹² "The Lady of Latham, being the Life and Original Letters of Charlotte de la Trémouille, Countess of Derby." By Madame Guizot de Witt. With a Portrait. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1869.

is the first of a series, which have already appeared, in an abbreviated form in *Good Words*.¹³ In the part thus referred to, we find the lives of three remarkable men, Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Malcolm, and the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone. If there is no very original matter in the three narratives, they are at least informing, intelligible, and sometimes interesting. The life of Lord Cornwallis is the heaviest of the three; that of Sir John Malcolm has a more vivid and personal aspect: and the same remark is applicable to the third life. Mr. Kaye discusses as well as narrates, and the salient points of Indian policy are duly noted in his recital of events. Lord Cornwallis's services in America, in Ireland, in India, are recognised by Mr. Kaye in their proper order in time. Twice Governor-General of India, he supported, though he did not originate the Zemindary settlement, an ill-advised measure with one redeeming point, security of tenure, the primary condition of successful cultivation. Inspired by no lofty genius, writes his biographer, he was one of the best and most blameless of patriotic public servants. "For Duty he lived and he died." His death occurred in 1805, when he was about sixty-seven years of age. Sir John Malcolm was born at Burnfoot, near Langholm, in Scotland, in 1769, the same year as Napoleon and Wellington. He was only thirteen when he was appointed a cadet on the Madras establishment. A preliminary examination had no terrors for the candidate for public service. "My little man, what would you do if you went to meet Hyder Ali?" appears to have been the only question put to him; and, "Do! why, sir, I would out with my sword and cut off his head," was the one triumphant reply made by him. In 1803 he was nominated to the Residency of Mysore; in 1810 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Persia; and after his return to England, he published, in 1815, his history of that country. In 1817 we find him again in India, distinguishing himself in the campaigns against the Mahrattas and Pindarrees. At a later period he received the military and political command of Malwa and the adjoining provinces, an account of which he published in 1823. In 1827 he was appointed Governor of Bombay. Returning to England at the end of three years, he was elected member of Parliament for Launceston, in opposition to the Reform Bill. Struck down by paralysis, he succumbed to the great destroyer in the spring of 1833. In a general order issued by the Indian Government, occur the words, "His career has been unexampled." Mountstuart Elphinstone, the fourth son of a Scotch peer of that name, in July 1795, being then sixteen years of age, embarked for India. In 1801 he was appointed *attaché* to the British mission at the Court of the Peishwah, the greatest of the Mahratta Princes. In 1819 he was chosen by the Directors to fill the office of Governor of Bombay, which he held for a period of eight years; in 1859 he declined the proffered distinction of the Governor-Generalship of India. After a retirement of thirty years, he died at

¹³ "Lives of Indian Officers illustrative of the Civil and Military Service of India: Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone." By John William Kaye, Author of the "History of the War in Afghanistan," &c., &c. London: Strahan & Co. 1869.

Hookwood, in his eightieth year, on the 20th day of November, in the last-mentioned year. Possessing great activity of body and mind, an accomplished scholar, a statesman, a student, Mountstuart Elphinstone was beloved for his personal qualities and admired for the many excellences of his public administration. His biographer attributes his reluctance to accept high office during the period of his retirement not to the want of ambition, but to a consciousness of physical inability. An authority on all questions of Indian government, he never made for himself a place in history commensurate with the capacity for which the world has given him credit.

To avert the dangerous moral effect of the advance of an enemy to the very boundary of our Eastern empire, the right bank of the Indus, General Chesney¹⁴ recommends the consolidation and perfection of our overland communication. Commander of the famous Euphrates Expedition, undertaken more than thirty years ago, General Chesney's exertions in the cause of the Euphrates route have been unremitting. In 1832 he took the first steps towards an overland communication with India. In 1835 he received the commands of his late Majesty King William IV. to carry out the survey and navigation of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. During the last ten years he has been twice to Constantinople to obtain the Sultan's firman for a railway from the mouth of the Orontes to the Persian Gulf, and once to Syria, to re-examine the country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. In 1852 he published an account, in two volumes, of some of the results of his great expedition, intending to complete it by adding a narrative of the rival routes through Egypt and Syria; but the economic disposition of her Majesty's Treasury, the Department under whose views the publication was conducted, obliged him to abandon the intention. After the lapse of sixteen years, the Government, thinking it advisable that the materials of information in General Chesney's possession should be placed before the public, have issued their commands to proceed with the present work. Thus, though the main interest still continues without suffering any abatement, the "Narrative" has not the freshness, the novelty that it would have had, if it had appeared soon after the execution of the exploring enterprise. But if in some degree an anachronism, it is a welcome and even valuable anachronism, and, to those who care for incidents of travel, local picturing, sketches of manners, life, character, and places, contrasting with those of our own trite and monotonous civilization, an attractive and refreshing recital. Palestine, Syria, the Arabian desert—countries and cities memorable through association with the movements of kings and conquerors in the days of old—were visited by the adventurous explorer and his companions, and notices of many spots of historic renown reappear in his pages. We observe that as long ago as 1830, in a report correcting an error of the French engineers of 1802, which made the Red Sea 36 feet higher

¹⁴ "Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition carried on by the order of the British Government during the years 1835, 1836, and 1837." By General François Rawdon Chesney, Colonel Commandant 14th Brigade Royal Artillery, &c., Commander of the Expedition. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1868.

than the Mediterranean, General Chesney expressed his belief that a sea-canal could be opened, so as to give a passage for steamers and other vessels, without so much disadvantage as is experienced in the case of the Bosphorus. In addition to his own narrative, the volume contains two "Journals," one by Major-General J. B. B. Escourt, another by Captain Charlewood, a contribution by Dr. Helfer, entitled "Visit to the Arabian Desert," and another by Mr. Ainsworth, called "Journey to Constantinople." The work will serve, no doubt, to draw attention to the important problem of the overland route to India, in the solution of which it may be found auxiliary.

From the possible triumphs of peaceful industry, we pass to the achievements and aspirations of revolutionary patriotism, as illustrated in the fifth volume of the "Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini."¹⁵ In the introductory remarks, we are told that "the documents contained in the present volume relate to a period of Italian history rendered solemn and important both by glory and misfortune. . . . The events of the years 1848 and 1849 may be regarded as the exemplification and verification of two opposing programmes: 1848 displays the sources of vitality and power contained in the royal programme, its tendencies, and its results; 1849 reveals the tendency, results, vitality, and power of our own republican programme." Mazzini's theories of religion, humanity, government, evolution, always interesting, always indicating a noble ideal, always testifying to the controlling force of the ideas of Conscience, Duty, Liberty, are constantly asserted in these documents. The policy of the Moderates, the character of Pius IX., of Charles Albert, of Lamartine, the views and aims of the republicans, the flight of the Pope, a defence of Rome under the triumvirate, throwing a momentary glory once more over the City of Eternity, are all discussed or described in these pages. The consistent expositor of the national principle, Mazzini never loses sight of the noble traditions of Italian life. The moral ruin of his countrymen he refers to the introduction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the low standard of thought and action under foreign dominion, and to the unspeakable corruption of a Church no longer either Italian or Christian, to the prevalence of Machiavelli over Dante. While attributing a sort of hypocritical liberalism to the Moderates, which he contends descended to them from Machiavelli, he rightly explains that this policy with Machiavelli himself was not theory but history. After describing the dissolution, the corruption, the shameless mercenary cupidity of the age, he continues:—"Poor Machiavelli, after having endeavoured to struggle, after having, in his own person, protested in prison and under torture, seated himself in sorrow upon this great ruin, and described, after the manner of an epitaph, the causes which had occasioned it. Using the scalpel upon the corpse, he made of his books a long report of his work of dissection." With this succinct and emphatic expression, Mazzini characterizes a literature, a people, or a period, or a person. Mazzini has been so often calum-

¹⁵ "Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini." Vol. V. Autobiographical and Political. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1869,

niated, that we may be pardoned if we cite an eulogy of some length from the account which General Medici wrote of the affair of Monza, in 1848, when his column was pursued by the enemy, and menaced every moment with destruction :—

“In this march, full of danger and difficulty, the strength of soul, intrepidity and decision, which Mazzini possesses in such a high degree, never failed, and were the admiration of the bravest among us. His presence, his words, the example of his courage, animated our young soldiers, who were besides proud of partaking such dangers with him; and all decided, Mazzini among the first, in case of an engagement to perish to the last man for the defence of the faith of which he had been the apostle, and for which he was ready to become the martyr. This resolute determination contributed much to maintain that order and that firm attitude which saved the rest of the division.”

A man of laborious erudition, fitted beyond all men to be the historian of philosophical opinion, regarded by admiring disciples as an eminent philosophical thinker, Sir William Hamilton, long the subject of assault and vindication, now appears as the subject of a “Memoir,” which does due honour to all his qualities, physical, moral, and intellectual.¹⁶ His biographer, Mr. Veitch, tells the uneventful story of his hero's life with a sense of proportion and discrimination which is creditable to him. Sir William Hamilton was born in 1788, and died in 1856. He was educated partly in England, partly in Scotland. In 1810 he took a first-class degree at Oxford, having previously attained the honour of Snell Exhibitioner of Balliol. Inheriting no fortune with the baronetcy, he was dependent on the Bar for support. His liberal politics and his reputation for prodigious learning disqualified him for legal appointment or professional advancement, and for twenty-six years he in vain attempted to obtain the post, which he would have honoured by accepting—a University Chair. In 1829 he married, and under this fresh incentive to exertion he began to write for the *Edinburgh Review*, then in the hands of a man of real literary and philosophical tastes, Mr. Macvey Napier. His first contribution made him famous, the essay of the “Philosophy of the Unconditioned.” In 1836 he successfully competed for the Chair of Logic in the University of Edinburgh. For twenty years he continued to diffuse the rich stores of learning which he had accumulated, quickening the minds of the young by the enthusiasm which he awakened for the subject of his illustration. In 1844, an attack of paralysis prostrated the strong man, whose powers had been cruelly overtaken. We regret to say that an application to Lord Russell, to place him on Sir Robert Peel's Fund list, was attended with but an unsatisfactory result; for while Christopher North, the opponent of the Whigs, received, at Lord Russell's instance, 300*l.*, Hamilton, a consistent supporter of Liberal opinion, was offered, by the same nobleman, 100*l.* In 1858 he broke his arm, never recovering the effects of the accident. Depressed and failing, he contrived to struggle on

¹⁶ “Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh.” By John Veitch, M.A. Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1869.

for a year or two longer. On May 5, 1856, the end came. He died of congestion of the brain in the sixty-eighth year of his age. There was little incident in Sir William Hamilton's life. Some relief is given to the monotony of a recital recording the vicissitudes of a great scholar's existence by the anecdotes or reminiscences which Mr. Veitch has inserted in his pages. Carlyle's contribution will be read with real pleasure; Dr. Cairns and Professor Spencer Baynes have also enriched the volume with memoranda of personal traits. We hear gladly of his care for animals, of his enjoyment of works of fiction, of the "Arabian Nights," and of fairy tales in general. An earnest, simple, high-minded, kindly man, a philosophical scholar of "infinite remembrance," an impressive, inspiring expositor of abstruse speculation, Sir William Hamilton deserves our gratitude and admiration. Into the question of his philosophy we are not called to enter. Mr. Veitch has attached to his memoir an Appendix, in which he has censured Mr. Mill for his inaccurate reports of Sir W. Hamilton's opinions in language of extreme and even contemptuous discourtesy. The corrections which in some cases seem called for will, no doubt, be made in subsequent editions of Mr. Mill's work on "Hamilton's Philosophy." As Mr. Veitch very naturally quotes Mr. Grote as against Mr. Mill in one particular instance, we may cite the same authority when favourable to Mr. Mill. The general result of Mr. Mill's Examination Mr. Grote regards as decisive against Hamilton, for he calls his book "a crushing volume;" and with respect to another topic on which Mr. Veitch dilates, Grote says Mr. Mill has convicted Hamilton of an erroneous estimate of Leibnitz.

The appearance on the stage of European politics of a first-rate military power in the augmented kingdom of Prussia suggests, and indeed justifies, such a comprehensive history, to satisfy the popular demand for information, as that of the "Prussian State and People," by Von Cosel, a volume of which is now ready for perusal.¹⁷ The new historian of the Hohenzollern Princes, like our own distinguished countryman, Mr. Carlyle, goes back to a remote antiquity in order to connect the present with the past. In his first chapter we have an account of the rule of the Princes of that illustrious House from 1411 to 1535, or the period of the Reformation; two more chapters, completing the first book, carry us through the great religious movement and the Thirty Years' War. The second book acquaints us with the proceedings, military and pacific, of the great Electoral Princes from 1640 to 1701, when the electorate was exchanged for the regal dignity. The third book has for its general topic the rule of the Hohenzollerns from the introduction of the monarchical form of government till the accession of Frederick II. in A.D. 1740. The character, objects, domestic and public history of the father of Carlyle's hero are discussed in the two chapters which make up this section of the volume. The author professes to have consulted the most authoritative sources in

¹⁷ "Geschichte der Preussischen Staates und Volkes unter den Hohenzollernschen Fürsten," &c. Von C. Von Cosel. Königl. Preuss. Oberstlieutenant. Erster Band. Leipzig. 1869.

the composition of his history, and the narrative appears sufficiently circumstantial to warrant its recommendation to those who are desirous of acquiring some knowledge of the historical antecedents of an imposing European monarchy.

On the 15th of July, 1737, Marie Leczinska, the wife of Louis XV., and daughter of the dethroned King of Poland, which Prussia helped to despoil and plunder, gave birth to her eighth female child, Louise Marie, known also as the Mother T  r  se de St. Augustin.¹⁸ On the death of the Queen, the Princess, who had long felt a vocation for a religious life, obtained the consent of her royal father to withdraw from the world. The Carmelite convent of St. Denis was the chosen place of retreat. Here the novitiate was passed, here the final vows were taken, and here, on the death of the M  re Julie, Madame Louise began, and indeed terminated her experiences as prioress. "It was at half-past four on the morning of Dec. 23, 1787, that the 'Good Princess' heard her advent call, and rising up quietly, went forth to meet her Lord and Master." The little volume which records the simple incidents of her pious seclusion is designed to edify those members of the Church of England in whom the spirit of religious self-devotion is reviving. The substance of the memoir is "taken from a somewhat diffuse 'Life of Madame Louise de France,' compiled by a Carmelite nun, and printed at Autun."

The "Annals of Industry and Genius," by C. L. Brightwell, are intended to instruct and stimulate the youthful mind. Within the narrow limits which the author has assigned himself, he could hardly move with greater freedom perhaps than he has done.¹⁹ The intellectual and moral characteristics of his heroes, and the leading events in their lives, are recorded with a necessary brevity, but a brevity that is not deficient in attractiveness. Nineteen persons of more or less eminence, including Cervantes, Tycho Brahe, Franklin, C. G. Heyne, Belzoni, and the two brothers Joseph and Stephen Montgolfier, have their biographical portraits retouched in this volume of Annals.

A miniature edition of "Passages from the Notebooks of the late Nathaniel Hawthorne" has for recommendation an Introduction by Mr. Moncure D. Conway prefixed to it.²⁰ Mr. Conway gossips for a few pages pleasantly enough about Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Hawthorne. Hawthorne was born in the old town of Salem, in Massachusetts. His botanical surname was supposed to have been borrowed from "the hedges," and his biblical Christian name to have been suggested by a New England predilection for scriptural nomenclature, so that he was for a time "the most unknown author in America." Mr. Conway gives us some account of Hawthorne's connexion with

¹⁸ "The Life of Madame Louise de France, daughter of Louis XV., known also as the Mother T  r  se de St. Augustin." By the author of "Tales of Kirkbeck." London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1869.

¹⁹ "Annals of Industry and Genius." By C. L. Brightwell, Author of "Annals of Curious and Romantic Lives," "Above Rubies." London: Nelson and Sons. 1869.

²⁰ "Passages from the Notebooks of the late Nathaniel Hawthorne." With an Introduction by Moncure D. Conway. London: Hotten. 1869.

Brook Farm, and glances at the reminiscences of the early life led there which have found their way into the pages of the "Blithedale Romance." He adds that Hawthorne regretted that so many should have identified Zenobia with Margaret Fuller, and explains that the catastrophe in his heroine's life was in reality suggested by the fatal termination of the career of a poor girl of Concord, whose round of pitiful toil was discordant with her tastes and aspirations. Mr. Conway—selecting a sentence in Trelawny's "Recollections of Byron and Shelley," in which the author concludes a questionable statement respecting the first-named of the two poets with the words, "the form and face of an Apollo, with the feet and legs of a sylvan Satyr"—says, "I am as certain as if he had told me so that in this sentence lay the germ of the character of Donatello, 'the Marble Faun,' in *Trans-formation*."

Syrian scholars are indebted to Dr. Wright for an edition of the "Homilies of Aphraates, the Persian Sage," the enterprise which the late Dr. Cureton designed for the crowning labour of his life, having fallen into his hands.²¹ The literary responsibility has devolved entirely on Dr. Wright; but the pecuniary responsibility has been accepted by his old friend and schoolfellow, Mr. David Murray, the senior partner of the firm of D. and W. Murray of Adelaide, South Australia, who, with a munificence that ought to shame our plutocrats in England, and which should make Oxford blush for the refusal with which she met the proposal of our best Syriac scholar, offered to bear the entire cost of printing the work on condition of its being accompanied with an English translation, when he found that the time and labour expended on the task were about to be thrown away, Dr. Wright's private means not warranting him in incurring the expense. Of the work which we owe to the learning and industry of one of these two gentlemen, and to the noble liberality of the other, the volume in our hands contains only the Syriac text and the introductory preface. Having no knowledge of the language in which the twenty-two Homilies of Aphraates are written, we can do little more than draw attention to the work and the circumstances under which it appears. The only additional remark indeed that we can make is gleaned from Dr. Wright's introduction, and concerns our knowledge of the person and life of Aphraates. Aphraates flourished during the second quarter of the fourth century, being junior to Jacob of Nisibis, and senior to Ephraim Syrus. As shown by George, Bishop of the Arabs, he was a monk of a certain ecclesiastical rank. Dr. Wright is of opinion that he was a bishop, and as such had a seat at the Council of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, held A.D. 344, when, in consequence of his reputation for piety and learning, he was selected to draw up the Encyclical Letter of the Council. Aphraates speaks of his own times as times of impending persecution. His principal opponents appear to be Jews; he rarely alludes to older heresies, but in his third Homily he includes,

²¹ "The Homilies of Aphraates, the Persian Sage." Edited from Syriac Manuscripts of the fifth and sixth centuries, in the British Museum. With an English Translation. By W. Wright, Ph.D., LL.D., &c., &c. Vol. I. The Syriac text. Williams and Norgate. 1869.

it seems, among the children of darkness Marcion, Valentinus, and the Manichees.

A reprint of "Maunder's Treasury of History," which professes to be carefully revised and brought down to the present time, requires no special notice.²² The "Treasury" is a compact, closely-printed, double-columned volume, in which much information is stowed away; but we cannot say that we particularly admire the result. The history of several nations is told in very few pages. Sixty-eight dispose of the whole of the ancient and much of the modern world. England, Ireland, and Scotland occupy the space between p. 68 and p. 620, and France and all other European countries, as well as those of America, Asia, Polynesia, &c., are despatched in about three hundred more. The book begins with the Deluge and ends with Greenland. In it we read of the French monarchy under Charlemagne, of the Seven Kingdoms of the Saxons in Britain, of Thomas à Becket, of the mean minds of Cromwell and his friends, of Alfred's division of all England into counties, and of the origin of juries as an institution of Alfred's—expressions or views which do not seem to indicate any great acquaintance with "the present state of historical criticism." The subject is said to be brought down to the "present time;" but the present time must be understood to mean, in some cases at least, a time previous to the death of President Lincoln.

"The Annals of our Time"²³ seems a tolerably successful attempt by Mr. Joseph Irving to bring before the reader all the noteworthy occurrences which have taken place in, or had relation to, the Kingdom of Great Britain, from the accession of Queen Victoria to the opening of the present Parliament. Precision of date is substituted for vague chronological reference, and a copious index facilitates discovery in the body of the work.

A somewhat similar compilation, "The Handbook of the Year," by the late Mr. G. H. Townsend,²⁴ may be advantageously consulted as a register of facts, dates, and events, by persons who desire to refresh their memory as to the particular occurrences of 1868. The register includes topics of foreign as well as domestic interest, and is supplemented with Appendices containing diplomatic and State papers, acts of Parliament, official documents, &c., and statistical and other tables, which appear to be carefully drawn up. Among them will be found the recent Reform Acts for England and Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and lists of the members of the late as well as of the new House of Commons.

²² "The Treasury of History, comprising a general introductory outline of Universal History ancient and modern, and a series of separate Histories of every principal nation." By Samuel Maunder, Author of the "Treasury of Knowledge," &c. New edition, carefully revised and brought down to the present time. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1869.

²³ "The Annals of our Time: a Diurnal of Events," &c. By Joseph Irving. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

²⁴ "The Handbook of the Year 1868: a Register of Facts, Dates, and Events at Home and Abroad." By G. H. Townsend. Author of the "Manual of Dates," &c. London: Wyman and Sons. 1869.

BELLES LETTRES.

ORDINARY novelists may be roughly divided into two classes: those who know nothing, and those who know something and have repeatedly told it. Mr. Lever belongs to the last class. He, like Mr. Trollope, really does know a great deal, and can tell it very well. But, like Mr. Trollope, he has long ago shown his hand. We know all his cards. So it must be from the nature of novel-writing. Scott and Thackeray both showed signs of exhaustion in their later works. Shakspeare himself could not possibly go on producing novels without repeating some of his characters, and drawing upon his old stock of incidents. But if Mr. Lever repeats himself, he does it with such new graces that we willingly forgive the offence. He is, perhaps, the only living novelist of whom it may be said that he is never dull. He is, too, thoroughly artistic. He is no weaver of plots in the Wilkie Collins and Braddon style. His art is much higher. He can afford to dispense with plots by interesting us with his characters. In "That Boy of Norcotts"¹ there is in fact no plot at all. The story is held together by the slightest possible thread. Sir Roger Norcott marries a young woman much below him in station, and of course is very soon tired of her. Such love is generally soon worn out by enjoyment. The son—"that boy of Norcotts," as Sir Roger's friends commonly call him—after staying with his mother for a few years, eventually joins his father. Sir Roger is then living at the Villa Malibran, near Brussels. His friends Captain Hotham, M. Cleremont, and his fashionable and beautiful wife make up the household. Young Norcott's first tutor is a Mr. Eccles, his second Madame Cleremont. Reverses, or supposed reverses—for the narrative is not in this part very clear—befall his father. Young Norcott accepts a clerkship in a Jew business house. Here he falls in love with the Jew's only daughter. Sara Oppovich sends him on a mission of vast importance to the firm into Hungary. At the house of a great Hungarian noble he encounters Madame Cleremont, who is now his father's wife or mistress, as the law-courts may decide. His father is away on a hunting expedition, in which he receives a fatal wound. Madame Cleremont hurries away from the scene as fast as her immense wardrobe will allow. And the curtain falls upon the marriage of young Sir Roger and Sara Oppovich. Such is the bare outline of the story. The interest is entirely in the characters themselves—in Sir Roger, "who was never in high spirits except when he was hard up for money;" in M. Cleremont, whose maxim is "never do anything without three to one in your favour;" and in Madame Cleremont—the wicked woman of the story—"who is never thoroughly proud of herself except when she is all wrong," and who scatters about such epigrammatic sayings as "Circe always sings with a bronchitis in the North," and "the rich

¹ "That Boy of Norcotts." By Charles Lever. With Five Illustrations. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1869.

are as good as they like to be, the poor are as good as they are able." All these people are clearly individualized. Their characters are sharply defined. They act consistently, and play their parts naturally. It is true that they are not very high types of humanity. But Mr. Lever nowhere sets up to preach, simply to please. The conversations—and this perhaps is one of the best tests of a novelist's capacity—are, especially of the men, good. They talk as men of their stamp do talk. Here, for instance, is a specimen:—

"'Has Norcott promised you the presentation, Bob?' 'No, he can't make up his mind whether he'll give it to me or to a Plymouth brother, or to that fellow who was taken up at Salford for blasphemy, and who happens to be in full Orders.' 'With all his enmity to the Established Church, I think he might be satisfied with you,' said Cleremont. 'Very neat, and very polite, too,' said Eccles, 'but that this is the Palace of Truth, I might feel nettled.' 'Is it, by Jove,' cried Hotham, 'then it must be in the summer months, when the house is shut up.'"

The reader will find plenty more conversations of the same stamp in "That Boy of Norcotts." Most readers will, however, regret that the characters are so slightly sketched in, and that the author did not take more pains to finish them, and to render some of the improbabilities not quite so improbable.

The same remarks which we have made upon Mr. Lever's new novel, apply with equal force to Mr. Trollope's "*He Knew he was Right*."² As has been well said, novels are the most exhausting of literary crops. Mr. Trollope's work shows even more symptoms of exhaustion than Mr. Lever's. He never possessed a tithe of Mr. Lever's high spirits, humour, nor satire, and his falling off is therefore still more conspicuous. His admirers, and they probably consist of every young lady in England and the Colonies, chiefly praise him for his photographic power of reproducing the commonest events of common life. We do not think it very high art to reproduce the ordinary daily conversation of commonplace people at breakfast, dinner, or even when washing their hands or brushing their hair. There is, however, a demand for the sort of thing—realism as it is called—and Mr. Trollope can supply the market to any extent. We think in the present venture that he makes a mistake in boldly giving us the places where his characters live and have their being. The advantage which a fictitious county, and a fictitious county-town, give to a novel is pretty obvious. Each reader, rightly or wrongly, identifies the shire and town for himself. But when Mr. Trollope tells us that Miss Jemima Stanbury lived at Exeter, and is to be taken as a representative of a particular type of society in that cathedral city, those who know the place will at once discover how far short Mr. Trollope falls in his sketch. Nobody but Thackeray could have described Miss Stanbury. She was the sort of person—and we sketch her from life—who believed that Exeter was the *ὀμφαλὸς γῆς*, and that the late Lord Rolle was a statesman. Her literature was confined to the Bible, and Prince's Worthies of Devon.

² "*He Knew he was Right*." By Anthony Trollope. London: Strahan & Co. 1869.

When the Great Western reached Bristol, she thought the world was fast coming to an end, and, by way of stopping the mischief, invested in Exeter and Exmouth turnpike shares. Such is the kind of person whom Mr. Trollope intends to sketch. He gives up a whole chapter of some ten closely printed pages to a description of the lady. But for those who know the original type he never once makes her live. The same criticism, if it was worth the trouble, might be applied to several other characters in his present tale. They are all washed in with water-colours. So, too, with regard to the county. As long as Mr. Trollope confines himself to Bassetshire, or some shire of his own manufacturing, he does very well; but when he comes to describe the beauties of Devonshire and of Dartmoor, those who know the county at once see his weakness. But putting aside the characters and the county, the story, as a story, appears to us the weakest which Mr. Trollope has yet written. It is at times even repulsive, a fault into which the author seldom falls. Still Mr. Trollope possesses sufficient art to make the tale readable, and even in places enjoyable to his admirers.

"Oldbury"³ opens up the question of vicarious sacrifice. On the title-page stand the words of Carlyle, "Well did the wisest of our time write, 'It is only with renunciation that life, properly speaking, can be said to begin.'" If the author had confined herself to describing and developing the character of the penitent criminal who has brought woe and misery upon all around him, the tale would have been more artistic. In spite of the many happy descriptions and humorous scenes, the book is pervaded with a sense of gloom. The sketches of society in Oldbury are excellent. The pictures of child life are full of truth. Miss Berry is perfect. But such a dark cloud hangs over all that we are nearly tempted to shut the book before it is half read. Nor are we even reconciled by the happy conclusion. The writer has, we venture to think, made a thorough mistake. Let her take some happier theme, and draw some more characters like Steenie Pierrepont and Miss Berry, and success is certain.

"Mary Stanley"⁴ can only be properly criticised by those who know Russia. Whether the scenes which it sketches of Russian life are true or not, we have no means of judging. The author draws her characters, at all events, in a free and bold style. They all have a downright sort of manner. Politics, rebellions, literature, are all discussed with perfect freedom. The heroine is ready to settle anything. "I should recognise a line of Shakespeare's anywhere," she tells us. We can only say that such a person would be invaluable to settle the genuineness of the Perkins Folio. This much further we can say, that some of the descriptions are painted with great vigour, and that a certain life-like tone hangs over the story. It is, however, most inartistically told. The conclusion is painful in the extreme. We will hope,

³ "Oldbury." By Anne Keary. Author of "Janet's Home." London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

⁴ "Mary Stanley; or, the Secret One." Chapman & Hall. 1869.

for the credit of Russian civilization, that the concluding speech of Timouscha is not true.

Our Noble Selfes might be the title of "Arthur Clifford."⁵ When Thackeray came to describe Literary Snobs, he declared there were no such beings. When, however, we read a book like "Arthur Clifford," we feel that the literary man has never yet had justice done to him. Arthur Clifford's career will, we feel sure, put the literary man in his proper position in society. Purse-proud people, who are apt to look down on the literary man on account of his poverty, will now find out their mistake. Arthur Clifford makes something like five thousand pounds in four years, and he makes it too, with scarcely any knowledge and no experience. What he would have made with both knowledge and experience we cannot conceive. Probably not less than as many millions. The proud aristocrat, too, who, we regret to say, is too often inclined to call the literary man "a fellow out of the gutter," will now humbly confess his error. Arthur Clifford dines with dukes and bishops. After this we hope we shall hear no more vulgar stories about literary men frequenting taverns and other low places, and occasionally even running into debt. On the contrary, we expect next to hear of the literary man asking dukes and bishops to dine with him at his own magnificent mansion.

"Miss Langley's Will"⁶ we can strongly recommend to all young ladies. It is just the book to take to the seaside. The tone is good. Nor is the tale wanting in literary ability. The characters stand out clear and distinct. The humour is not strained. Some, too, of the descriptions of scenery are marked by a real feeling of poetry. The satire, too, is thoroughly good-natured. The author is nearly as happy as Thackeray in the English of her French characters. Thus she makes Baron d'Herbigny talk in the following characteristic style:—

"Ah, madame, have pity! If you have need of un homme d'affaires, comment m'exprimer? un laquais même, attach me for always à votre service. . . . I have travel very much. I have seen toutes les merveilles de l'Europe, not one, but two times; et vraiment, I have found nothing of new. You do all the days what you do before. The sun rise, and you mount into your carriage, and you come to your town. You see all—the churches, the pictures, and you dine, and you sleep, et voilà tout! That is what it is to travel,' laying a long emphasis on the final word, and uplifting both hands so as to display the palms."—(Vol. i. p. 269.)

The last touch of the uplifted hands, with the palms turned out, is particularly happy.

Of the remaining novels on our list we must speak briefly. Mrs. C. Jenkin's "Within an Ace"⁷ may also, like "Miss Langley's Will," be recommended to young ladies. It is, however, inferior to that

⁵ "Arthur Clifford." By the Author of "Basil St. John." Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1869.

⁶ "Miss Langley's Will." A Tale. Rivingtons: London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1869.

⁷ "Within an Ace." By Mrs. C. Jenkin. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

novel in artistic merit. Still the story will serve to pass away an idle afternoon.

"Colston"⁸ is a far better novel than it at first sight appears to be. The author has sacrificed the story to his fondness for discussing social and political problems. Those, however, who are interested in the great questions of the day will find not a little sound sense in "Colston." We think the author would be more likely to achieve success by a volume of essays than by any novel which he is likely to write.

Scotland has never, with one great exception, been famous either for readers or producers of novels. "Robin Gray"⁹ will, we hardly think, turn the tide of opinion in Scotland in favour of novels. The tale, however, possesses decided merits of its own. The Scotch is really good Scotch, such as the people speak, and Scott and Burns wrote. The sea pieces are painted in with vigour. The bits of natural scenery are well described. Here and there, however, the author, in our opinion, somewhat oversteps the modesty of nature. It is a mistake, we think, to describe December or January by such a phrase as "the golden autumn faded under the silver snows of winter." Such epithets smack a little too much of the jeweller's shop for our taste. Nor can we quite approve of the following:—"She heard the long swishing sound of the sea as the waves tossed on the beach." We once heard an old woman speak of the "fizzing" of the waves, as if they were soda-water, but the metaphor is not in either case to be recommended. A great many minor faults might easily be picked out. The author is, for instance, too fond of manufacturing such epithets as "tense-strung" (vol. iii. p. 39), and the like. Still, with all its defects, "Robin Gray" is a novel very much above the average. Some of the characters, more especially the seafaring people, are particularly well done. The author has, however, a great deal to learn in the shape of construction. But this knowledge can only be gained by experience.

If the novels are not of the highest standard this quarter, we have at least one volume of tales of sterling value.¹⁰ *Peasant Life* is exceedingly difficult to describe, still more difficult to make interesting. The common sketches are generally speaking purely imaginary. The peasant of the ordinary novelist about as much resembles an English labourer as an Athenian of the time of Pericles. George Eliot was the first to depart from the stagy, conventional being in a red waistcoat, who was supposed to represent the English peasant. George Eliot was the first, too, to describe agricultural occupations with the accuracy of Arthur Young and the poetry of Theocritus. And agricultural occupations, we may add, are excessively difficult to describe with any degree of success. We should like to see the ordinary novelist describe such a scene as has been going on throughout

⁸ "Colston." A Novel. By the Author of "Skating on Thin Ice." London: T. C. Newby. 1869.

⁹ "Robin Gray." A Novel. By Charles Gibbon. London: Blackie & Son. 1869.

¹⁰ "Peasant Life. Being Sketches of the Villagers and Field Labourers in Glenaldie." Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas. 1869.

the length and breadth of England during the past month—turnip sowing. A practical knowledge is almost required to describe “scrawling,” “ridging,” and “splitting,” upon the “clays” and “sands,” so as to insure accuracy. But George Eliot and the author of “Peasant Life in the North” not only contrive to describe accurately the commonest operations of farm life, but to throw a halo of poetry round them. And in each case this is the least of many gifts. The author of “Peasant Life in the North” has much in common with George Eliot. He is, however, no imitator. But they both occupy the same common ground. Here, for instance, is an apology which George Eliot has more than once put forward in justification for her scenes and characters:—

“‘You object to my sketches, that they are mostly sad. It may well be so. ‘Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?’ What has a life of labour and poverty to show, but chiefly misery and its sores? I cannot paint for you elegance of deportment, refinement of mind and manner, and happy fortunes, from out the clay-built bothies in which my subjects live and move and have their being. You may turn your eyes away from the realities of life, and let fancy drape the world with beauty and goodness, but will that make the mass of life better or less sad? If the evil things of life are to be remedied, they must be looked in the face; and evil things there are, so many and so difficult of remedy, that the wisest investigator may well think it best to desist and turn away.’”—p. 292.

Those, however, who do wish to remedy these evils, especially one, upon which more than one story in the volume turns, should study the author's introduction. It is written with a thorough knowledge of the subjects. If we want to improve the labourer's condition both in England and Scotland, we must begin with the house in which he dwells. It is his surroundings, the social circumstances, the limited accommodation, large families in small rooms, which contribute to swell the lists of the Registrar-General with illegitimate children. Upon other points, too, especially the religious training of the Scotch peasant, and the bothie system, the writer's remarks in his introduction are very valuable. They are pervaded by that rarest of qualities, common sense. The sketches themselves are marked by the same characteristic. Here is a passage which might have been written by Mandeville, and appeared in “Free Thoughts on Religion.”

“It has been written—I do think it is of modern invention—that love is selfless, begot of heavenly impulse, and, of course, as heaven-born, so also eternal. This is gratifying to our self-complacency, as tending to dignify human sentiment and to excuse human caprice. But in truth, it is a silly conception of love, and has done much evil in the world. I conceive love to be a natural and naturally indiscriminating affection in man towards woman, and in woman towards man, mostly selfish and self-deceiving; too often an affection purely natural and carnal, and then always short-lived, when the strong arm of law does not perpetuate its obligations.”—p. 16.

But on the other hand the writer clearly sees and feels the gracious and spiritual effects of true love—love which has been tried and purged of all grossness—love which shows itself in such fruits as charity, patience, and forbearance. Had he not done so he could not

have written the pathetic and touching story of Muckle Jock. We must briefly say of these short tales that they are marked by qualities of a rare order,—powerful analysis of character, truthfulness of description, and tender pathos. It is a long time since we have met a volume full of so much promise. We can most cordially recommend "Peasant Life" to all our readers.

We are glad to see Miss Ingelow writing *Fairy Tales*¹¹ instead of novels. The former allow all her poetical qualities to shine forth, which would be wasted in a novel. For it must be confessed that most novels, excepting such great works as "Romola," or "Silas Marner," are, in our day, of the earth, earthy. In *Fairy Tales* such as Miss Ingelow writes, the imagination has free room to play. As in a dream, so too in a fairy tale, we are not shocked by improbabilities. Further, these *Fairy Tales* of Miss Ingelow's, as all fairy tales should be, are marked not only by true poetry, but by a real sense of humour. With what delicate touches Miss Ingelow paints, the following short extract describing Jack's departure from fairyland and the fairy's castle will show—

"Suddenly he perceived that reeds were growing up between him and the great doors: the grass, which had all day grown about the steps, was getting taller; it had long spear-like leaves, it pushed up long pipes of green stem, and they whistled. They were up to his ankles, they were presently up to his waist; soon they were as high as his head. He drew back that he might see over them; they sprang up faster as he retired, and again he went back. It seemed to him that the castle also receded; there was a long rank of these great reeds between it and him, and now they were growing behind also, and on all sides of him. He kept moving back and back; it was of no use, they sprang up and grew yet more tall, till very shortly the last glimpse of the fairy castle was hidden from his sorrowful eyes."—pp. 238, 239.

The description of the silent growth of the grass, and the silent springing up of the host of leaf-spears round the boy, first only just touching his ankles, then rising, as water slowly rises, till they reach his waist, and then at last growing over his head, shutting out the enchanted castle and all fairyland from his view, is a picture worthy of Tennyson. We could quote many more passages equally full of the same sort of subtle poetry. In conclusion we will merely say that we have not seen such genuine fairy-tales since Andersen's. They will, too, not merely interest children, but grown-up persons.

Mr. Graham has chosen an admirable title for his little book.¹² "It is about it, and about it," but never touches the heart of the matter. As Hamlet says of the book which he is reading, it is "words, words, words." Mr. Graham has, as far as we have observed, nothing particularly new to tell us. He goes over familiar ground in a rather commonplace manner, giving us such hackneyed illustrations as our old friend *πολοσφλοισβοιο* and *Quadrupedante putrem, &c. &c.* Indeed the book looks as if it was compiled of a series of short articles which had

¹¹ "Mopsa, the Fairy." By Jean Ingelow. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1899.

¹² "A Book about Words." By G. F. Graham. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1899.

appeared in some journal or magazine, and which doubtless would be very useful in such a place, but which have no particular claim to be bound up in the permanent shape of a volume. Mr. Graham never thoroughly exhausts any single subject. Thus there are chapters on the Origin of Words, Old and New Words, Degeneracy of Words, and Slang Words. Now to treat any one of these subjects as they should be treated would require a goodly-sized volume. Mr. Graham perhaps would reply that he does not attempt anything very great, and simply aims to be popular. But he does not seem to possess the sort of knowledge which is required for popularity. He tries to be mildly facetious. Thus he tells us the story of George III.'s "Obleege me, Mr. Kemble, with a pinch of your snuff," but forgets to defend the royal pronunciation with Pope's lines—

"Dreading e'en fools, by flatterers besieged,
And so obliging, that he ne'er obliged."

So too again, he gives a number of instances of long words, but forgets the longest of all in Aristophanes, which is so long that we have not space to give it. So too, when he quotes the French republican names of the months, "Brumaire," "Frimaire," &c., he forgets to give the happy parody—"Freezy," "Breezy," "Wheezy," "Sleezy." Every page suggests omissions. Nor does Mr. Graham's knowledge of such popular subjects as Slang and Provincialisms appear to be very deep. When he has widened his studies a little more he will find that the word "rare" (Old-English *hrére*, raw,) under the form of "rere," is used in nearly every English county, and may be found in the Glossaries of Atkinson, Akerman, Moor, Forby, Brogden, and others; and that "low," to burn (p. 13) is still retained in another word beside "whitlow," namely "lillilow," a not uncommon Midland and North Country word for a flame or blaze. Notwithstanding all these shortcomings, we would recommend Mr. Graham's little book to village libraries and Mechanics' Institutes. If it does not come up to our standard, it still contains at least some information of which the majority of people are shamefully ignorant.

Mr. Dircks' *Nature-Study*¹³ is an excellent *Gradus ad Parnassum*. Mr. Dircks is evidently fond of his subject, and has taken great pains. He has read a large number of books, and has collected a great mass of material. His industry is most praiseworthy, and his taste correct. One or two shortcomings, however, may be noticed. Mr. Dircks' knowledge of Lucretius is apparently only through the medium of Creech's translation. There is something almost unjust in Mr. Dircks' brief notice of the greatest Roman poet. We should advise Mr. Dircks to at once fling away his Creech and study Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Republic*. In Sellar's pages he will learn to reverence that poet who, next to Shakespeare, has described the sea, and morn-

¹³ "Nature-Study; or, the Art of Attaining those Excellences in Poetry and Eloquence, which are mainly dependent on the Manifold Influences of Universal Nature." By Henry Dircks, C.F., LL.D., F.R.S.E., M.R.S.L. London: F. Moxon, Son, and Co. 1869.

ing, and clouds with the most loving touches. It is but right to say that Mr. Dircks is thoroughly at home with our own poets. Mr. Dircks, however, must remember that poets are not always to be trusted. Thus Mr. Dircks quotes with approval the following lines:—

"Now snowdrops cold, and blue-eyed harebells blend
Their tender tears, as o'er the stream they bend."

Now this union of tears never could take place, as the snowdrop blooms in the beginning of spring, and the harebell (*Campanula rotundifolia*) not till the end of summer.

"Have you heard of Niebuhr's discoveries?" once asked Sydney Smith. "All Roman History reversed; Tarquin turning out an excellent family man, and Lucretia a very doubtful character, whom Lady Davy would not have visited?" Something of this kind has happened with Defoe.¹⁴ It was but the other day that the author of "Robinson Crusoe" was made an especial hero with the muscular Christians. If we rightly remember, one of the leaders of the party sang his praises in a preface. Now, however, the idol is most ruthlessly dashed to the ground. Defoe is proved to have been a government spy of the worst kind. His only rule during this portion of his life seems to have been that he had two hands—"one to write for, and the other against." But the most extraordinary thing is that the editor should deal so leniently with Defoe's crimes. For ourselves we can see no palliation for the part which Defoe played, and the treachery which he showed towards those around him. It is painful to read such evidence. We think Mr. Lee is far happier in criticising Defoe's writings than in glossing over his delinquencies. Mr. Lee possesses a thoroughly critical spirit. His judgment from a literary point of view is admirable. No more faith for the future can be put in Lowndes's or Hazlitt's lists of Defoe's works. From the former list Mr. Lee rejects more than sixty, whilst from the latter he rejects twelve, and retains seven which Mr. Hazlitt had considered spurious. Nothing but a labour of love could have carried Mr. Lee through his laborious researches. We will merely say that in consequence of these discoveries a fresh estimate must be made of both Defoe's character and writings. It will be some time before this can be properly accomplished. In the meanwhile, whatever criticisms may be passed upon Mr. Lee's idolatry for his hero, there can be but one opinion as to his industry in compiling facts by which every one is put in a position to form a judgment. The book is in short a model of a monograph. We have facsimiles of title-pages of first and second editions, drawings of the houses where Defoe lived, and in short of everything which can interest the thorough-going Defoe admirer.

Our quarterly gaol delivery of minor poets is larger than usual. First upon the list stands Mr. Hellon's *Lord Harrie and Leila*.¹⁵ Lord

¹⁴ "Daniel Defoe: his life and recently discovered Writings. Extending from 1716 to 1729." By William Lee. London: John Camden Hotten. 1869.

¹⁵ "Lord Harrie and Leila: or, a Romance of the Isle of Wight, and other Poems." By Henry George Hellon. London: Provost and Co. 1869.

Harrie is a kind of Brummagem Byron. To borrow a phrase from Junius, the hero possesses all Byron's melancholy madness without any of his poetry. The poem, however, is not without some traits of originality. The hero, it appears, is partial to the song of the cuckoo, and the author proceeds to moralize in the following artless manner upon the bird:—

“ Ah, who! ah, who!

When sad feels not thy sympathy, coo! coo!”—p. 12.

We know not which most to admire, the sentiment, or the rhyme which converts a cuckoo into a wood-pigeon.

Mrs. Potts¹⁶ unites the part of the poet with that of the historian. We deeply regret, however, that in her latter character she has not favoured us with her authorities. We feel naturally somewhat dissatisfied when we meet such a bold statement in the preface as “This place was called King's Teignton because anciently British Kings dwelt there; hence it was called by the Romans “Teignton Regis.” We feel, too, somewhat startled when we read in a note, “The retreating tide left Brutus stranded where the Seymour's Arms now stands.” Possibly Mrs. Potts is in both instances quite correct, but we should have liked to have seen some authorities. Nor do we feel at all reassured of Mrs. Potts's qualifications to deal with such matters, when she further informs us that the “Dart is so called because of its impetuosity.” We should advise Mrs. Potts to ~~to~~ once begin a study of Ferguson's *River Names*. We will merely add that Mrs. Potts's poetry is as weak as her philology.

Mr. Griffiths' short poems¹⁷ is a little volume published in the hope of assisting the Funds of the “Free and Open” Church of St. Nicholas, Birmingham. We think Mr. Griffiths has hardly chosen the best plan for collecting subscriptions. Young ladies with their collecting cards and other machinery of the same kind would, in these prosaic days, be of more service to him than the Muses. The poems, especially some of the sonnets, show signs of cultivation and thought, but, we imagine, will not find any larger public than the author's own circle of friends.

Mr. Bennett's songs have long ago become popular, more especially with mothers. He has now, however, deserted his old field, in which he won so many laurels, and tried a new and more ambitious flight.¹⁸ We cannot congratulate him on his attempt to teach history by ballads. Nor does there appear to be the least necessity for such a work. One of the best signs of the day is seen in the increase of standard works on history which are taken out by the general public

¹⁶ “Bardrick, the King of the Teign: a Lay of South Devon. In Ten Cantos.” By F. Potts. London: Provost and Co. 1869.

¹⁷ “Short Poems of Sacred Travel: Miscellaneous and ‘In Memoriam.’” By William Griffiths, M.A., Vicar (Designate) of St. Nicholas, Birmingham, London: Provost and Co. 1869.

¹⁸ “Proposals for, and Contributions to a Ballad History of England, and the States sprung from her.” By W. C. Bennett. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1869.

from the various public libraries. Nor can history, according to our notions, be properly taught by novels and ballads. Mr. Bennett refers in terms of praise to Professor Kingsley. The Cambridge Professor of History certainly possesses "that free play of the imagination" for which Mr. Bennett is so warm an advocate. No scholar, however, as far as we know, has yet accepted Professor Kingsley's version of Hereward. But the fatal defect of this method of teaching history may be best exemplified out of Mr. Bennett's own book. Here are some lines which occur in a piece called *Marston Moor* :—

"And Cromwell his servant spoke the word :
 Praise we the Lord !
 'On ! smite for the Lord ! spare not !' we heard,
 Praise we the Lord !
 Hotly our spirits within us stirred,
 Reins were loosened, and flanks were spurred,
 And the heathen went down before God and his word.
 To his name alone be the glory."—p. 75.

Now here is plenty of "that free play of the imagination" for which Mr. Bennett and picturesque writers in general so yearn. We must, however, object to calling the Cavaliers "heathen" in Mr. Bennett's slap-dash style. A few years ago some ballads were published in which the Cavaliers were credited with all the virtues and the Puritans with all the vices. The history of our English Revolution has yet to be written. Of one thing, however, we may rest assured, that it will not be written in either of these two styles, but by some one who will take the pains to investigate into the complex motives which influenced both Puritan and Cavalier. The value of the ballad in its due place in history, no one we suppose will deny, but we certainly do not think it is suited to the requirements of the present day, when so many better methods of teaching history are available.

"*Sibyl of Cornwall*"¹⁹ belongs to that large class of poetry in which if there is nothing particular to condemn, there is nothing particular to admire. The tone is good, and the sentiments unexceptionable. There is a love for nature, and a feeling of true liberalism. But all these amiable qualities will not make poetry. The author, like many more, mistakes the wish to write for the ability.

The same general criticism might be passed on Mr. Tilston's poems.²⁰ In all such works we perceive a great deal of enthusiasm, no little refinement, and a true love for both nature and art. But most men of any ability and cultivation possess the same feelings. They however in time wisely perceive the enormous difference that there is between their own powers and those of a great poet. They are wise enough, too, to perceive that the world only accepts great poets, and resign themselves to their lot. It is impossible to read Mr. Tilston's

¹⁹ "*Sibyl of Cornwall, a Poetical Tale. The Land's End, St. Michael's Mount, and other Poems.*" By Nicholas Michell. London : Chapman and Hall. 1869.

²⁰ "*Dramatic, Narrative, and other Poems.*" By Thomas Tilston. London : Provost and Co. 1869.

lines upon "Spring" without seeing that he too, like Wordsworth, has felt its "mighty ravishment;" but when we compare Mr. Tilston's utterance with any of Wordsworth's poems on the same or kindred subjects, we then perceive the enormous difference that there is between their powers. Pope considered it one of his chief excellences that he practised "the art to blot." We think it might be exercised with advantage on a still larger scale than even Pope's.

"Dione"²¹ is another little volume of precisely the same stamp and the same merits as the two former. The only persons who can be gainers by such works are the paper-makers and compositors. When we have read one of them we have read all. Here, for instance, is a piece called the "First Primrose," which possesses exactly the same characteristics as Mr. Tilston's lines to Spring. In both cases we respect rather than admire the author.

"Love's Triumph"²² is a regular five-act play. The author has sat at the feet of our Elizabethan dramatists, and in one or two places has caught not merely their idioms and phrases, but has become imbued with something of their high manner and spirit. We are afraid, however, that even if the play possessed far greater merits, it would not find a public. No one, except some student, now reads Beaumont and Fletcher, Lilly or Heywood. The novel has long since supplanted the drama. In the former we think the author of "Love's Triumph" might possibly succeed. He possesses at all events fluency of language, and no little dramatic power.

"The Rose and the Shamrock"²³ deals with politics. Its aim appears to be a description of the wrongs of Ireland. The condition of that unhappy island is certainly not to be remedied by poetry. We should advise not only the author, but all those who are interested in the state of Ireland, to strengthen the hands of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party, who are endeavouring in a practical manner to remedy some of the injustice which has been perpetuated through so many ages. Numbers, however exquisite, and rhymes however correct, whatever they might have done in the age of Romance, will not avail much in the days of Representative Government.

The quality of "The Golden Fleece"²⁴ may best be judged by an extract:—

"Now there was one anomaly on the walk,
Red as a beet and speckled as a hen;
Her eyes (it was a woman) seemed to hawk
Continually upon the trail of men;
Her step the bastard of a player's stalk;
Her temper colleged in a leopard's den;
Her speech a crazy dialect of the Devil,
Containing every phrase except 'be civil.'"

We have never read the divina poemata Grubbi, but we should imagine that they were something like the foregoing.

²¹ "Dione; and other Poems." London: Provost and Co. 1869.

²² "Love's Triumph." A Play. B. M. Pickering. London. 1869.

²³ "The Rose and the Shamrock." London: E. Truelove. 1869.

²⁴ "The Golden Fleece." A Heroic-comic Poem. By Il Errante. London: E. Truelove. 1869.

Mr. Chapman's poems²⁵ are not of a very high order. We can only afford room for one striking line:—

“And knock, knock, knock, and death is at the door.”

Boys at school, before they begin to write real hexameters and pentameters, practise what are called nonsense verses. Mr. Chapman appears to be at this particular stage. If he will practise with two or three more volumes of nonsense verses, he may then perhaps proceed to publish some which are intended to have a meaning.

Musa Merlini satis est! From the original pieces we will turn to the translations. Mr. Buckley²⁶ attempted a difficult task when he undertook the tenth satire of Juvenal. It is, perhaps, the finest of all his satires, the weightiest, the sternest, and most deeply impressed, not merely by a sense of the bitterness but also of the deep responsibility of human life. There are passages which, for strength and indignation, mixed with deep pathos, can hardly be matched out of any other writer. Mr. Buckley writes under a great disadvantage. He has been preceded by both Gifford and Johnson. Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes* is, perhaps, the most successful paraphrase ever written. Though Johnson's version cannot be said in any way to rival this great satire, yet there is enough originality to give it an independent place in literature. Now both Gifford and Johnson were, to use the phrase, born satirists. In Mr. Buckley we discover but few traces of original satire. He evidently thoroughly enjoys his author, but fails to convey his indignation and his contempt. Mr. Buckley has, too, in our opinion, chosen the worst form for presenting Juvenal to the English reader. Blank verse cannot possibly give the condensation of thought and those blows “which strike once and strike no more.” All English satirists have without an exception chosen the English iambic for their purpose. The very rhythm gives a sledge-hammer force, whilst the rhyme serves to clench the satiric sense. All this power Mr. Buckley has thrown away. But as far as blank verse will allow, his version is wonderfully successful. It is almost in places a literal translation. The other translations in the volume are distinguished by the same characteristics of fidelity and gracefulness. Those which we may especially praise are the *Dirge of Adonis* and the *Land of the Lotus Eaters*. Such subjects suit Mr. Buckley's blank verse far better than Juvenal. Lastly, we must notice his version of the *Serenade to the Nightingale in the Birds of Aristophanes*. So few English readers know anything of the deep poetical powers of Aristophanes, that we are glad to see Mr. Buckley selecting this exquisite little passage. It might for its grace and delicacy have been written by Ben Jonson.

We cannot see what is the necessity for publishing any more translations of the “*Odes of Horace*.” Mr. Yardley,²⁷ however, seems to

²⁵ “*The Vision of Socrates; and other Poems.*” By Charles Wood Chapman. London: Provost and Co. 1869.

²⁶ “*Metrical Translations and Lyrics.*” By Robert William Buckley, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1869.

²⁷ “*The Four Books of Horace's Odes, translated into English Verse.*” By Edward Yardley. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

think that there is, and he has accordingly given us a version, which appears to be much of the average kind. We do not think it is likely to displace any of the old favourites. We wish that ordinary translators would try some less known fields. It is impossible to read them without being reminded of other versions which are far superior. Perhaps if Mr. Yardley would take the hint given by Mr. Buckley, and translate some of the less known, though still very beautiful passages from some of the Greek poets, he would be doing good service to English readers.

Mr. Cosens²⁸ has placed, not however for the first time, all Shaksperian students under great obligations. Although Shakspeare is commonly supposed to be so popular, yet publishers are very reluctant, in England at least, to undertake any Shaksperian book. Mr. Cosens, like others, has apparently found this to be the case. With quite needless modesty he thus writes in his Introduction: "It is to be regretted that the work has not been undertaken by other than an amateur hand, being worthy a better fate, but unfortunately the fact remains that it could never prove commercially profitable to a competent translator or publisher." Mr. Cosens has therefore most liberally printed one hundred and fifty copies for private distribution. Mr. Cosens' name is alone a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy and grace of the translation. Two years ago he translated Don Juan Manuel's "Moorish Marriage," which has some points in common with Shakspeare's "Taming of the Shrew," but of which unfortunately only ten copies were printed. The present translation is therefore a far greater boon. Mr. Cosens was led to undertake the version from seeing a copy of the 1770 translation in Mr. Halliwell's library. The alterations were so great, and the renderings so inaccurate, that he determined to do justice to the original. The great value of the present translation is, as Mr. Cosens observes, that all Shaksperian students may be able to judge for themselves "how the two great contemporary dramatists treated the same story for the stage." This of course each reader must decide for himself. It would take us far too much space to point out in what Shakspeare's superiority consists. No comparison, however, would be perfect which did not take into account Luigi di Porto's Juliette. Here there is one scene, where Julia rises from the grave, which, as Sir Egerton Brydges pointed out, is superior in dramatic situation, and for intensity of pathos, to any scene in Shakspeare's play.

Herr Goldschmidt²⁹ has compiled an excellent little volume of English translations of some of the best German poetry. By his method of arranging the text opposite to the English version, the volume will serve as a most useful educational work in schools. The compiler has selected only the very best versions which he could find. Of course

²⁸ "Castelvines y Montreses. Tragi-Comedia." By Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio. Translated by F. W. Cosens. London: Printed at the Chiswick Press. (For Private Distribution). 1869.

²⁹ "German Poetry; with the English Versions of the best Translators." Edited by H. E. Goldschmidt. London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

we meet with a great many old friends, but also some new ones. Amongst the contributors we notice Mr. Garnett, whose version of some epigrams from the Greek Anthology we not long since called attention to for their neatness and gracefulness. His versions in the present volume preserve the same characteristics. We can most strongly recommend the work as bringing together in a small space some of the best versions of the best German poetry.

Mr. Sandars³⁰ brings forth his translation of the poems of Uhland at a most unfavourable moment. By turning to Herr Goldschmidt's volume we are enabled to see at a glance some of the best translations of Uhland by Skeat, Bryant, Aytoun, and Longfellow. Few versions probably could stand the severe test of comparison with these. It is no disparagement to say that Mr. Sandars's will not. Mr. Sandars is, however, by no means deficient in power. He leaves somehow the impression that he has often performed his task in raw haste. His work is often inartistic, not for want of feeling, but for want of finish. He sacrifices the general effect by some expression, for which a little more labour would have substituted something far better. Still with all its drawbacks, Mr. Sandars's book may be recommended as reproducing some echo of Uhland's simple yet ever-fresh poetry.

The study of Shakspeare flourishes better in Germany than in England. We lately called attention to Dr. Benno Tschischwitz's "*Shakspeare-Forschungen*." The same high praise which we gave to that volume we must also accord to the first number of his edition of the poet's works.³¹ The only edition with which we can compare it, for accuracy and fulness of annotation, is that by Delius. In each case the English text is given, whilst the notes are written in German. We cannot, however, here institute a comparison between the two. We must confine ourselves to a few remarks on Dr. Tschischwitz's "*Hamlet*." The Critical Introduction is excellent. Each page is marked by laborious research, which can only have been the result of many years' study. Nor is it put together in the crude shape to which we have become accustomed in Shakespeare commentaries. The notes, too, as we have said, are equally full of information, and precisely that kind of information which a student requires. If we find any fault, it is in no spirit of carping. Dr. Benno Tschischwitz has undertaken a task, the labour of which can only be properly estimated by supposing some Englishman to undertake a critical and philological commentary on Luther's works without the assistance of Dietz's *Wörterbuch zu Luther's Schriften*. For, to the disgrace of our literature, we do not possess any Shakspeare dictionary. Nares's Glossary, even with Wright's and Halliwell's corrections and additions, is a very poor affair, whilst the late Mr. Swynfen Jervis's *Dictionary of the Language of Shakspeare* is only a piece of useless lumber. Mr. Dyce's Glossary,

³⁰ "*The Poems of Uhland*," translated into English verse, with a short Biographical Memoir of the Poet, by William Collett Sandars. London. 1869.

³¹ "*Shakspeare's Sämmtliche Werke*, Englischer Text. Berichtigt und erklärt von Benno Tschischwitz. I. *Hamlet*, Prince of Denmark. Halle: G. E. Barthel. 1869.

which we noticed on its appearance, to some extent, however, supplies the want. And it is to Mr. Dyce's Glossary that Dr. Tschischwitz is most indebted. But it does not do to depend upon even it too much. Thus, for instance, let us take Rosencrantz's speech—

"We coted them (the players) on the way, and hither are they coming to offer you service."—Act ii. sc. 2.

Dr. Tschischwitz on the word "cote" quotes both Dyce's and Nares's Glossaries, but neither fully explains the true meaning of the word. It is not only a technical sporting term, as Nares says, but is used to this very day in coursing. Its true signification will be best apprehended by the following passage:—

"That dog which giveth the first turn, if after that turn be given, there be neither coate, slip, nor wrench extraordinary, then he which giveth the first turn shall be held to winne the wager."—Gervase Markham's "Country Contentment," p. 54. (1633.)

The word is used again in the same page, and in the next, by Markham. It occurs, too, in many of the old books on sporting, such as the "Gentleman's Recreation" [1706], where it may be found three times on one page. We are therefore surprised that, instead of trusting to Dyce and Nares, Dr. Tschischwitz has not collected by his own industry a few examples of the technical meaning of "cote." Had we space we might give other instances where we think Dr. Tschischwitz would have done better to have relied on his own labours than upon those of others, as in the case of "true-penny" (act i. sc. 5). We will merely add that Collier's explanation, quoted from Dyce, that the word is a mining term, is simply misleading. Again, we think that some of Dr. Tschischwitz's own explanations are not quite accurate. Thus he informs us that the "crow-flower" (act iv. sc. 1), is the *Lychnis flos-cuculi*. We on the other hand hold it to be *Ranunculus bulbosus*, in which view we are glad to find we are supported by so good a botanist as Mr. Beisly in his "Shakspeare's Garden" (p. 159), a little book in which, if Dr. Tschischwitz does not already know its contents, he will find much valuable information upon the plants and flowers mentioned by Shakspeare. In making these criticisms we in no way wish to detract from the great merits of Dr. Tschischwitz's edition of "Hamlet." They will be recognised by Shakspearean students all over the world. We wish we had space to notice some of the readings which Dr. Tschischwitz has introduced into the text. We suppose, however, that there is some typographical error in the arrangement of Ophelia's speech (act iv. sc. 5), commencing "There's fennel for you" (p. 152). The repetition of "fennel," instead of "some," is surely what Heminge and Condell would have called "a printer's scape."

"Parasine" ²³ is a new word, which may be looked for in vain in Michel, Lorédan Larchey, and "Le Dictionnaire de la Langue Verte." M. Nestor Roqueplan informs us that the word is strictly formed—

²³ "Parasine." Par Nestor Roqueplan. Paris: J. Hetzel et Cie. 1869.

upon the same principles as Strychnine, Quinine, &c. Those who wish to know something about the social state of Paris, from a particular point of view, may study its pages.

Amongst miscellaneous books we must call attention to Mr. Pinder's "Selections from the less known Latin Poets,"³³ Such a book has been for a long time a great want. The *Corpus Poetarum* is useful enough for reference, but too unwieldy for reading. Mr. Pinder's selections contain all that is required. His notes, it is superfluous to say, are excellent. Amongst new editions we must not forget Professor Ward's "Pope."³⁴ The notes are to the point.

ART.

M. LACROIX, curator of the Bibliothèque Impériale de l' Arsenal, issues in a sumptuous single volume¹ a great part of the matter referring to the arts contained in his previous well-known work called "Le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance," which consisted, to use his own words, of "not less than five enormous quarto volumes." M. Lacroix has, in his present work, had the collaboration of some distinguished writers, such as MM. Ernest Breton, Champollion, Champollion-Figeac, Alfred Michiels, Prosper Mérimée, Jacquemart, Labarte, and others. The result is a richly-illustrated treatise on the decorative and household arts, from the early middle age down to about the seventeenth century—a book nearly faultless in its externals, and the matter of which is popular and readable, but scarcely so profound as might have been expected. There is certainly something too much of *jactance* in the preface wherein the writer eulogizes his own work; in the words in which he eulogizes that of his illustrator M. Kellerhoven, there is something almost of fatuity. M. Kellerhoven, he writes, has made of chromo-lithography an art of the first order, such as to grapple with the finest works of our greatest painters. M. Kellerhoven has indeed proved himself here, as in other works, a skilled and delicate chromographer, but to call any form of chromography yet invented an art of the first order is to lose sight of the relations of things. Separate chapters are in this book devoted to civil and ecclesiastical furniture, tapestry, pottery, armoury, saddlery and coach-building, jewellery, clockmaking, musical-instrument making, playing-cards, glass-painting, fresco-painting, painting on wood and canvas, engraving, sculpture, architecture, papermaking, the writing

³³ "Selections from the less known Latin Poets." By North Pinder, M.A. Oxford: "The Clarendon Press." 1869.

³⁴ "The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope." Edited, with Notes and Introductory Memoir, by Adolphus William Ward, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

¹ "Les Arts au moyen âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance." Par Paul Lacroix. Paris: Firmin Didot. 1869.

and illumination of MS., binding,* and printing. There are two ways in which such matters may be treated so as in the deeper sense to instruct and interest; either the critical way, by rendering a vivid account of the animating inner spirit of the arts discussed; or the technical way, by furnishing clear information concerning the processes of those arts in their origin and development. Neither of these ways has here been adopted. If the reader wishes to feel about him the visible enchantment and quaint beauty and colour of that feudal and burgher life which has passed away, he must bring his imagination with him. On the other hand, if he wishes to learn the craft secrets and manners of the handiwork of these foregone artificers, he must seek elsewhere for his instruction. We have instead, what is so much easier, a light description, pointed by illustrations, of those parts of the subject which appeal to the surface curiosity of everybody. This description is executed in various sections with various degrees of merit. Some sections, notably that on ceramics, have been better handled in M. Burty's recently published "*Masterpieces of the Industrial Arts*." The least satisfactory portions of the present book both as to matter and illustration are those which treat of the widest subjects, such as architecture and painting; the most satisfactory those that treat of narrower specialities, such as the fashion of playing-cards, clocks, and coaches. The chapter on musical instruments is especially complete. Henceforth we shall know when we see them the theorbo, the dulcimer, and the virginals, the shawm, sackbut, psaltery, and all manner of music. We ought not to part with M. Lacroix without pointing out one or two curious historical laxities of which he is guilty. For one, the date of Lucca della Robbia's death is summarily fixed at 1430. For another, the writer speaks somewhere of the Lombard successors of Theodoric, which is like speaking of the Norman successors of Knut. We do not suppose that he really means that Alboin was of the race of the Amali or in any other way heir to the Ostrogothic dominions in Italy; but the expression is loose. Less excusable in a Frenchman is the mention of Diane de Poitiers as mistress of Francis I. We all know that Diane de Poitiers was mistress of Henri II. Those of us who study French history know that there is no more disputed point in the scandalous chronicles of that country than whether she did or did not, for the sake of her father's life, once sacrifice her honour to Francis I. It is scarcely fair that a single, and that a problematical, offence with the father should count for more than thirty years of public concubinage with the son.

M. Henri Taine dedicates to the distinguished author of "*Salamambo*" and *Madame Bovary* the latest volume² of his lectures officially delivered at the *École des Beaux Arts*. The subject of the present course is the Philosophy—so its author calls it—the Philosophy of Art in the Low Countries. With the utmost respect for M. Taine's talents and knowledge, and the warmest gratitude for one at least of his æsthetic treatises, that called "*De l'idéal dans l'Art*," we do not think that what he here

* "*Philosophie de l'Art dans les Pays Bas*." Par H. Taine. Paris: Germer-Baillière. 1869.

gives us can properly be called^a a philosophy or even a philosophical history of the subject in hand. A few years ago, M. Emile Deschanel published a little book called "*Physiologie des Artistes et Ecrivains: Essai de Critique Naturelle*," in which he formally insisted on the importance of physiological considerations in criticism, on the necessity, in estimating the work of any writer or artist, of taking into account the physical conditions of race, soil, and climate into which he was born, his hereditary antecedents, his bodily constitution, and the like. This treatise, with the critical methods which it recommended, became famous both by reason of intrinsic value and of the approval with which they were stamped in a memorable little *causerie* of the veteran Ste. Beuve. The plan thus recommended for the criticism of individuals M. Taine has always applied to the criticism of nations. Here, more than ever, he adopts what we may call the physiological method. The method, as it seems to us, is one of which the soundness, could it be completely carried out, would be beyond all discussion; but it is also one that offers many temptations to haste and many occasions of fallacy. The proposition which is the keystone to M. Taine's philosophy—that the art of a country is what the climatic, physical, ethnical, and social conditions of the country make it—is at bottom a sound one: but in order to conclude safely from the conditions to the result it is necessary to be sure of having really a complete grasp of those conditions in their nature and bearings; and this is a problem of the direst complexity. On the other hand, in order to conclude speciously from one to the other, it is only necessary to catch at the obvious analogies which exist between them, to make rapid inferences from some single phenomenon in the conditions to some similar phenomenon in the result. And this has the double advantage of being easy and looking brilliant. Brilliant M. Taine always is: but his fireworks, if we may so speak, are sometimes cheap. His rapid and spirited style carries us over many gaps of reasoning and many unguarded generalizations. In the immense complexity of the conditions which affect the state of the arts at any given time, a vague statement like the following is of scarcely any guidance: "*Ici, comme partout, l'art traduit la vie; le talent et le goût du peintre changent en même temps et dans le même sens que les mœurs et les sentiments du public. De même que chaque révolution géologique profonde apporte avec elle sa faune et sa flore, de même chaque grande transformation de la société et de l'esprit apporte avec elle ses figures idéales.*" Again, when M. Taine, referring the development of Dutch art to the industry and heroism of Dutch character, writes, "*sous ces tisserands il y a des hommes, et quand on trouve des hommes on peut s'attendre à trouver bientôt des arts,*" one cannot help feeling that this is a fallacy of the firework order, and asking oneself whether the Romans of Zama and the Metaurus, or the Swiss of Morgarten, or the Swedes of Gustavus Adolphus, or the Pilgrim Fathers, or the Covenanters, were or were not men, and if men, where was their art? We have, however, dwelt long enough on that leaning towards pinchbeck generalities which is the weakness of a writer otherwise really distinguished. The historical part of M. Taine's book con-

tains a thoroughly able, *spirituel*, and complete sketch of the rise and decline of painting in the Low Countries. The writer systematizes his matter by dividing it into four historical periods. Of these, the first and second deal with the so-called Flemish art of the days before the religious wars had broken the Dutch and Spanish Netherlands into two—the first, with the properly indigenous work of the school from the Van Eycks to Quintin Matsys; the second with its Italianized form from John de Mabuse to Otto Venius. The third chapter deals with the art of Belgium or the Spanish Netherlands after their separation, with Rubens for its central figure; the fourth, with that of Holland or the Dutch Netherlands, with Rembrandt for its central figure. We have nowhere met with a more striking, or, as it seems to us, more adequate account of the spirit and genius of a painter than M. Taine gives us of Rembrandt. We have spoken with depreciation of M. Taine's philosophies; let us make amends by quoting from him a passage which insists on an indispensable but too often neglected æsthetic truth, but which, it must be confessed, in the sequel exemplifies no less his brisk manner of enunciating half-truths in history and criticism:—

“To understand or love painting, it is necessary that the eye should be sensitive to forms and colours; that it should have no need of training or apprenticeship in order to feel pleasure in seeing one tone beside another; that, it should be delicate in its optical sensations. The man who is to be a painter should be able to forget himself in presence of the rich consonance of a red and a green, the gradation and transformation of a light down into a shadow, the delicate differences in a silk or a satin which according to its folds, creases, and distances, takes opaline reflections, vague glimmerings of lustre, imperceptible shadowings of blue. The eye is a taster of savours like the mouth, and painting is a choice banquet served up to it. That is why the Germans and English have had no great painting. In Germany, the excessive domination of the pure idea has left no room for ocular sensuality. The earliest German school—that of Cologne—painted not bodies, but tender and pious souls of mystics. The great German artist of the sixteenth century, Albert Dürer, for all his knowledge of the Italian masters, nevertheless retained his ungraceful forms, his angular folds, his ugly nudities, his sombre colouring, his wild, mournful, or sullen faces; the weird fancy, the profound religious feeling, the vague philosophical divinations which breathe through his work show a spirit which cannot find contentment in form. Go to the Louvre and see a little Christ of his master Wolfgemuth, and an Eve of his contemporary Lucas Cranach, you will feel that the men who made such groups and such bodies were born for theology, not for painting. In our own time, again, it is the inward and not the outward parts that the Germans esteem and enjoy. Cornélius and the masters of the Munich school set the idea in the first and the execution in the second place: the master invents, it is his pupil who carries out. Their work is purely symbolical and philosophical, and has for its object to draw the spectator's thoughts towards some great moral and social truth. Similarly, Overbeck has for his aim edification, and preaches a sentimental asceticism. Similarly again, Knauss is a psychologist so able that his pictures are either idylls or comedies.”

We have received the second and third volumes² of the complete

² “Œuvres complètes de Charles Baudelaire. II. Curiosités Esthétiques III. L'art Romantique.” Paris: Michel Lévy. 1868.

posthumous edition in course of publication by M. Michel Lévy, of the works of an author of whom little is known in England, and that little of rather a sinister kind. Nevertheless, Charles Baudelaire was a writer who developed his rare natural parts by a most heedful cultivation. He was one of the most accomplished as well as one of the most original of that brilliant group of men of letters that have illustrated their country since the Revolution of 1830. On one side of his mind he seemed akin to whatever we hold most diseased and repulsive in the French imagination. He handled sometimes, in verses which for finish and purity of form are unsurpassed, those fouler mysteries of a feverishly civilized human nature among which so many French writers have loved to rake. He seemed to have some taint of that frenzy which long ago reached its hideous and pestilent climax in de Sade. That is, however, not the side of his mind with which we have here to do. The volumes before us are volumes of prose criticism; and in criticism M. Baudelaire's strength is best seen. We should not place M. Baudelaire in the foremost rank among poets; but we should say that with his poetical faculty he joined a critical faculty perhaps keener and surer than any poet had ever had before. This union, as it seems to us, is much rarer than some would have it: indeed the critical dogma wherein we most widely differ from M. Baudelaire is the dogma that a born poet is probably also a born critic. On the contrary, experience seems to show that a poet's criticism of poetry, just as a painter's criticism of painting, though both acute and enthusiastic within the range of certain special sympathies, is apt to be rigidly limited to that range. However that may be, the criticisms of painting and poetry contained in these two volumes are full of the subtlest discrimination, the most pliant sagacity, and what is rarer, the coolest and clearest reasoning. Into his prose style M. Baudelaire imported nothing of metaphor, nothing of rhetoric, nothing of extraneous decoration; its charm lies in its freedom from superfluities, its unerring precision and adequacy in the expression of ideas however intricate. It has the keen edge and penetration of polished steel, and turns these qualities to equal account in laying bare the beauties of a work of art or the fallacies of an argument. We ourselves have on another day flung our stone at the specious and shallow æsthetic which the French Spiritualists of our century patched together for themselves from Plato and Descartes. Hear with what words this Frenchman can help us:—"La fameuse doctrine," writes M. Baudelaire, "la fameuse doctrine de l'indissolubilité du Beau, du Vrai, et du Bien, est une invention de la *philosophiaillerie* moderne (étrange contagion qui fait qu'en définissant la folie on en parle le jargon)." Our author continues in words of clear good sense that in this country cannot be too much enforced:—

"The different objects of spiritual pursuit call upon the faculties that are for ever appropriated to each; sometimes a given object calls upon one faculty only, sometimes upon all together, but this of necessity very seldom, and never in equal mixtures and degrees. It must be remarked that the more faculties an object calls into play the less noble and pure, the more mongrel, the more tainted with bastardy that object becomes. The True serves as the basis and

the end of the sciences. It above all things calls for pure intellect. Purity of style we shall in this matter be glad to have, but *beauty* of style must here be regarded as a luxury. The Good is the basis and the end of moral studies; the Beautiful is the one ambition, the exclusive aim of Taste. Although the True is the aim of history, there is yet a Muse of history, in order to signify that some of the gifts which a historian must have proceed from the Muse. The Romance belongs to one of those complex classes in which a greater or lesser part alternately may be assigned to the True and the Beautiful. . . . Poetry, if one will but condescend to look into oneself, to question one's own mind, to call to memory one's moments of enthusiasm, has no other end than herself; she can have no other, and no poem will be so great, so noble, so thoroughly worthy to be called a poem, as that which shall have been written singly for the pleasure of writing it. I do not mean to say that Poetry does not ennoble manners—let me not be misunderstood—or that its final result is not to raise mankind above the level of vulgar interests; that would plainly be an absurdity. What I say is that if the poet has pursued a moral end he has enervated his poetic powers, and it is not rash to wager that his work will be bad. Poetry cannot, under pain of death or degeneration, assimilate herself to science or to morals; she has not Truth for her object, she has but herself. The methods of demonstrating truths are other and elsewhere Pure intellect aims towards Truth, Taste shows us Beauty, and the Moral sense teaches us Duty. It is true that Taste, holding the mean place of these three, has intimate affinities with the two extremes, and from the Moral Sense in especial is parted by so slight a difference that Aristotle did not hesitate to rank among the virtues some of its subtler operations."

That is the plain, and, what ought to be the trite truth of the matter. Had we space, it would be interesting to cite on this occasion certain passages from Shelley in his defence of Poetry—nay, even from Wordsworth in his Prefaces—to show that when poets who are true artists look into themselves, however opposite their styles, they find that the manner of their work is in truth such as is here set forth. M. Baudelaire lived all his life at the centre of Romantisme, and these volumes will form for the English reader a safe as well as a fascinating guide to the knowledge of that great movement which had for its leaders in poetry Hugo and in art Delacroix. Two whole groups of Frenchmen of genius, in England for the most part ignored, are here discussed in a manner both clear-sighted and sympathetic. It is fair to add that the reader seeking in these volumes for a coherent body of critical doctrines will find the object of his search elude him to the end. M. Baudelaire, with all his logical subtlety, is in truth not always at one with himself either in precept or in practice. During the whole of his literary career, he made it his task constantly, though not always consistently, to rebuke the excesses of the school which he loved. It is strange to find the writer of the sentences quoted above elsewhere scornfully reproving the vagaries of the "School of Art for Art" and the "Pagan School." It is strange to find the author of the "*Fleurs du Mal*" condemning Petrus Borel for impurities. It is strange to find the passionate admirer of Gautier's "Mlle. de Maupin" outraged at the licence of Michelet's "de l'Amour."

The next name on our list is that of a critic of some candour and intelligence but by no means of genius. We by no means find here the clear sufficiency and certainty of M. Baudelaire's style; we find the

style of a writer struggling like the rest of us with his thoughts; forced to content himself like the rest of us with an approximate expression of them, and not always avoiding the faults of looseness, redundancy, fustian even. M. Chesneau dedicates to the Princess Mathilde his essays on the works and the tendencies of the contemporary schools of art.⁴ It must be said for his book that it is in its scheme more complete than anything of the kind that has been written. It traverses the whole range of artistic geography with scarcely an omission—England, Belgium, Holland, Bavaria, Prussia, the North German States, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Russia, Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, Italy, the United States, France, and Japan. Judging the author by his criticisms of the English school, since here we are best able to check him, we should say that he showed a sincere desire to appreciate and a tolerably true instinct, but that he had not escaped the foreigner's danger of grouping together unrelated names and of misapprehending the relative standing of artists. Perhaps the best chapter in the book is that on Japanese decorative art, the brilliant invention and admirable beauty of which we have all lately learned to recognise. In treating of the contemporary art of his own country, M. Chesneau seems rather capricious in his judgments; but his chapters will introduce the English reader to a knowledge of much that is likely to be new to him. It is not often that one finds the possession of *esprit* in a Frenchman allied with loyalty to the existing dynasty. With M. Chesneau, however, *esprit* is not in such excess but that it can be reconciled with a loyalty almost fulsome. When a statue or a picture of the Prince Imperial is in question, the writer exhibits in a large degree that quality of flunkeyism which we had been inclined to boast as the exclusive heritage of Englishmen.

We have received a collection of etchings⁵ by a French artist of distinction whose name has been unaccountably passed over by M. Chesneau. Of the younger generation of painters, none has more decisively made his mark in the exhibitions both of London and Paris than M. Legros. By the present volume of etchings he shows himself one of the foremost living proficient in that delightful art. An extreme directness and a reserve of means amounting nearly to negligence characterize his work and separate it strongly from the elaborate marvels of such an expert as M. Jacquemart. The large single head of the priest in this collection is amazing for its rendering in few and careless-looking strokes of the expression of refinement and gentle dignity in a worn and wrinkled countenance. Into all his designs, whether of figure or landscape, M. Legros throws a sentiment of austere yet tender melancholy which it is impossible to analyse. The most important composition here is one of the Death of St. Francis, and is signalized by dramatic intensity and by a very learned and successful distribution of its masses of full or half shadow. The Philosopher's Garret is another scene quite masterly in simple gravity of character and vigorous

⁴ "Les Nations Rivaies dans l'Art." Par Ernest Chesneau. Paris: Didier. 1868.

⁵ Ten Etchings, by Alphonse Legros. London: Holloway. 1869.

interchange of light and shade. Of the landscapes we prefer that which shows us a lonely-looking cottage beside a copse with water in the foreground. In this and in another landscape where men are rowing a rough boat along a river, the students of methods will note the vigorous and almost contemptuous certainty with which the depth and mystery of foliage are rendered.

Some years ago a M. Lamey left to the Academy of Strasburg the sum of 12,000 francs invested for the creation of a quinquennial prize to be given to the best essay on some problem in art, literature, or sociology. M. Horwicz of Magdeburg was successful in the first competition in 1866, and he now reprints his prize essay⁶ so developed as to cover 200 pages and to consist of no less than 13 books. M. Horwicz is quite unsatisfied with any synthesis of previous philosophers in this branch of study. He departs from the customary attitude of his countrymen in maintaining that the inductive method is the one to be exclusively adopted. The question set for discussion was whether art ought to be subject to laws, and if so, what are the origin, foundation, and character of those laws, and how is their authority to be reconciled with the freedom of inspiration? At the conclusion of his essay our author solves this problem sensibly enough, by insisting that the artist must indeed work in accordance with laws inevitably imposed upon him by the nature of his materials and of the result to be produced. But this in no degree impairs the freedom of inspiration, since the artist's freedom consists precisely in his being free to follow those natural laws without hindrance from conventional laws not founded in nature. But on his way to this conclusion M. Horwicz broaches a complete theory of the Beautiful for which the world has not, we think, much occasion to thank him. His style is uncouth and shuffling, and he is not a little confused in his classification of the elements of artistic pleasure,—direct pleasure of the senses, imaginative or æsthetic pleasure of the senses, imitation, illusion, idealization. The chief novelty in his scheme is his version of the process of idealization. This, he says, is by no means the addition by the artist in his imitation of a beauty that is not the thing imitated; by no means an enhancing or completing of the beauty of a natural phenomenon taken by itself. On the contrary, nature is everlastingly more beautiful in her details than the most beautiful art. Art must for ever lag behind nature in the beauty of parts. What art can do is to arrange the imperfectly imitated parts of a natural scene into a harmonious expression, to eliminate whatever is discordant, to bring together whatever elements tend to a simple and consentaneous effect. To do this is to idealize, and the true artist is he who thus deals with elements which separately he shall have imitated with the least possible departure from nature. The chief pleasure which a spectator can enjoy in contemplating a work of art is the intellectual pleasure of recognising the facts of nature freed in the reproduction from the presence of jarring or in-harmonious elements. We are far from thinking the theory which we

⁶ "Grundlinien eines Systems der Ästhetik." Von Adolf Horwicz. Leipzig: Seemann. 1869.

have thus epitomized a true theory, but we think that it does set forth certain aspects of the truth that have been commonly overlooked.

The work of M. Otto Seemann⁷ is one of a class far more numerous in Germany than in England, the class that is especially directed to throwing into a popular form the results of philological and antiquarian science. The book is intended especially for middle schools. It is well calculated to give boys what it is all-important that they should have, an intelligent and living insight into that enchanted world of beauty and idolatry, where every change of the firmament, every influence of the seasons, every terror or delight of nature, and every passion of the human spirit, became incarnate in the limbs of deathless men and women. M. Seemann's book lays no claim to special originality, but it gives an intelligent summary of some of the latest results of scientific mythology, and illustrates this with passable outline drawings after the best known statues. The chief criticism which we have to make is, that the author, in common with many recent interpreters, seems to insist too exclusively on the physical, the solar or atmospheric, which was doubtless also the original, signification of every myth; passing too lightly over the ethical and political significations which regularly gathered about them in the course of time, and rejecting altogether whatever help is to be had by the application, especially with reference to the legends of the heroes, of the Euhemeristic method.

Three volumes have reached us which attest, if testimony were needed, on the one hand the hold which Italy for ever has on northern hearts, on the other, the fruitfulness of German culture and the activity of German criticism. The first two of these are republications of writings by the veteran Jacob Burckhardt. One of them contains the first part of his "*Cicerone*,"⁸ or introduction to the enjoyment of the works of art of Italy. This part deals with architecture exclusively, and combines the uses of a history and a guide-book; the author adopts the chronological method, beginning with the Grecian Doric as employed in the Temple of Paestum, and passing down through the Roman, Romanesque, Gothic, and Renaissance periods, to end with the Baroque of the 17th century. There is little attempt at charm of style or *entrain* of narrative, but as a manual of the subject, which is all it pretends to be, the book is accurate and even exhaustive. We could desire, for economy of eyesight, that it had been printed on better paper and in clearer type. The other book of Jacob Burckhardt is his well-known and valuable history of the Italian Renaissance.⁹ This does not deal immediately with the arts of the Renaissance, and therefore does not perhaps fall immediately into our present field of study. Nevertheless by its learned and comprehensive

⁷ "*Die Götter und Heroen Griechenlands, eine Vorschule der Kunstmythologie.*" Von Otto Seemann. Leipzig: Seemann. 1869.

⁸ "*Der Cicerone, eine Anleitung zum Genius der Kunstwerke Italiens.*" Von Jacob Burckhardt. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: Seemann. 1869.

⁹ "*Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien.*" Von Jacob Burckhardt. Leipzig: Seemann. 1869.

statement of the political and intellectual movements of the time, it sets before us the amplest materials for the illustration and interpretation of the arts, the readiest help towards such a history of the arts as M. Taine aims at producing. M. Burckhardt reminds us from time to time of Hallam, by his firm and far-reaching acquaintance with authorities, and by his cool and guarded sobriety of statement. Of the six books or divisions into which his work falls,—the State as a Work of Art, the Development of the Individual, the Revival of Antiquity, the Exploration of the World and of Man, Sociality and Social Enjoyments, Religion and Culture,—the first, which most calls upon the author's special gift of the record and analysis of facts, is to us the most satisfactory. We scarcely know a more masterly study in history and politics. In other matters, such as the Classical Revival, we could desire that the facts and dates of a great movement had been kindled into interest by a more vivid account of their essence and spirit, their intellectual antecedents and consequences. The brilliant group, or rather groups, of Italian bibliophiles, scholars, commentators, translators, grammarians, elegiac poets, and Platonic philosophers, from the days of Petrarch down to those of Tasso, have not in any language, so far as we know—assuredly not in English—received the illustration which they deserve.

The third study devoted to "*Italia diis sacra*" is the commencement of an elaborate history of Italian art, by Ernst Förster.¹⁰ We are ashamed to say that we have not before met with the work of this writer. It appears, from his preface, that he is the author of other treatises on kindred subjects; that he studied painting under Cornelius so long ago as 1823, and that the work of which we have here the first instalment is the fruit of a long life devoted to this especial study. Ernst Förster's project carries him over ground which has been trodden before him by Schnaase, by Lübke, by Rumohr, by Burckhardt, by how many other critics of his indefatigable nation? But we have not read anything in art history more complete than this promises in a moderate compass to be, and none certainly more pleasant and fluent in style. Ernst Förster writes with vivacity and grace, and knows how to unite in just proportions facts with speculation, history with theory. The present volume carries us over three historical "time-spaces" or periods; the first, from the beginning of the empire to the 4th century A.D., the art of the Roman Republic being briefly dismissed in an introductory chapter; the second, from the fourth to the eleventh century; the third, from the eleventh to the thirteenth. The author prefaces his account of the art of each period with a vivid summary of its political history. The present volume closes just at the place where the subject is about to assume really august proportions. In it, nevertheless, Ernst Förster traces for us the gradual decline of the arts during the first five centuries, their all but extinction during the two next, and their faint revival at the

¹⁰ "Geschichte der Italienischen Kunst." Von Ernst Förster, Erster Band.
Leipzig: Meigel. 1869.

close of Iconoclasm, in a manner that lets us foretell that this work, when completed, will be one of the best extant upon its noble and absorbing subject.

Mr. Sweeting, by dint of much exploration among country churches, churchyards, and parish registers in the neighbourhood of Peterborough, has produced a book of small artistic importance, but no doubt of considerable local interest.¹¹ Even for those not acquainted with the neighbourhood described, a quantity of curious old-world facts and associations are to be come at in turning over the leaves of such a compilation. Of the architecture of these churches, not as a rule architecturally very interesting, Mr. Sweeting gives an intelligible account, and his account is illustrated with careful photographs on rather too small a scale by Mr. Ball of Peterborough.

Mr. Delamotte's "Progressive Drawing Book"¹² is not, we think, much more intelligent or much sounder in principle than ordinary manuals of the same kind. The early geometrical lessons are well enough, the copies of simple flower-forms passable, but when we come to the copies of complicated objects, parts of the figure, &c. we find the old drawing-master's methods of easy conventional approximations to fact, wasted strokes, and lines that mean nothing; in a word, general infirmity. It is unlucky that the frontispiece of the manual of drawing should contain so ill-drawn a figure as this boy in the boat, whose left leg is many inches shorter than his right.

We are indebted to Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow for an account of the catacombs far more scholarly and complete than any that has hitherto existed in our language.¹³ The book is throughout compiled from the writings of that most learned and zealous of antiquarian discoverers, the Commendatore de Rossi. The French writer M. Didron in his *Iconographie Chrétienne*, has, we believe, already drawn largely from the same scarcely exhaustible stores; but the task which our authors have set themselves differs somewhat from that of M. Didron. Their object has been to give us the result of the most recent and most scrupulous researches that have been made into the origin, history, uses, topography, structure, and decoration of the Roman Catacombs. This, of course, involves a multitude of obscure questions in relation to Christian antiquities and church history. The present writers approach their object from a fervently Catholic point of view. They are far indeed from claiming infallibility for ecclesiastical records or Acts of Saints and Martyrs; but they are unfeignedly rejoiced

¹¹ "Historical and Architectural Notes of the Parish Churches in and around Peterborough." By Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A. London: Whittaker. Peterborough: Hamblin. 1868.

¹² "A Progressive Drawing-book for Beginners." By P. H. Delamotte, F.S.A. London: Macmillan. 1869.

¹³ "Roma Subterranea; or, Some Account of the Roman Catacombs." By Rev. J. S. Northcote, D.D., and Rev. W. R. Brownlow, M.A. London: Longmans. 1869.

when the results of scientific investigation coincide with such records. Once, indeed, their faith does seem excessive: they narrate with apparent conviction the story of the discovery by Cardinal Sfondrati, under the papacy of Clement VIII., of the remains of St. Cecilia, miraculously preserved in precisely the same state in which she had been inhumed in the papacy of Paschal 800 years before. Generally, however, so far as appears on the surface, a strict caution has been adopted in checking the results arrived at; and the monograph before us may be accepted as a trustworthy authority on its subject. It is singularly complete in the subdivision of its matter, and in its illustrations, plans, indices and appendices. The chapters to us most interesting are those on Christian art. The art of Christianity, in its underground days, before Peace, as our authors would put it, was given to the Church (our authors, by the way, show a commendable candour in abstaining from all exaggeration in the matter of the persecutions), the art of these days, consisting almost entirely of mural paintings, is here divided into symbolical paintings, allegorical paintings, biblical paintings, paintings of Christ, the Virgin and Saints, and liturgical paintings. The authors follow De Rossi in claiming for some of the paintings a high, indeed an apostolic antiquity. They give us an account complete in all points but one, of the history of art at the time when pagan forms were gradually being transferred to Christian uses, when the symbols of Polytheism were being turned into the symbols of Christianity, and a world of new and lofty symbolism added such as paganism had never known. The deficiency to which we allude is one which we might have expected: it is that the authors show themselves disposed to make as little as possible of the old or heathen elements of the new religious art, as much as possible of its distinctively Christian elements. The gap here left the reader can fill for himself by referring to the admirable chapter on Christian sarcophagi, in Ernst Förster's book above spoken of.

Mr. Gullick's pamphlet¹⁴ carries us out of the serene region of history and speculation into that of contemporary controversy. Mr. Gullick constitutes himself the champion of that numerous professional body who have, in this even more than in former years, found cause of complaint in the exclusion of their pictures from the exhibition of the Royal Academy. Now, although we have a very decided opinion in favour of the course this year adopted by the Royal Academy, it cannot be matter of surprise that a good deal of disappointment, and of a bitter kind of disappointment, should have resulted from the adoption of that course when the public and the profession had in some way persuaded themselves to expect the adoption of another. To any reasonable expression of such a feeling one would have been well disposed to listen. But the pamphlet before us cannot be said to express it reasonably, much less courteously. Mr. Gullick's production is deplorable for style and temper, and exhibits an amazing

¹⁴ "The Royal Academy, the Outsiders, and the Press." By T. J. Gullick. London: Hardwicke. 1869.

laxity in the treatment of facts. It is, in short, a medley of vague invective and puerile criticism and personality which would be quite beneath attention but for the importance of its subject. On that subject we should be glad, had we space, to speak at large. But we can only point out in this connexion, on the one hand, that the supplementary exhibition actually opened has in it at the utmost half-a-dozen pictures of merit, and thus, so far as it may be taken fairly to represent the rejected pictures, does effectually ratify the verdict of the Council of the year: on the other hand, that we do this year on the walls of the Academy see signs of an increase in that which English art has so long been lacking, and which constitutes the real essence and value of art,—elevation of æsthetic aim, the desire to gratify the public eye with beautiful sights and the public mind with poetical suggestions, rather than to tickle public foolishness with obvious anecdote or sickly sentimentality, with melodramatic surprises or fulsome flunkeyisms; the purpose of using paint and canvas for the expression of other ideas than those which can be expressed by printer's ink and paper,—for the expression of visible beauty, grace, dignity, or pathos; the desire, in a word, to bring the art of painting as it is in our time into some relation, however distant, with what the art of painting was in the days when it was indeed a glory to mankind. If we could but be assured that the signs of this hopeful tendency are due in any degree to the influence of the Academy, or what is still more important, that works exhibiting such a tendency will be in future encouraged by the Academy, that body would have more claim than it has yet had to the gratitude and confidence of the nation.

THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1. 1869.

ART. I.—THE QUAKERS.

1. *The Quakers, from their Origin to the Present Time: an International History.* By JOHN CUNNINGHAM, D.D. Edinburgh: Menzies. 1868.
2. *George Fox, the Friends, and the Early Baptists.* By WILLIAM TALLACK. London: Partridge. 1868.
3. *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner.* Vols. I. and II. London: Kitto. 1867-68.
4. *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London.* Printed by direction of the Yearly Meeting. London: Marsh. 1869.
5. *Christian Doctrine, Practice, and Discipline of the Society of Friends.* Fourth Edition. London: Marsh. 1861.
6. *Barclay's Apology for the true Christian Divinity.* New Edition. Manchester: Irwin. 1868.
7. *The Life of George Fox.* New Edition. London: Marsh.
8. *The London Friends' Meetings; showing the Rise of the Society of Friends in London.* By W. BECK and T. F. BALL. London: Kitto. 1869.
9. *On Liberty.* A Lecture delivered at the Friends' Institute, Manchester. By J. B. FOSTER. 1867.

THE history of the Christian Church has proverbially been written in a spirit of polemical warfare rather than as an unbiassed narrative of historical facts. In the present condition of Christendom, almost every one is a member of some particular [Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. Z

sect; and it seems impossible for the historian to lay aside altogether his theological bias, and to bring simply the calm judicial faculty to bear upon the records of the past. Nor does Ecclesiastical History fare much better at the hands of one who, like Gibbon, professes perfect indifference to all forms of religious belief. If then such difficulties present themselves in the way of an impartial history of events and struggles, the actors in which have not only long ago passed away, but their very profession of faith become obsolete; how much care must be needed in attempting to arrive at a correct estimate of the position of a body of religionists, still moving amongst us, who reject the ordinances of religion which are believed in as more or less potent by almost every other denomination of Christians, and whose practices are a standing protest against the beliefs of nearly the whole of Christendom. For while the Roman Catholic and the Anglican must necessarily consider the unbaptized heretic who refuses the sacraments of the Church as almost beyond the pale of salvation, the Evangelical Churchman or Nonconformist is scarcely more able to understand how a body of Christians can set themselves in opposition to what he regards as the plain dictates of Holy Scripture. Acknowledging the difficulties of the subject, we will endeavour to trace the causes which led to the rise of Quakerism, and to examine wherein their successors of the present day agree with, and wherein they differ from, the early Friends, and in what consists the strength and the weakness of the Society.

That the internal economy of the Society of Friends should be a mystery and a riddle to the public at large, is not altogether surprising, when we take into account that the Society has not, for nearly two centuries past, been what may be called a "proselyting" body, but has kept itself apart from the rest of professing Christendom as a kind of esoteric priesthood. But that writers whom we credit with an average extent of acquaintance with the subjects with which their names are especially associated in public estimation, should, when they touch upon matters connected with the Quakers, inevitably fall into the most palpable blunders, is less excusable. As examples of this proneness to error, we may select from a multitude of others the following examples:—When, about ten years since, a prize of 100. guineas was offered for the best Essay on the causes of the decline in numbers and influence of the Society of Friends, among the unsuccessful but subsequently published essays was one by Dr. Edgar Sheppard,* a

* "A Fallen Faith; being a Historical, Religious, and Socio-political Sketch of the Society of Friends." By Edgar Sheppard, M.D. London: Piers. 1860.

third day, by the power of his Father, for our justification ; and we do believe that He ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation ; and we do believe that there is no other foundation to be laid but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus ; who, we believe, tasted death for every man, and shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. . . . We believe that He alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, even the captain of our salvation, who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works ; who is the seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. That He is our wisdom and righteousness, justification and redemption ; neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we may be saved. It is He alone who is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls. . . . And He rules in our hearts by his law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death. And we have no life but by Him : for He is the quickening Spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from Heaven, by whose blood we are cleansed and our consciences sprinkled from dead works, to serve the living God. And He is our Mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending ; He being the oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace ; the Author and Finisher of our faith. Now this Lord Jesus, the heavenly man, the Emmanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in. . . . This, we say, is the Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation.

"And as concerning the Holy Scriptures, we do believe that they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who 'spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' We believe that they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled (he that fulfils them is Christ) ; and they are 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works ;' and 'are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' We call the Holy Scriptures, as Christ and the apostles called them, and holy men of God called them—the words of God."

While acknowledging the orthodoxy of the faith of the early Friends on the question of the atonement, an acquaintance with their history, and a careful perusal of their writings, cannot fail to show us that this was not the phase of Christian belief which they believed themselves specially called forth to proclaim to the world. A critical investigation of the accuracy of the Scripture narrative, or a scepticism of the outward events of the life of Christ, was not the form of religious heresy most prevalent in the seventeenth century, or the one which specially called forth the controversial skill of George Fox or Robert Barclay. Indeed, had any professor of Christianity preached in those days the views

of M. Rénan or Bishop Colenso, short work would have been made of him by the civil authorities as a pestilent Ranter, and there would have been no danger of his attracting a large following from any of the Christian sects. When George Fox in his early days wandered about in search of comfort and consolation from sect to sect, first going to his own parish priest, then to other distinguished ministers of the Established Church, then trying in turn each of the recognised bodies of Dissecters, Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians, he found in all of them no lack of an outward belief of the understanding in the miraculous conception, birth, death, and resurrection of the Saviour of men. But he wanted something more; his soul longed after a more vital religion—one that showed more of the fruits of righteousness and peace, a belief that the same Jesus Christ who was outwardly crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, has been born again in the heart of every true believer and reigns there, opening to him the truths of the Scriptures, and leading him irresistibly to a pure and holy life. George Fox, indeed, believed that he found the whole Christian world in the condition of the disciples whom St. Paul met at Ephesus, and who acknowledged to him, “we have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.” This great doctrine of Christ living and ruling in the heart of man it was that George Fox and his followers spent their lives in proclaiming. A belief in it has not been by any means confined to the Quakers; it has been, in some form or other, a portion of the creed of every sect or society which has been distinguished by the term mystical or spiritual;—we find it in the German mystics Tauler and Gerson, in Thomas-à-Kempis, in the Spaniards and Italians of the seventeenth century who approached so near to Protestantism, in the writings of those spiritually-minded Roman Catholics, Madame Guyon and Archbishop Fénelon, which are read with so much delight by all sections of Protestants; it is the favourite tenet of the Broad Church party in the Church of England at the present day; and more than one of the most eminent and popular Dissenting ministers now living could be named who hold to it and teach it as a cardinal article of their faith. In his preface to Miss Winkworth’s translation of “*Theologia Germanica*,” the Rev. Charles Kingsley thus enunciates the views of which we are now speaking:—

“To those who cannot help seeing that the doctrine of Christ in every man, as the indwelling Word of God, the Light which lights every one who comes into the world, is no peculiar tenet of the Quakers, but one which runs through the whole of the Old and New Testaments, and without which they would be unintelligible, just as the same doctrine runs through the whole history of the early Church

for the first two centuries, and is the only explanation of them ;—to all these this noble little book will recommend itself."

To elucidate further the views on this point promulgated by the early Friends, we will quote from two others of the volumes written in competition for the prize offered for the best essay on the Decadence of Quakerism, to which we have already alluded ; the first by a member of the body,—the second, which obtained the second prize, by a clergyman of the Church of England. In his "Sure Foundation,"* Mr. Westlake thus enunciates the principles of the early Friends :—

"Founded upon the Apostles' Creed, 'If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved,' the Friends took their stand upon these two essentials to salvation—viz., a heart-belief in Jesus as the alone Mediator between God and man, and an open acknowledgment of this belief before all the world. The main distinctions between them and others were—

"1stly. Upon the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit.

"2ndly. Upon all types and outward ordinances being abolished under the Gospel.

"3rdly. In their form of worship, and appointment of ministers.

"4thly. In their manner of carrying out into daily life and practice the commands of our Lord.

"Believing that the New Testament contained all needful instructions for the forming of churches or congregations of believers, they took this as the basis of order and discipline as a society ; but they regarded the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, as the ordained means whereby each member may know his *individual* path of duty. Banishing all preconceived notions and practices, and with their own wills and thoughts kept in subjection unto this Spirit of Truth, which, saith Christ, 'proceedeth from the Father, and shall testify of me,' they sought to restore and place again before the world that faith once delivered to the saints."—pp. 13, 14.

The Rev. Thomas Hancock, in his "Peculium,"† shows a remarkable appreciation of the leading features of early Quakerism, which he thus elucidates :—

"Whatever other doctrines the Quakers may have accepted, whether from George Fox, from the loose, airy, rational teachers of their time, or from their own experiences, or whatever doctrines they may have deduced from these primary ones—this belief, first, in the *Light of CHRIST within*, and secondly, in the *Universality of His Light*, sepa-

* "The Sure Foundation; or, Past and Future of the Society of Friends." By W. C. Westlake. London: Bennett. 1860.

† "The Peculium; an Endeavour to throw Light on some of the Causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends, especially in regard to its Original Claim of being the Peculiar People of God." By Thomas Hancock. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1859.

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. A A

rated and distinguished them by impassable marks from all other sects. It would be better, perhaps, to see this in their own words than in mine. 'There be *two main or principal things* held forth by us, which are, as it were, *the two hinges or fundamental principles upon which all other things relating to doctrine or practice affirmed by us do hang and depend*. The first is that there is no saving knowledge of GOD or the things of His kingdom attainable, but by the Immediate Revelation of JESUS CHRIST, who is the Image, Word, and Light of the Invisible GOD, in which alone He can be manifest unto the salvation of men. The second is that this Image, Word, or Light, which is JESUS CHRIST, the SON of the FATHER's love, doth shine forth in some measure universally, and enlightens every man that comes into the world, and thereby giveth him a day of visitation whereby it is possible for him to be saved.*

"These were the two principal messages which the primitive Quakers felt themselves called out to announce to all mankind. They went forth with a full confidence that they needed no other weapons for the conquest of their own souls or of the world to the kingdom of CHRIST. Every hour bore a witness in their own souls to the truth of these doctrines. Each blind, cold, idle, or wicked thought or volition in which they had ever indulged, they could trace to a disbelief that the Light was striving within them, or to a disbelief that He was striving with others also. All the Bible, too, seemed to second their deductions; and the lives of the saints showed that the belief in an ever-present, assisting, restraining SPIRIT was at the root of all their holy acts. CHRIST was speaking to them at the very spring and centre of their being. The way in which S. Paul describes the beginning of his new life is, 'It pleased GOD to reveal HIS SON in me.' But a *revelation* is not a putting-in, and introduction of something new. It is a *taking away* of all veils and hiding media from that which is already *there*. CHRIST was in Saul, Saul was kicking against the *κέντρον* of the Light, before the FATHER revealed Him there.

"Their faith in the first truth, the Light Within, when they compared it with the dogmas and exercises through which they had endeavoured to get nearer to GOD, filled them with an awful and joyous sense of the Divine Presence. They had neither to rush to steeple-houses, to the popular preachers, to the Bible, nor to exercises, for their GOD. All the time they were striving and straining to reach Him, He was near to them; He, the Divine Word, was discerning all the thoughts and intents of their hearts; all their being lay open and manifest in His sight. So soon as they believed in His Light, he not only showed them present duty, and filled them with present grace, but He threw rays backward on all the rugged and bloody passes of discipline by which He had been leading them; they saw that He had been with them even in those hours in which they had felt most alone."—pp. 29–32.

Perhaps no one of the early Friends was less prone to "enthu-

* Benjamin Furby and George Keith: "Universal Free Grace of the Gospel," &c.

siasm," or less disposed to magnify the value of any peculiar doctrine which separated them from the rest of the world, than the kindly-spirited, courtly William Penn. And yet Penn distinctly states, in reference to the preaching of George Fox :—

"As it reached the conscience and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search, so that which *people had been vainly seeking without*, with much pains and cost, they by this ministry *found within*, where it was they wanted what they sought for—viz., the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God ; near all, because in all, and God's talent in all—a faithful and true witness, and just monitor in every bosom,—the gift and grace of God to light and salvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. This, the light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation, was their fundamental principle, which is the corner-stone of their fabric, and as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it."*

These were the special doctrines, or principles, which the early Quakers believed it to be their mission to proclaim from the house-tops—not, as we have already explained, because they held them to comprise the whole belief of a Christian, but because they found this phase of Christianity almost entirely neglected in their age and generation. In the second and third generations of Quakerism, when the prophet-like presence of its early-founders had passed away ; when George Fox rested in Bunhill-fields burial-ground from his long and arduous life of Christian warfare ; when William Penn's sound practical knowledge of the world, combined with deep Christian faith, was no longer present to guide and direct them ; when the Boanerges-like preaching of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill was no more heard in their meeting-houses ; then, as is in the nature of things, these teachings of the founders of the sect became magnified, until they were looked upon as almost superseding any other revelation, and as the one test of orthodox Quakerism. And this degenerate spirit was fostered by the different position which the Friends began to occupy in the body politic when the more tolerant principles of government held sway, which were nearly contemporaneous with the accession of the House of Hanover. The persecutions which the early Friends endured during the first half century from the commencement of George Fox's preaching, are almost beyond belief. Regarded alike by Royalist and Parliamentary as pestilent and seditious heretics, (much as we should now look upon a combination of a Fenian and a Mormon), it was considered only to show attachment to

* "British Friend" for July, 1862.

religion and good order, to submit them to every indignity and punishment in the power of magistrate or judge; until at one time it is believed that as many as 1500 lay in prison, and large numbers had died from the effects of insufficient food, and the noisome and pestilential holes in which they were immured. It is impossible, however, to deny that some reason for the disfavour in which the early Quakers were held by the public, is to be found in the extravagant and indecent conduct of some zealots, both men and women, who were guilty of practices which at the present day would quickly have consigned them to Millbank or Hanwell, and which outraged even the less tender susceptibilities of those not over-refined times. Gradually, however, the harmless and devoted lives of the "Friends of Truth," as a body, taught another lesson; and even towards the close of George Fox's life he narrates in his "Journal" with not a little complacency, how the public, instead of avoiding his co-religionists, began to inquire where there was a Quaker tailor or shoemaker, knowing that they would get honestly served by him. The cessation of persecution, and the public odium changed to flattery, soon began to produce their inevitable effect, and the life and power which characterized the early days of the sect gradually disappeared; until, in the eighteenth century, Quakerism presented the anomaly of a religious body professing to be guided in every action by the immediate direction of the Holy Spirit, and yet binding its members by the most unyielding and narrowest of traditions. The early Friends taught that no saving knowledge of the things of God, or experience of Christian redemption, could come but by the direct illumination of the spirit of Christ in the heart. The mediæval Quakers presumed to dictate in what way this illumination should manifest itself, and at all events appeared to discredit the reading of the Scriptures, or an acquaintance with the Sacrifice made on Calvary for the sins of mankind. The early Friends proclaimed that a yielding to the monitions of the inward voice would lead to the relinquishing of the vain fashions and flatteries of the world in luxurious and fantastic attire and a servile language and manners. Their descendants tried to make their children believe that if they obeyed the voice of the Holy Spirit, it would compel them to dress just as their fathers and mothers had done before them, and to maintain the same outward fashion all their lives. The old story, to be read on every page of the world's history, was again retold; an extravagant veneration for the founders of the sect took the place of an earnest endeavour to learn from them the lesson of their lives. Finding that the zeal and earnestness of their predecessors had raised the Quakers from a despised and persecuted sect to a position of honour and

influence, the utmost efforts of the discipline were exercised, not to inculcate new zeal and fresh earnestness, but to maintain this influence and outward standing; and the most heinous offence for which a member could be "disowned" was that "he had brought grievous discredit on our religious society." A certain sign of decay this, when the first consideration of a religious body is to preserve its credit in the eyes of the world. Just as a merchant need take no thought to his credit provided his business is conducted on a sound commercial basis, so a religious body may be perfectly regardless of its position in the eyes of the world if only it acts up to its own principles.

The records of the various "Monthly Meetings" during this period would furnish many amusing episodes, were they not so sadly illustrative of decadence from original purity. The attempt to enforce a rigid adherence to traditional habits and traditional morality, is often ludicrous in the extreme; and the horror with which any variation from the custom of the Society is regarded, not as in itself a sin, but as "a departure from our ancient practices." We have heard of a meeting which for many months was gravely exercised at the unheard of innovation of one of its members allowing his beard to grow as nature intended; and a committee having been appointed to sit on the dear friend's beard, reported from month to month that the said beard must be continued; until at length having, we presume, searched George Fox's journal without finding anything in it to the purpose, they were forced to discharge it from the books without proceeding to disownment. In another instance, the wearing of green aprons by the young women is a subject of serious burden to their elder sisters. The manner in which the reasonings of the early Friends degenerated into a purely mystical interpretation of Scripture may be well illustrated by the following passage from the "Journal of Job Scott," who lived during the latter half of the eighteenth century:—

"The beasts allowed in sacrifice were to chew the cud and divide the hoof. Chewing the cud is a deliberate act; they chew and swallow, and chew and swallow again. The division of the hoof being on the *stepping* member, shows the danger of taking a single step in divine service without a clear division of things, and the way cast up in the mind."*

Boehmen or Swedenborg could hardly furnish anything more fanciful than this.

This departure from the spirit of the early Friends has, however, been productive of more serious results than an absurd attempt to enforce a uniformity in externals, and led to the

* "Journal of Job Scott." New York, 1797, pp. 46.

"Hicksite" separation, which in the early part of the present century convulsed American Quakerism, and produced its effects also in this country. With the proneness to extremes which characterizes our American cousins, some of their ministers, and especially a very able and eloquent one, named Elias Hicks, pushed their peculiar doctrine to the verge of Deism, so as to compel the attention to the subject of the body, assisted by some English ministers, who were over in America at the time. The result was a division of the body into two nearly equal sections, generally known as the "Orthodox" and "Hicksite" Friends, with distinct organizations, and separate meeting-houses, regarding each other with the old aversion of the Jews and Samaritans. Although the separation was in many instances determined by local and accidental causes not affecting religious doctrine, so that in the "Hicksite" body there would be many members who know no difference of faith from their English friends, the English Yearly Meeting has adhered steadfastly to the "Orthodox" body, recognising only its ministers and its Yearly Meetings as in unity with them. At the present time the "Hicksite" Friends are perhaps the more numerous in the intellectual centres of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York; while in the new western settlements the "Orthodox" body is extending with much greater rapidity. In this country about the same time, a secession of much smaller importance took place in the opposite direction. Impressed with the errors of American "Hicksism," and with what he considered a tendency in the same direction of English Friends, a very talented and earnest member, Isaac Crewdson, of Manchester, published a small volume, entitled "The Beacon," in which he not only denied the Quaker doctrine of an "Inward Light," but exalted the Scriptures as the only revelation of God's will to man—a position always strenuously combated by Friends. After the subject had gained the serious attention of the Yearly Meeting, Crewdson, and those who thought with him, comprising a large number of the most influential members of the Society in Lancashire and Westmoreland, formed themselves into a separate body, under the name of "Beaconites." They have not, however, continued to exist as a distinct organization, but have gradually become absorbed in other religious bodies, chiefly the Established Church and the "Plymouth Brethren." The result of this sifting in both England and America has undoubtedly been exceedingly beneficial in rousing the body to a sense of its position, and to the need of a more intelligent understanding by its younger members of the principles of Quakerism, so as to be able to render a "reason for the faith that is in them." A great lack of religious and scriptural

instruction was found to exist in their public schools and their private families; and by the labours mainly of Joseph John Gurney, assisted by able coadjutors, a great reform was carried out in this respect in the Quaker body. At the present time, it may be considered that the religious views of English Friends, as a body, are intermediate between "Hicksism" on the one hand, and "Beaconism" on the other hand, though inclining in the latter direction. The intolerance and narrowness which marked the exercise of the discipline in the last century has also been almost entirely done away with; and there is now greater freedom for young Quakers to form their own convictions, and to follow their own conscience, than has existed at any time since the first establishment of the sect, or probably than can be found in most other religious bodies.

Mr. Tallack has, in his little volume, attempted, with much ingenuity, to show that Quakerism was, in its origin, little more than an offshoot from the sect of the Baptists, both in its religious doctrines and in its distinguishing practices. In support of this view he adduces many interesting coincidences in their discipline and in the constitution of their churches, such as the regular holding of monthly, quarterly, and annual meetings for discipline, a system of inquiries or "queries," similarity in the mode of performing the marriage ceremony, the disuse by some of the early Baptists of the heathen names of the days and months, and of the use of the plural pronoun to a single person; in some cases also scruples respecting oaths, the payment of tithes, and war; and other analogies which we do not remember to have seen pointed out by other historians. The early Quakers were not, however, recruited from the ranks of the Baptists to nearly the extent which Mr. Tallack would appear to imply. Of their most distinguished ministers and apostles of the first generation, George Fox, William Penn, and Isaac Pennington were brought up in the Established Church; Robert Barclay and George Whitehead were Presbyterians; James Naylor was an Independent; Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough were first Episcopalians and then joined the Independents or Presbyterians; while Samuel Fisher and Richard Claridge were distinguished Baptist ministers. Indeed, all classes and all sects appear to have contributed about equally to swell the numbers of the early Friends. When, however, Mr. Tallack says that "Fox was rather the *organizer* or *completing agent* than the founder of Quakerism," he appears to have mistaken the position claimed for him, both by himself and by his successors. Fox never aspired to become the founder of a sect, and whatever may have been the practices of Friends in the last century, or even at the present time, the authorized writings of the Society and

the minutes of the Yearly Meetings do not speak of George Fox as their founder, or in any other language than as their "worthy fore-elder," and never recognise that Quakerism has drawn any of its doctrines from him or from any others of the early Friends, or from any other source than the living fountain-head of the New Testament. Indeed, the very idea of sectarianism was abhorrent to the first principles of Fox's ministry. The whole aim and object of his teaching, the one mission which he believed himself called on to fulfil, was to draw his hearers *out* from all sects and human teachings, and gather them to the one Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, Jesus Christ the Saviour of men. It was the carrying out of this principle, and no notion of establishing any sectarian peculiarities, that necessarily compelled the early Friends to disuse Water-Baptism and the Communion of the Sacrament. Believing that no religion could be vital except such as consisted in an immediate intercourse of the soul with its Maker, all forms of worship, all outward exercises of devotion, were but hindrances to this direct intercourse; and "means of grace" was a phrase which conveyed no idea to their minds. It was after he had discovered the hollowness of the profession in those days of both churchmen and dissenters, that George Fox records in his "Journal" that he heard a voice addressed to his mental ear, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, who can speak to thy condition." Then his heart leapt for joy, and he "could have wept day and night with tears of joy." After this he says, when a time of great perplexity had passed away:—

"One day, when I had been walking solitarily abroad and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of His love; and while I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the eternal light and power, and therein I clearly saw, that all was done and to be done in and by Christ; and how he conquers and destroys the tempter the Devil and all his works, and is atop of him; and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith, which Christ had given me. The Lord opened me, that I saw through all these troubles and temptations. My living faith was raised, that I saw all was done by Christ the life, and my belief was in Him."*

Then he began to see that the truth which he had discovered, and the peace which he had found himself, he would have to communicate to his brethren still groping in the darkness of a dead, formal, even though orthodox, creed.

"I was sent," he says, "to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for, to as many as should

* "George Fox's Journal," vol. i. pp. 10-12, folio edition.

receive him in his light, I saw he would give power to become the sons of God; which I had obtained by receiving Christ. I was to direct people to the spirit that gave forth the Scriptures, by which they might be led into all truth, and so up to Christ and God, as they had been who gave them forth. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart which came by Jesus; that by this grace they might be taught, which would bring them salvation, that their hearts might be established by it, their words might be seasoned, and all men might come to know their salvation nigh. I saw Christ had died for all men, was a propitiation for all, and had enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light; and that none could be true believers but those who believed therein.”*

The early Friends seldom preached doctrinal sermons; they did not profess to have received any new revelation, or any clearer manifestation of divine truth than had been accorded to the early disciples and apostles; they merely claimed to have gone to the same fountain-head, and there they found the same peace with God. Whenever they found their hearers trusting in the teaching or ministerial pretensions of man, whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist, or in outward forms and ceremonies, or in a formal belief of the intellect in the historical records of the New Testament, they directed them to the Inward Witness which would show them the condition of their souls. They verily believed that this Inward Witness, and a diligent study of the Scriptures by its light, would lead them to the same conclusions on many points at which they had arrived, at the freeness of the Gospel ministry without payment and without charge, at the unscripturalness of war and of oaths, at the abolition by the Gospel of all types and outward ordinances, at the avoidance of all flattery and servility, and a severe temperance in dress, food, and the general manner of living; but these were to be the fruits of the spirit, the result of a devoted following after their Heavenly Guide, not the preliminaries for admission into the congregations of the “Friends of Truth.” Their primary ground of union, as officially stated by the Yearly Meeting, was “agreement of sentiment in regard to Christ’s inward teaching,” not a unity of belief in certain specified doctrines or practices; and there is the essence of true catholicity and enlightened toleration in George Fox’s reply to William Penn’s inquiry, when the latter first openly professed himself a Quaker, whether he must discontinue wearing his sword:—“Wear it as long as thou canst.”

The latter part of the seventeenth century was one of those remarkable periods of religious enthusiasm which now and then recur in the history of the world, such as had not been seen since

the stormy times of the Reformation, and did not occur again till the days of Wesley and Whitefield. It is a fact hitherto unexplained in the Natural History of Enthusiasm, that waves of religious belief appear to sweep over a nation or an epoch, and without any apparent outward communication, a consentaneity of thought seems to possess simultaneously a large number of earnest seekers after truth. Without admitting this idea, it is impossible to account for the rapid spread of Protestantism, of Quakerism, or of Wesleyanism. The journals of many of the early Friends testify to the fact that convictions as to the internal spiritual nature of the kingdom of Christ, identical with those which Fox preached, had previously been impressed upon their minds, and there are even instances of meetings having been gathered to worship after the manner of Friends, who had not heard of the existence of the Quakers. It was to strengthen and increase these bodies of spiritual believers that George Fox spent his life in travelling through the country and beyond the seas; his "Friends of Truth" were to be the chosen worshippers of God through Jesus Christ in spirit and in truth, gathered out of all sects to the one Head of the Church. This was his grand idea, a theory as noble and as pure as ever fired the breast of apostle or martyr; but alas! one that all history teaches us must ever be a dream which vanishes away before the infirmities of human nature. It seems impossible that this idea of forming "peculium," a church within the church, can ever survive the first generation of its founders; the mantle of Elijah no longer finds an Elisha on whose shoulders to descend, or the Elisha is but a feeble representative of his spiritual father. Invariably, as has been the case with the Quakers, in the second, or at furthest, the third generation, the church degenerates into a sect, and instead of continuing a society of men banded together for the one object of calling all men to a holy life, becomes an engine for promulgating peculiar practices or an eclectic view of divine truth.

The conditions of the age in which he lived, and the circumstances of George Fox's childhood, must all be taken into account in forming a just estimate of the man and of his position in history; even the nature of the district in which his childhood was passed, the open thinly inhabited country, the gently swelling undulations of the Vale of Beavor, may have had their influence in moulding his character. Wordsworth has finely described the influence of natural objects in strengthening the imagination in early youth:—

"Wisdom and spirit of the universe!
Thou soul that art the eternity of thought!
And giv'et to forms and images a breath

And everlasting motion! not in vain
By day or starlight, thus from my first dawn
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
The passions that build up our human soul;
Not with the mean and vulgar works of man,
But with high objects, with enduring things,
With life and nature; purifying thus
The elements of feeling and of thought,
And sanctifying by such discipline
Both pain and fear, until we recognise
A grandeur in the beatings of the heart."

Fox's childhood was to a great extent spent in solitude, his occupation, like that of David, the tending of sheep. Like all religiously brought up children in those days, he had a great knowledge of the Bible, often taking it with him into the fields to pore over in a hollow tree, until it had taught him the lesson which it carries to all ages, of the wonderful witness borne by the heart to the truth of the narrative which it records of God's dealing with man in the past history of the world. And these truths came to him like a divine revelation derived from the Source of all Truth. Those were not the days of rapid intercourse between one part of the country and another, when new ideas, true or erroneous, are disseminated at once to all quarters of the globe. There was then no branch establishment of Mudie's at Market Drayton from which the young student could learn the last phases of religious thought; a ponderous tome of divinity, brought at great expense from London or Bristol, or secured from the pedlar's pack, was treasured up in the cottage or homestead as an heirloom for generations. A tone of mind different from that of his neighbours must therefore be thought out with much searching of heart, or obtained by a diligent study of that book which the Reformation had opened to every one, the Bible. When therefore it suddenly came to the young enthusiast while walking through the fields that "being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ," he at once felt called upon to proclaim to the world this to him new truth. A number of earnest men united by having arrived in this way at original views of the relations between the moral and physical world, would necessarily possess far more coherence and proselytizing power than a society joined together by mere intellectual agreement in certain points of doctrine.

Having entered somewhat at length into the consideration of the church constitution and the religious tenets of the Society of Friends, we have but little space left for the third branch of our subject, its social life. There will be the less occasion, however,

to dwell upon this aspect of Quakerism, as it is that which presents itself most conspicuously to the casual observer. A comparison has frequently been drawn between the Quakers and the Freemasons, and the resemblance holds good in so far as both bodies are united together by a bond of brotherhood invisible to the outside world. Birthright membership, and the careful registration of the members of all the various Monthly Meetings, together with the uniting effect of the common membership of all in the great annual gathering the Yearly Meeting, and the prevalence of intermarriages within the Society, are the connecting links of this comparatively small body, scattered through almost every town of importance in the United Kingdom. The peculiarities also of dress and language by which members of the body recognised each other in a casual meeting, must also have assisted in perpetuating this fraternal feeling. It is not without some feelings of regret, that we see the well-known garb gradually disappearing from our streets—the attire which seemed the very impersonation of a quiet devout piety, not over-exertive, and combined with a calm assurance that godliness is profitable for this world as well as for that which is to come. What effect the disuse of the peculiar costume will have in disintegrating the Society, will remain to be seen; at all events it will furnish an opportunity for testing whether Quakerism really possesses any substantial *raison d'être* in the present age.

There is reason to believe that during the eighteenth century education was very much neglected among the Society of Friends; the foundation, however, about the year 1770, of Ackworth School in Yorkshire, by Dr. Fothergill, was the commencement of a new era. The sound and thorough education provided at this establishment has had a marked influence on the last two generations of Friends; and the fact that it numbers among its former scholars such names as the Right Hon. John Bright and the late Mr. James Wilson, M.P., in politics, Professor W. A. Miller in science, and Mr. William Howitt in literature, is in itself sufficient evidence that the high reputation enjoyed by Ackworth School is not undeserved. There are also several other schools in various parts of the country to which the children of those parents who cannot afford to defray the expenses of their education are sent at the cost of the meetings to which they belong, and where a training is provided calculated to fit them for a commercial or agricultural life; as well as many private schools of very high standing.

The interest taken by Friends as a body in all benevolent and philanthropic movements, is a matter of notoriety. In none has it been more conspicuous than in the amelioration of the treatment of the insane; and the medical profession, as well as the

public at large, will long owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Fothergill and Dr. Tuke for their laborious and patient researches into this interesting subject, and the clear judgment and Christian views which they brought to bear upon their investigations. The "Retreat" at York has long been confessedly one of the best conducted asylums for the insane in the country. The number of patients whom the Society furnishes to this institution is proportionally very large; and it would be interesting to ascertain whether this results from an actual larger prevalence of insanity among Friends than exists in the nation at large, or simply from the greater amount of care taken to repress the disorder in its early stages. The fact that the larger proportion of Quakers belong to the middle class and are in affluent or moderately comfortable circumstances, the comparative absence of those prolific sources of insanity, the vices of intemperance and gambling, and the virtual prohibition of the marriage of first cousins, would naturally tend to reduce the amount far below the average proportion. On the other hand, there are those who believe that the extent to which many Quakers have become addicted to the absorbing pursuit of money-getting, the absence of the light and healthy recreations of music and dancing, the fostering of habits of introverted silence and self-examination, and the extent to which (although first cousins cannot be married at their meeting-houses), many of their leading families have intermarried for several generations, have been fertile sources of mental disease. Intermarriages among the same families must always be frequent in a small community which discourages marriage-connexions with those outside the body; but if these are productive of insanity, we would expect to find it prevail to a much larger extent among the Jews, who intermarry to a greater extent and are more rigidly exclusive in their connexions, than the Quakers. If, again, the absence of amusement is productive of these results, the amount of insanity must gradually diminish as the restrictions on music and singing are gradually becoming relaxed in practice. There is no question that a very large proportion of the Quaker patients in the "Retreat" present examples of the form of mental disease known as religious hypochondria.

Friends have always been advocates and practisers of Temperance. Even before the days of modern teetotalism, John Woolman and Thomas Shillitoe were eloquent in denouncing the drinking customs of the nation. In the United States, where extreme views are much more prevalent than with us, an entire abstinence from all intoxicating beverages is considered indispensable to the character of a "consistent Friend," and is even introduced into the provisions of the discipline. In the London Yearly Meeting, however, attempts which have from time to

time been made to commit the Society to an expression of its adhesion to the doctrine of total abstinence as the only safe standing ground for those who would practically assist in stemming the tide of intemperance, have hitherto failed, there being a strong party who maintain that temperance and moderation are the only virtues in matters relating to meat and drink which a Christian Church is entitled to recognise.

Are we then to conclude that Quakerism has performed its mission upon the earth; that, having fulfilled an undoubtedly useful position in the history of the Church—having recalled her to a sense of an important aspect of divine truth of which she was in danger of losing sight altogether—the Society of Friends must now lose its distinctive characteristics and become merged in the State-church or in some one of the bodies of Protestant Dissenters;—that the language must be applied to it, so eloquently hurled at the Irish Establishment by Mr. Lowe—"Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?" The present aspect of the Society undoubtedly presents many indications, which have been ably pointed out by Mr. Hancock in "*The Peculium*," of a gradual relinquishing of its distinguishing features. The recent publication* by an acknowledged minister of the Society of a volume of sermons on a highly-important religious subject may indicate an approach to a sound profession of faith as understood by the Evangelical Alliance, but is a course we can hardly imagine to have been taken by George Fox or Edward Burrough, still less by Thomas Storey or Job Scott. The recent movement among some of the younger members (see an able article in the first number of the *Friends' Examiner*, by W. S. Lean, another acknowledged minister), to introduce the systematic reading of the Scriptures into their meetings for worship, may show a laudable earnestness that the Society shall not in future suffer from that lack of Scriptural knowledge which proved so desolating in the last century; but would most certainly have been denounced by the early Friends with one voice—notwithstanding their love for the Bible and their intimate acquaintance with its contents—as a form of will-worship utterly repugnant to their first principle of waiting upon God for the manifestation of His Holy Spirit to direct them in what manner they should worship Him, and as the introduction of a "liturgy," a form of worship and dependence upon man out of which it was their mission to call the people. It is, of course, possible that the present reaction in this direction may again subside, and that Friends will long remain the champions of their early testi-

* "*Lectures on Prayer*." By J. S. Sewell. Kitter, 1867.

mony to the witness for God ever striving in the heart of man. But the instances are very rare, if history can furnish them at all, of a sect which has once lost sight of the distinguishing feature of its schism, and has gradually approached to the main body of the Church, again returning to its first love, and bearing as clear a testimony to it as it did in its early days. Within certain bounds, the existence within a religious society of a very great divergence of belief, and even of entirely distinct tones of thought, is a source of strength rather than of weakness. In the words of Archbishop Whately—"The sort of variation resulting from independence and freedom of thought, so far from breaking the bond of religious unity, is the best preservative of it." Men are more likely to feel a deep-seated loyalty to a religious body which does not attempt to fetter them in matters of conscience, but some of whose tenets they have arrived at through the action of their own individual judgment, than towards one all of whose distinguishing views they are bound to adopt or to leave its communion.

We do not profess to probe the future. While Quakerism has been gradually losing some of its distinctive marks, on other points the world has slowly adopted the views of the Friends. Not only during its early days, but even in the darkest period of its mediæval apostacy, the Society of Friends upheld views and practices which have since become those of the civilized world. They have always been the foremost champions of such social and philanthropic reforms as the acknowledgment of the perfect equality of all creeds in the eye of the State, and of the equal right of all races and conditions of men to the enjoyment of liberty, and the protection of the laws; of the unscripturalness of all priestcraft, and of the dependence of the Church on the State; of the uselessness of a code of laws of Draconian severity in repressing crime; and of the injurious effects of the multiplication of civil paths. So in religious opinions, the doctrines of the Universality of Divine Grace, and of the Indwelling Word, are no longer the peculiar possession of the Quakers, but are shared by a large and growing section of the Christian Church in all sects and denominations. Whether, therefore, it may still be needed that a small and exclusive sect should continue to be separated for the purpose of perpetuating its testimony to these doctrines, is a subject well open to doubt. It may be that the chief danger to be apprehended by the Church at the present time is in another direction; from the gradual progress of Ritualism and Roman Catholic dogma, and that the Society of Friends is not so faithful as some other Protestant sects in resisting their insidious advance. If so, it must yield its place to others, who can see more clearly the signs of the times, and

no longer encumber the ground that may be occupied by more fruitful trees. It may be that we are on the eve of another great religious movement, which will absorb into itself all that is sound and healthy in the Established Church, in Wesleyanism, in Quakerism, and in the other forms of Protestant dissent, and that the withered branches will fall to the ground by their own weight. But whatever may be the future of Quakerism, the candid historian will always acknowledge that in its past history it has rendered good service to the cause of an enlightened understanding and promulgation of the great principles of civil and religious liberty.

We have referred to the movement which appears to have already made some way in the Society of Friends towards a critical investigation of the Scriptures on the basis of an appeal to the reason as the ultimate arbiter of their authenticity. Should this movement continue to progress as it has done during the last ten years, not only in Quakerism but in other Protestant sects, it must ultimately lead to the conviction that true religion and morality are altogether independent of creed; that, in truth, the creeds of the Churches have stood more in the way of the spread of true morality than anything else whatever. If the Church were to spend her strength in practically inculcating the high morality taught in the New Testament, rather than in insisting on unity in abstruse doctrinal points which have no bearing on the outward life, where would be the need of sects? In so far as Fox and the early Quakers attempted to "draw men out of sects," and to band together all who were united in the desire for a holy life, Quakerism had in it the seeds of stability; in so far as modern Quakerism has degenerated into a schism of the Christian Church, inculcating certain doctrines as necessary to salvation, it will be absorbed with the other sects into the "Church of the Future"—"a union of those who look on that part of man in which he is said to be like to God, as his best and noblest, and who dedicate themselves to the cultivation of this—a Catholic union, with no religious creed whatever."* But great must be the change in the constitution of the Society, great must be the reaction from the "evangelical" and doctrinal tone which pervades it at the present time, before it can lay any claim to be regarded as a truly Catholic body.

* Mr. F. W. Newman.

ART. II.—THE POEMS AND PROSE REMAINS OF ARTHUR
HUGH CLOUGH.

The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough, with a Selection from his Letters, and a Memoir. Edited by his WIFE. In two volumes, with a Portrait. Vol. II. Poems. London : Macmillan and Co. 1869.

THESE two volumes contain all that will now be given to the world of a very rare and remarkable mind. The editor has, we think, exercised a wise confidence in transgressing what is usually a safe rule in posthumous publications, and including in the volume some prose that the author had probably not composed for permanence, and some verse that is either palpably unfinished, or at any rate not stamped with the author's final approval. Clough's productive impulse was not energetic, and only operated under favourable conditions, which the circumstances of his life but scantily afforded. Therefore the sum total of his remains, when all is included, does not form an unwieldy book ; and on the other hand his work is so sincere and independent that even when the result is least interesting it does not disappoint, while his production is always so rigidly in accordance with the inner laws of his nature, and expresses so faithfully the working of his mind, that nothing we have here could have been spared, without a loss of at least biographical completeness. There is much that will hardly be interesting, except to those who have been powerfully influenced by the individuality of the author. But the number of such persons (as every evidence shows), has not diminished, but largely increased during the ten years that have elapsed since his death : the circle of interest has gone on widening without becoming fainter, and now includes no small portion of a younger generation, to whom especially the publication of these volumes will afford timely and welcome gratification.

The tentative and gradual process by which Clough's remains have been published is evidence and natural result of the slow growth of his popularity. For this there seem to have been several reasons. It is partly due to the subject matter of his writings. He was in a very literal sense before his age. His point of view and habit of mind are less singular in England in the year 1869 than they were in 1859, and much less than they were in 1849. We are growing year by year more introspective and selfconscious : the current philosophy leads us to a close,
[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. B B

patient, and impartial observation and analysis of our mental processes: and the current philosophy is partly the effect and partly the cause of a more widespread tendency. We are growing at the same time more unreserved and unveiled in our expression: in conversations, in journals and books, we more and more say and write what we actually do think and feel, and not what we intend to think or should desire to feel. We are growing also more sceptical in the proper sense of the word: we suspend our judgment much more than our predecessors, and much more contentedly: we see that there are many sides to many questions: the opinions that we do hold we hold if not more loosely, at least more at arm's length: we can imagine how they appear to others, and can conceive ourselves not holding them. We are losing in faith and confidence: if we are not failing in hope, our hopes at least are becoming more indefinite; and we are gaining in impartiality and comprehensiveness of sympathy. In each of these respects, Clough, if he were still alive, would find himself gradually more and more at home in the changing world. In the second place his style, at least in his longer poems, is, though without any affectation, very peculiar: at the same time he has not sufficient loudness of utterance to compel public attention. Such a style is naturally slow in making way. Even a sympathizing reader has to get accustomed to its oddities before he can properly feel its beauties. Afterwards, if it has real excellence, its peculiarity becomes an additional charm. Again, the chief excellence of Clough's style lies in a very delicate and precise adaptation of form to matter, attained with felicitous freshness and singular simplicity of manner; it has little superficial brilliancy wherewith to captivate a reader who through carelessness or want of sympathy fails to apprehend the *nuance* of feeling.

To this we may perhaps add, that the tone which many of Clough's personal friends have adopted in speaking of the author and his writings has, though partly the result, been also partly the cause of the slow growth of their popularity. It was, for example, certainly a misfortune that in issuing the first posthumous edition of these poems, Mrs. Clough prefaced them with a notice by Mr. Palgrave, a critic of much merit, but quite inappreciative of his friend's peculiar genius, and whose voluble dogmatism renders his well-meant patronage particularly depressing. There is a natural disposition among personal friends to dwell upon unrealized possibilities, and exalt what a man would, could, or should have done at the expense of what he actually did; and to this in Clough's case circumstances were very favourable. In the first place he produced very little, and the habit of demanding from candidates for

literary fame a certain quantum of production seems inveterate, though past experience has shown the fallacy of the demand, and we may expect it to become still more patent in the future. Indeed, if we continue as we are now doing, to extend our own literary production and our sympathy and familiarity with past and alien literature *pari passu*, the reader of the future will have so much difficulty in distributing his time among the crowd of immortal works, that he certainly will contract a dislike to the more voluminous. And in the case of poems like these, that are attractive chiefly because they are characteristical and representative, because they express in an original and appropriate manner a side of human life, a department of thought and feeling, that waited for poetical expression, voluminous production seems not only unnecessary but even dangerous. On a subjective poet continence should especially be enjoined; if he writes much he is in danger of repeating words or tune; if he tries to write much he is in danger of mistaking his faculties and forcing his inspiration.

But besides this scantiness of production, there is much in the external aspect of Clough's career which justifies the disposition to regard his life as "wasted"—at best an interesting failure. We have before us a man always trying to solve insoluble problems, and reconcile secular antagonisms, pondering the "uralte ewige Räthsel" of existence, at once inert and restless, finding no fixed basis for life nor elevated sphere of action, tossed from one occupation to another, and exhausting his energies in work that brought little money and no fame; a man who cannot suit himself to the world nor the world to him, who will neither heartily accept mundane conditions and pursue the objects of ordinary mankind, nor effectively reject them as a devotee of something definite; a dreamer who will not even dream pleasant dreams, a man who "makes the worst of both worlds."

This is no doubt a natural complaint from a practical point of view, but it ignores the fact that the source of Clough's literary originality and importance lies precisely in what unfitted him for practical success. He was overweighted with certain impulses, felt certain feelings with a too absorbing and prolonged intensity, but the impulses were noble, at least an "infirmity of noble minds," they are incident to most fine natures at a certain stage of their development, and generally are not repressed without a certain sense of loss and sacrifice. This phase of feeling is worthy of being worthily expressed, and it is natural that it should be so expressed by one who feels it more strongly than other men, too strongly for his own individual happiness. It is the same with other phases of feeling. Out of many poets there are few Goethes; the most are sacrificed in some sort to

their poetical function, and it is but a commonplace sympathy that loudly regrets it. Those at any rate who had no personal knowledge of Clough, may recognise that this life, apparently so inharmonious, was really in the truest harmony with the work that nature gave him to do. In one sense, no doubt, that work was incomplete and fragmentary; the effort of the man who ponders insoluble problems, and spends his passion on the vain endeavour to reconcile aspirations and actualities, must necessarily be so; the incompleteness is essential, not accidental. But his expression of what he had to express is scarcely incomplete, and though we have no doubt lost something by his premature death, we can hardly think that we have lost the best he had to give. His poetical utterance was connected by an inner necessity with his personal experience, and he had already passed into a phase of thought and feeling which could hardly lead to artistic expression so penetrating and stirring as his earlier poems.

But we shall better discuss this question after a closer examination of his work, of what he had to express and how he expressed it.

In this examination we shall treat Clough as a poet. It is necessary to premise this, because he was a philosophic poet; a being about whose nature and *raison d'être* the critical world is not thoroughly agreed. Philosophic poetry is often treated as if it was versified philosophy, as if its primary function was to "convey ideas," the only question being whether these should be conveyed with or without metre. Proceeding on this assumption, an influential sect maintains that there ought to be no philosophic poetry at all; that the "ideas" it "conveys" had much better seek the channel of prose. To us it seems that what poetry has to communicate is not ideas but moods and feelings; and that if a feeling reaches sufficient intensity, whatever be its specific quality, it is adapted for a poetical form, though highly intellectual moods are harder to mould to the conditions of metrical expression than others. The question is often raised, especially at the present day, when our leading poets are philosophic, whether such and such a poem—say Browning's "Christmas Eve," or parts of "In Memoriam"—would not have been better in prose. And the question is often a fair one for discussion, but a wrong criterion is used for determining it. If such a poem is really unpoetical, it is not because it contains too much thought, but too little feeling to steep and penetrate the thought. Tried by this test, a good deal of Browning's thought-laden verse, and some of Tennyson's, will appear not truly poetical; the feeling is not adequate. Although Clough sometimes fails in this way, it may generally be said that with him the greater the contention of thought, the more intense is

the feeling transfused through it. He becomes unpoetical chiefly when he becomes less eagerly intellectual, when he lapses for a moment into mild optimism, or any form of languid contentment; or when like Wordsworth he caresses a rather too trivial mood; very rarely when the depths of his mind are stirred. He is, then, pre-eminently a philosophic poet, communicator of moods that depend on profound and complex trains of reflection, abstract and highly refined speculations, subtle intellectual perceptions, and that cannot be felt unless these are properly apprehended. He is to a great extent a poet for thinkers; but he moves them not as a thinker, but as a poet.

We do not mean to say that Clough was not a thinker; but the term is somewhat indefinite, and in one sense he was not. His mind brooded over a few great questions, and was rather finely receptive than eagerly discursive; he did not enjoy the mere exercise of thought for its own sake. This is evidenced by the first of the volumes before us, especially the letters, which, except in the rare instances where he drops to his habitual depth of meditation, are perhaps somewhat disappointing. There is humour in them, but the vein is thin; and subtlety, perpetual subtlety, and from time to time a pleasant flow of characteristically whimsical fancy; there is also a permanent accuracy, propriety, *justesse* of observation, remarkable in compositions so carelessly thrown off; but fertility and rapid movement of ideas are wanting. They do not seem the work of a mind that ranges with pleasure and vigour over all subjects that come in its way. The critical essays, again, that have been republished, though exceedingly just, careful, and independent, and therefore always worth reading, are not very striking; with the exception of occasional passages where passionate utterance is given to some great general truth. But though he was too much of a poet to care greatly for the mere exercise of the cognitive faculties, though no one could less have adopted the "philosopher's paradox" of Lessing, we may still call him philosophic from his passionate devotion not to Search after Truth, but to Truth itself, absolute, exact truth. He was philosophic in his horror of illusions and deceptions of all kinds; in his perpetual watchfulness against prejudices and prepossessions; against the Idols, as Bacon calls them, of the Cave and the Theatre, as well as of the Tribe and the Market-place. He was made for a free-thinker rather than a scientific inquirer. His skill lay in balancing assertions, comparing points of view, sifting gold from dross in the intellectual products presented to him, rejecting the rhetorical, defusing the vague, paring away the exaggerative, reducing theory and argument to their simplest form, their "lowest terms." "Lumen Siccum," as he calls it in

one of his poems, is the object of his painful search, his eager hope, his anxious loyalty.

The intellectual function, then, which Clough naturally assumed was scepticism of the Socratic sort, scepticism occupied about problems on which grave practical issues depended. The fundamental assumptions involved in men's habitual lines of endeavour, which determined their ends and guided the formation of their rules, he was continually endeavouring to clear from error, and fix upon a sound basis. He would not accept either false solutions or no solutions, nor, unless very reluctantly, provisional solutions. At the same time, he saw just as clearly as other men that the continued contemplation of insoluble problems is not merely unpractical, but anti-practical; and that a healthy and natural instinct forces most men, after a few years of feverish youthful agitation, resolutely to turn away from it. But with this instinct Clough's fine passion for absolute truth conflicted; if he saw two sides of a question, he must keep seeking a point of view from which they might be harmonized. In one of the most impressive of the poems classed in this edition as "*Songs of Absence*," he describes his disposition

"To finger idly some old Gordian knot,
Unskilled to loosen and too weak to cleave;"

but the reluctance to cleave knots, in the speculative sphere, does not proceed from weakness.

It is this supreme loyalty to reason, combining and conflicting with the most comprehensive and profound sympathy with other elements of human nature, that constitutes the peculiar charm of Clough's scepticism, and its peculiar adaptation to poetical expression. Towards the beliefs to which other men were led by their desires, he was as strongly, or more strongly, impelled than others; the assertions in which they formulated their hopes he would gladly have made with the same cheerful dogmatism. His yearning for the ideal he never tried to quench or satisfy with aught but its proper satisfaction; but meanwhile the claims of the real, to be accepted as real, are paramount. He clings to the "*beauty of his dreams*;" but—two and two make four. It is the painfulness, and yet inevitableness of this conflict, the childlike simplicity and submissiveness with which he yields himself up to it; the patient tenacity with which he refuses to quit his hold of any of the conflicting elements; the consistency with which it is carried into every department of life; the strange mixture of sympathy and want of sympathy with his fellow-creatures that necessarily accompanies it, that makes the moods which he has expressed in verse so rare, complex, subtle, and intense.

We may classify these moods, according to a division suggested by this edition, into first, those of religious scepticism, where the philosophic impulse is in conflict with the mystical; secondly, those of ethical scepticism, where it contends with habitual active principles; thirdly, those where it is perplexed with the most clamorous and absorbing of human enthusiasms, the passion which forms the peculiar topic of poetry. It is this latter division that at once completes the consistency of Clough's scepticism, and forms its most novel, original, and least understood application. As he himself says, not only "saint and sage," but also "poet's dreams,"

"Divide the light in coloured streams ;"

the votary of truth must seek "lumen siccum."

The personal history of Clough's religious scepticism has rather to be guessed than known from the records of his life that lie before us. The memoir prefixed to the volume, written with great delicacy and dignity, but with an unreserve and anxious exactness in describing his phases of thought and feeling worthy of the subject and most grateful to the reader, can tell us little on this head. Nor do the letters that lead us up to the time when he must in effect have abandoned the beliefs of his childhood at all prepare us for so deep a change. At Rugby he seems to have yielded himself entirely to the influence of Arnold, and to have embraced with zealous docility the view of life which that remarkable man impressed so strongly, for good or for evil, on his more susceptible pupils. But though somewhat over-solemn and prematurely earnest, like many Rugby boys of the time, he was saved from priggishness by his perfect simplicity. At Balliol he shows nothing of the impulsiveness, vehemence, and restlessness, the spirit of dispute and revolt, which are supposed to precede and introduce deliberate infidelity. Thrown upon Oxford at the time when the "Newmanitish phantasm," as he calls it, was startling and exciting Young England, he writes of the movement to his friends with a mild and sober eclecticism—a tranquil *juste-milieu* temper which would become a dean. He is candidly observant, gives measured admiration for good points, notes extravagances, suggests the proper antidotes, seems disposed, on the whole, to keep out of the atmosphere of controversy and devote himself to his studies. Nothing could give smoother promise of untroubled orthodoxy. It is true that he speaks of being "exhausted by the vortex of philosophism;" and he must have been much more powerfully influenced by Newmanism than these letters indicate. He said afterwards, that for two years of this time he had been "like a straw drawn up the vortex of a chimney." His mind

seems habitually to have been swayed by large, slow, deep sea currents, the surface remaining placid, even tame; such a steady hidden movement it seems to have been that floated him away from his old moorings of belief. Gradually or suddenly the theologico-juridical, ecclesiastico-mystical dialectics that went on around him became shadowy and unreal; all his religious needs, hopes, aspirations remaining the same, a new view of the universe, with slowly accumulating force, impressed itself irresistibly on his mind, with which not only the intellectual beliefs entwined with these needs and aspirations seemed incompatible, but even these latter fundamentally incongruous. And thus began a conflict between old and new that was to last his life, the various moods of which the series of his religious poems, solemn, passionate, and ironical, accurately expresses.*

Perhaps the first characteristic that we notice in these is their rare reality and spontaneity. We feel that they are uttered, just as they appear, from an inner necessity; there was no choice to say them or not to say them. With some poets religious unbelief or doubt seems an abiding attitude of intellect, but only occasionally to engross the heart; their utterances have the gusty force of transitory passion, not the vitality of permanent feeling. But with Clough it is different: the whole man is in the poems, they spring from the very core of his being. The levity of some of them is as touching as the solemnity of others; it is a surface-mood, showing explored depths beneath it, in which an unrestful spirit finds momentary relief. Another characteristic is, that over the saddest cries of regret and struggles of checked aspiration is spread a certain tranquillity—not of hope, still less of despair, but a tranquillity that has something Aristotelian in it, the tranquillity of intellectual contemplation. It is curious, for example, to contrast the imperishable complaint of Alfred de Musset:—

* A similar account is to be given of another event in his life, his abandonment of outward conformity to Anglicanism and its material appurtenances of an Oriel fellowship and tutorship. No reader of his life and writings can doubt that with him this step was necessarily involved in the change of opinions: yet many years elapsed between the two, and his biographer thinks that it was "some half-accidental confirmation of his doubts as to the honesty and usefulness of his course" that finally led him to resignation. Such accident can surely have been but the immediate occasion, expressing the slow hidden growth of resolve. Lax subscription to articles was the way of Clough's world: and it belonged to his balanced temper to follow the way of his world for a time, not approving, but provisionally submitting and experimentalizing. To do what others do till its unsatisfactoriness has been thoroughly proved, and then suddenly to refuse to do it any longer, is not exactly heroic, nor is it the way to make life pleasant; but as a *via media* between fanaticism and worldliness, it would naturally commend itself to a mind like Clough's.

"Quand j'ai connu la vérité,
J'ai cru que c'était une amie ;
Quand je l'ai comprise et sentie,
J'en etais déjà degouté ;"

with Clough's,

"It fortifies my soul to know
That though I perish, Truth is so."

The known order of the world, even without the certainty of a personal God, source or correlate of that order, afforded somewhat of philosophic satisfaction, however little it could content the yearnings of his soul. It was a sort of *terra firma*, on which he could set his feet, while his eyes gazed with patient scrutiny into the unanswering void. Further, we remark in these moods their balanced, complex character; there is either a solemn reconciliation of conflicting impulses, or a subtle and shifting suggestion of different points of view. Specimens of the former are two hymns (as we may call them), headed "*Qui laborat orat*," and *ὁμνος αὐμνος*; they attempt to reconcile the intellectual resolve to retain clear vision with religious self-abandonment. The latter of these has a little too much intellectual subtlety and academic antithesis; but the former is one of Clough's most perfect productions; there is a deep pathos in the restrained passion of worship, and the clear-cut exactness of phrase, as it belongs to the very essence of the sentiment, enhances the dignity of the style. Somewhat similar in feeling, but more passionate and less harmonious, is the following fragment:—

"O let me love my love unto myself alone,
And know my knowledge to the world unknown :
No witness to the vision call,
Beholding, unbeheld of all ;
And worship Thee, with Thee withdrawn apart,
Whoe'er, whate'er Thou art,
Within the closest veil of mine own inmost heart.

* * * * *

Better it were, thou sayest, to consent :
Feast while we may, and live ere life be spent ;
Close up clear eyes, and call the unstable sure,
The unlovely lovely, and the filthy pure ;
In self-belyings, self-deceivings roll,
And lose in Action, Passion, Talk, the soul."

Nay, better far to mark off so much air,
And call it Heaven : place bliss and glory there ;
Fix perfect homes in the unsubstantial sky,
And say, what is not will be by-and-bye."

Sometimes the intellectual, or as we have called it, philoso-

phical element, shows itself in a violence of sincerity that seems reckless, but is rather, to use a German word, *rücksichtslos*; it disregards other considerations, not from blind impulse but deep conviction. The tone of the poem is then that of one walking firmly over red-hot ploughshares, and attests at once the passion and the painfulness of looking facts in the face. In the fine poem called "Easter Day" (where a full sense of the fascination of the Christian story and the belief in immortality depending on it, and of the immensity of its loss to mankind, conflicts with scientific loyalty to the modern explanation of it), the intensity of the blended feeling fuses a prosaic material into poetry very remarkably.

"What if the women, ere the dawn was grey,
Saw one or more great angels, as they say,
(Angels or Him himself)? Yet neither there, nor then,
Nor afterwards, nor elsewhere, nor at all,
Hath he appeared to Peter or the Ten;
Nor, save in thunderous terror, to blind Saul;
Save in an after Gospel and late Creed,
He is not risen, indeed
Christ is not risen.

* * * * *

As circulates in some great city crowd
A rumour changeful, vague, importunate, and loud,
From no determined centre, or of fact
Or authorship exact,
Which no man can deny
Nor verify,
So spread the wondrous fame:
He all the same
Lay senseless, mouldering, low:
He was not risen, no —
Christ was not risen!

Ashes to ashes, dust to dust;
As of the unjust, also of the just;
Yea of that Just one, too!
This is the one sad Gospel that is true,
Christ is not risen!

The complex and balanced state of Clough's moods shows itself in an irony unlike the irony of any other writer; it is so subtle, frequently fading to a mere shade, and so all-pervading. In the midst of apparently most earnest expression of any view, it surprises us with a suggestion of the impossibility that that view should be adequate; sometimes it shifts from one side of a question to the other, so that it is impossible to tell either from direct expression or ironical suggestion what the writer's deci-

sion on the whole is. In some of the later stanzas of the poem we have quoted the irony becomes very marked, as where the "Men of Galilee" are addressed :—

" Ye poor deluded youths, go home,
Mend the old nets ye left to roam,
Tie the split oar, patch the torn sail :
It was indeed an 'idle tale,'
He was not risen."

The truth is, that though Clough from time to time attempts to reconcile and settle, his deepest conviction is that all settlement is premature. We meet continually phrases like the

" Believe it not, yet leave it not,
And wait it out, O man,"

of one of his earlier poems. To use a favourite image of his, the universe, by our present arithmetic, comes to much less than we had fondly imagined. Our arithmetic is sound, and must be trusted ; in fact, it is the only arithmetic we have got. Still the disappointing nature of the result (and let us never pretend to ourselves that it is not disappointing) may be taken as some evidence of its incompleteness.

This irony assumes a peculiar tone when it is directed to vulgar, shallow, unworthy states of mind. It is not that Clough passionately repudiates these, and takes up a censorial position outside and over against them ; these, too, are facts, common and important facts of humanity ; *humani nihil*—not even Philistinism—*a se alienum putat*. His contempt for them is deep, but not bitter ; indeed, so far from bitter that a dull pious ear may misperceive in it an unpleasing levity. His mode of treating them is to present them in extreme and bald simplicity, so that the mind recoils from them. A penetrating observer describes something like this as a part of Clough's conversational manner. "He had a way," says Mr. Bagehot, "of presenting your own view to you, so that you saw what it came to, and that you did not like it." A good instance of this occurs in an unfinished poem, called the "Shadow" (published in this edition for the first time). We quote the greater part of it, as it also exemplifies Clough's powerful, though sparingly exercised, imagination ; which here, from the combination of sublimity and quaintness, reminds one of Richter, only that we have antique severity instead of romantic profuseness :—

" I dreamed a dream : I dreamt that I espied,
Upon a stone that was not rolled aside,
A Shadow sit upon a grave—a Shade,

As thin, as unsubstantial, as of old
 Came, the Greek poet told,
 To lick the life-blood in the trench Ulysses made—
 As pale, as thin, and said :
 ‘ I am the Resurrection of the Dead.
 The night is past, the morning is at hand,
 And I must in my proper semblance stand,
 Appear brief space and vanish,—listen, this is true,
 I am that Jesus whom they slew.’

And shadows dim, I dreamed, the dead apostles came,
 And bent their heads for sorrow and for shame—
 Sorrow for their great loss, and shame
 For what they did in that vain name.

And in long ranges far behind there seemed
 Pale vapoury angel forms ; or was it cloud ? that kept
 Strange watch ; the women also stood beside and wept.

And Peter spoke the word :
 ‘ O my own Lord,
 What is it we must do ?
 Is it then all untrue ?
 Did we not see, and hear, and handle Thee,
 Yea, for whole hours
 Upon the Mount in Galilee,
 On the lake shore, and here at Bethany,
 When Thou ascended to Thy God and ours ?’

And paler still became the distant cloud,
 And at the word the women wept aloud.

And the Shade answered, ‘ What ye say I know not ;
 But it is true
 I am that Jesus whom they slew,
 Whom ye have preached, but in what way I know not.’

● ● ● ● ●

And the great World, it chanced, came by that way,
 And stopped, and looked, and spoke to the police,
 And said the thing, for order’s sake and peace,
 Most certainly must be suppressed, the nuisance cease.
 His wife and daughter must have where to pray,
 And whom to pray to, at the least one day
 In seven, and something sensible to say.

Whether the fact so many years ago
 Had, or not, happened, how was he to know ?
 Yet he had always heard that it was so.
 As for himself, perhaps it was all one ;
 And yet he found it not unpleasant, too,
 On Sunday morning in the roomy pew,
 To see the thing with such decorum done.
 As for himself, perhaps it was all one ;

Yet on one's death-bed all men always said
It was a comfortable thing to think upon
The atonement and the resurrection of the dead.
So the great World as having said his say,
Unto his country-house pursued his way.
And on the grave the Shadow sat all day.

The effect of the latter part is like that of stripping an uncouth body, familiar to us as respectably draped and costumed, and showing it without disguise or ornament. That "the world" has never seen himself in this nakedness we feel: but we also feel that here is the world which we know. The two lines before the three last show the felicitous audacity with which Clough sometimes manages metre: nothing could more sharply give the shallowness of the mood in contrast with the solemnity of the subject than the careless glibness of the lines

"It was a comfortable thing to think upon
The atonement and the resurrection of the dead."

The longest of the religious poems is an unfinished one called the "Mystery of the Fall." The fundamental idea seems to be this. The legend of the Fall represents a permanent and universal element of human feeling, the religious conviction of sin, but only one element: the beliefs corresponding to it, even if intuitive consciousness is relied upon as their evidence, are not affirmed by the sum total of valid consciousness—taking 'Sunday and work-days' together. Not only do our practical necessities and active impulses require and generate other conceptions of the universe which seem incompatible with the religious, but the latter is unsatisfying in itself: the notions of perfect creation, lapse, wrath, propitiation, though they correspond to a part of our religious experience, yet do not content our religious feeling as an adequate account of the relation of God to man. This Clough has tried to express, keeping the framework of the old legend, in dialogues between Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel after expulsion from the garden. The transitions and blendings of the different moods are given with a close and subtle fidelity to psychological truth: and this putting of new wine into old bottles is perhaps justified by the prominence in human history of the Hebrew legend. There is no reason why Adam and his family should not be permanent machinery for serious fable, as Jove and his subordinates are for burlesque. Still the incongruity between the modern moods (and especially the perfect self-consciousness accompanying them) and the antique personages and incidents is here too whimsical: and, for poetry, the thought is too predominant, and the feeling not sufficiently intense; to some parts of the subject, as the murder of Abel, Clough's imagi-

nation is inadequate: and on the whole the result is interesting rather than successful, and we doubt whether the poem could ever have been completed so as to satisfy the author's severe self-criticism.

We take a very different view of the other unfinished long poem, "Dipsychus." If it had received the author's final touches, a few trivialities and whimsicalities would no doubt have been pruned away: but we doubt whether the whole could have been much improved. It has certain grave defects which seem to us irremovable, and we should rank it as a work of art below either of his hexameter poems. There is not sufficient movement or evolution in it; the feeling is too purely egoistic to keep up our sympathies so long; and it is not sufficiently framed. The Venetian scenes in which the dialogue goes on, though appropriate to some of the moods, have no particular connexion with the most important: whereas in "Amours de voyage," and still more in the "Bothie," the harmonizing of external and internal presentments is admirably managed. At the same time the composition is one of great interest. The stress of feeling is so sustained, the changes and fluctuations of mood are given with such perfect propriety, the thought and expression are so bold and novel yet free from paradox, so subtle without a particle of mere ingenuity. The blank verse too in parts, though only in parts, seems to have been carefully studied, and, though a little too suggestive of Elizabethan models, to attain a really high pitch of excellence. Perhaps no other poem of Clough's has so decidedly this one 'note' of genius, that its utterances are at once individual and universal, revealing the author to the reader, and at the same time the reader to himself.

The constructive idea of the poem, which is a dialogue between a man and an attendant spirit, is taken of course from Faust. But Goethe (as his half-apologetic prologue hints) sacrificed something in adapting his idea to the conditions of drama: and the issues in Clough's debate are so much finer, that we feel nothing imitative in his development of the conception. The suggestions of the spirit are never clearly fiendish in themselves; with much skill their fiendishness is made to lie in their relation to the man's thoughts. The spirit, in fact, is the "spirit of the world;" and the close of the debate is not between clear right and wrong (however plausible wrong), but between two sides of a really difficult question, how far in acting on society rules and courses repugnant to the soul's ideal are to be adopted. True to himself, Clough does not decide the question; and though his sympathies are on the side of the ideal, we never know quite how far he would pronounce against the fiend.

The second part of the poem is almost too fragmentary to dis-

cuss. In it the man appears at the close of a successful career, having been attuned and attempered to the world by an immoral liaison. How far this means is justified by that end seems to us a disagreeable specialization of the general problem of the first part, much more easy to decide. It is worked out however with much force. Several songs included in this poem were in the first edition published separately; by a great mistake, we cannot but think, as they have more force and beauty in their original setting; and it was a little unfair to Clough (though less than might be expected) to publish his fiend's utterances as his own.

We turn now to what we may call the amatory scepticism. This is a more proper subject of poetry, as thought here is in no danger of being too predominant over feeling; at the same time it is more novel and original, as on no subject do poets in general less allow thought to interfere with feeling. Poets, in fact, are the recognised preachers of the divinity, eternity, omnipotence of Love. It is true that with some of them fits of despair alternate with enthusiasm, and they proclaim that Love is an empty dream: but the notion of scrutinizing the enthusiasm sympathetically, yet scientifically, and estimating the precise value of its claims and assertions, probably never entered into any poetic soul before Clough. Nor is it less alien to the habits of ordinary humanity. That the lover's state is a frenzy, innocuous indeed, delightful, perhaps even laudable as a part of nature's arrangements for carrying on the affairs of the world, but still a frenzy; that we all go into it and come out of it, take one view of things in general when in it and another when out of it: is what practical people accept with more or less playful or cynical acquiescence. Poets have a licence to take an opposite view, in fact we should be disappointed if they did not; but we listen to them not for truth but for pleasant illusion. It will be seen how impossible it was for Clough's nature to acquiesce in this. Goethe sings of

“Den Drang nach Wahrheit und die Lust am Trug”

as part of the poet's endowment. It was Clough's peculiarity, perhaps his defect, as a poet, that he had not the “Lust am Trug.” He feels the rapture that illusion gives, he quotes more than once with sympathy

“Wen Gott betrügt ist wohl betrogen,”

but such “wohl” he could not himself appropriate. Nor could he serenely separate idea from fact, as his friend Emerson does in the following passage.

“And the first condition [of painting Love] is, that we must leave a too close and lingering adherence to the actual, to facts. . . . Everything is beautiful seen from the point of the intellect. But all

is sour, if seen as experience. Details are always melancholy: the plan is seemly and noble. It is strange how painful is the actual world,—the painful kingdom of time and place. There dwells care and canker and fear. With thought, with the ideal, is immortal hilarity, the rose of joy."

This well illustrates by contrast the fundamental mood of Clough. For his imagination at any time thus to abandon *terra firma* and console itself with cloudland would have been impossible. The fascination of the ideal was as strong for him as for other poets, but not stronger than the necessity of making it real. Hence in that period of youthful forecast and partial experience of passion, in which the finest love-fancies of most poets are woven, he perpetually feels the need of combining clear vision with exaltation. He keeps questioning Love as to what it really is, whence it comes, whither it goes: he demands a transcendental evaluation of it.

" Whence are ye, vague desires ?
Whence are ye ?

From seats of bliss above,
Where angels sing of love,
From subtle airs around,
Or from the vulgar ground ;
Whence are ye, vague desires ?
Whence are ye ?"

" Is love spiritual or earthly ?" is the passionate perplexity that tinges many of his songs. Or if this pearl of great price is to be found on earth, how shall we know it from its counterfeits, by what criterion discern the impulses that lead us to the true and the false ? In one of the finer passages of the "*Mari Magno*" tales, this longing for direction is uttered.

" Beside the wishing gate which so they name,
'Mid northern hills to me this fancy came,
A wish I formed, my wish I thus expressed :
Would I could wish my wishes all to rest,
And know to wish the wish that were the best !
Oh for some winnowing wind, to the empty air
This chaff of easy sympathies to bear
Far off, and leave me of myself aware !
While thus this over-health deludes me still,
So willing that I know not what I will ;
Oh for some friend or more than friend austere
To make me know myself and make me fear !
Oh for some touch, too noble to be kind,
To awake to life the mind within the mind."

But if love be after all only "a wondrous animal delight" in which

nature's periodic blossoming culminates, the philosophic spirit, however deep its yearning, cannot submit to it, but has to contemplate it from the outside with tender and curious sympathy. This mood tinged with playfulness inspired the charming song in which he describes how he

" Watched in pleasant Kensington
A 'prentice and a maid.
That Sunday morning's April glow,
How should it not impart
A stir about the veins that flow
To feed the youthful heart?"

The rapture of this sympathetic contemplation is expressed in "*Amours de Voyage*."

" All as I go on my way, I behold them consorting and coupling;
Faithful it seems and fond: very fond, very possibly faithful,
All as I go on my way with a love and contentment unmingled.
Life is beautiful, Eustace, and could we eliminate wholly
This vile hungering impulse, this demon within us of craving,
Life were beatitude, living a perfect divine satisfaction."

This leads us to the deepest issue of all—a thoroughly Platonic problem. Be this love as noble as it may, is its exaltation compatible with clear vision? Does not this individualized enthusiasm of necessity draw away from the centrality of view and feeling after which the philosophic spirit aspires? Is it not unworthy of us, for any pleasure's sake, to be tricked by its magic and take its coloured light for white?

But we are tired of reducing to prose the various phases of this subtle blending and conflict of enthusiasms. As expressed by Clough they have the perfect vitality and reality of all his moods. None of these perplexities are arbitrarily sought; the questions raised must each have been raised and decided by many human beings since self-consciousness began. If no poet has uttered them before, it is because in most men the state of mind in which they were felt is incompatible with the flow of feeling that poetry requires. Clough's nature was, perhaps, deficient in passion, but it had a superabundant tenderness and susceptibility to personal influence, which made him retain the full feeling of personal relations while giving free scope to his sceptical intellect.

In one of the two long hexameter poems published in his lifetime, "*Amours de Voyage*," Clough has given a dramatic embodiment to the motives that we have been analysing. The poem is skilfully composed. Thoroughly apprehending the aversion which practical humanity feels for these perplexities, he

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. C C

somewhat exaggerates the egotism of the hero of the piece to whom he attributes them, handles him with much irony throughout, and inflicts a severe but appropriate Nemesis at the close. The caricature in "Claude" is so marked that we are not surprised that Clough, the least egoistical of men, was indignant when a friend appeared to take the poem as an account of the author's own experiences. "I assure you," he writes, "that it is extremely not so." Still this attitude of the author could not reconcile the public to a hero who (as the motto has it) *doutait de tout, même de l'amour*. That the poem never attained the success of the "Bothie" we are not surprised. It has not the unique presentations of external nature which give such a charm to the earlier poem: it wants also the buoyant and vivacious humour which is so exuberant in the Bothie, and of which the fountain in Clough's latter years seems almost to have dried up. But it shows greater skill in blending and harmonizing different threads of a narrative, and a subtler management of the evolution of moods; it has deeper psychological interest, and in its best passages a rarer, more original imagination. The "Amour" is very closely interwoven with the incidents of the French siege of Rome (of which, by the way, Clough's letters give us interesting details) so that the two series of events together elicit a complete and consistent self-revelation of the hero. The amative dubitations turn principally on two points—the immense issues that depend on amative selection compared with the arbitrary casual manner in which circumstances determine it, and the imperious claim of passion for a concentration of interest which to the innermost, most self-conscious, self is profoundly impossible. These play into one another in the following very characteristic passage.

"Juxtaposition, in fine; and what is juxtaposition?"

Look you, we travel along in the railway carriage or steamer,
 And, *pour passer le temps*, till the tedious journey be ended,
 Lay aside paper or book, to talk with the girl that is next one;
 And, *pour passer le temps*, with the terminus all but in prospect,
 Talk of eternal ties and marriages made in heaven.
 Ah, did we really accept with a perfect heart the illusion!
 Ah, did we really believe that the Present indeed is the Only!
 Or through all transmutation, all shock and convulsion of passion,
 Feel we could carry undimmed, unextinguished, the light of our
 knowledge!

* * * * *

But for the steady fore-sense of a freer and larger existence,
 Think you that man could consent to be circumscribed here into
 action?

But for assurance within of a limitless ocean divine, o'er

*Whose great tranquil depths unconscious the wind-tost surface
Breaks into ripples of trouble that come and change and endure
not,—*

But that in this, of a truth, we have our being; and know it,
Think you we men could submit to live and move as we do here?
Ah, but the women—God bless them! they don't think at all about it.

Yet we must eat and drink as you say. And as limited beings
Scarcely can hope to attain upon earth to an actual abstract,
Leaving to God contemplation, to His hands knowledge confiding,
Sure that in us if it perish, in Him it abideth and dies not,
Let us in His sight accomplish our petty particular doings,—
Yes, and contented sit down to the victual that He has provided."

The three lines that we have italicized seem to us almost perfect specimens of the English Hexameter, showing the extreme flexibility which the metre has in Clough's hands, and his only, and none of the over-accentuation which neither he nor any one else can generally avoid. Very opposite opinions have been delivered as to the merits of this hexameter. Some most appreciative readers of the poems declare that they read them continually under protest; that no interest in the subject and no habit can make the metre tolerable. Mr. Arnold, however, on this subject an especially Rhadamanthine critic, considers the success of Clough's experiment to be so decided as to form an important contribution to the question (which has occupied a most disproportionate amount of human intellect in our time), How Homer is to be translated? We do not take either view. We think Clough's metre, as he uses it, felicitous; but we do not think that this proves anything as to the appropriateness of the hexameter for translating Homer, or for any other application of 'the grand style.' Clough has not *naturalized* the metre. He has given it ease, but not simplicity; he has not tried to give it simplicity, and therefore he has succeeded with it. All English hexameters written quite *au sérieux* seem to us to fail; the line ought to be unconscious of being a hexameter, and yet never is. But Clough's line is, and is meant to be, conscious of being a hexameter: it is always suggestive of and allusive to the ancient serious hexameters, with a faint but a deliberate air of burlesque, a wink implying that the bard is singing academically to an academical audience, and catering for their artificial tastes in versification. This academic flavour suits each poem in a different way. It harmonizes with the Oxonian studies of the "Bothie;" and here, indeed, the faint burlesque inseparable from the metre becomes from time to time distinct mock-heroic. In "Amours de Voyage," it suits the over-culture, artificial refinement of the hero's mind: he is, we may say, in his abnormal difficulties of action and emotion, a scholastic or academic

personage. In short the metre seems to belong to a style full of characteristic selfconscious humour such as Clough has sustained through each of the poems; and we cannot analyse its effect separately. Clough we know thought differently; but we are forced to regard this as one instance out of many where a poet takes a wrong view of his own work. His experiment of translating Homer into similar hexameters is nearly as much a failure as Mr. Arnold's, or any other; and his still bolder experiment of writing hexameters by quantity and not accent results, in spite of the singular care and even power with which it is executed, in a mere monstrosity.

We consider then that it was a happy instinct that led him to the metre of the "Bothie." In more ordinary metres he often shows a want of mastery over the technicalities of verse-writing. He has no fertility of rhymes, he is monotonous, he does not avoid sing-song, he wearies us with excessive, almost puerile, iterations and antitheses. It is very remarkable, therefore, how in this new metre, self-chosen, he rises to the occasion, how inventive he is of varied movements, felicitous phrases, and pleasant artifices of language, how emphatically yet easily the sound is adapted to the sense, in a way which no metre but blank verse in the hands of a master could rival. Another evidence of the peculiar fitness of this instrument for his thought is the amount that he can pack without effort into his lines; as e.g. in the following description of one of the members of the Oxford reading-party—

"Author forgotten and silent of currentest phrase and fancy,
Mute and exuberant by turns, a fountain at intervals playing,
Mute and abstracted, or strong and abundant as rain in the tropics;
Studious, careless of dress, inobservant, by smooth persuasions
Lately decoyed into kilt through example of Hope and the Piper,
Hope an Antinous man, Hyperion of calves the Piper."

It is hard to imagine so much said so shortly in any other style.

The flexibility of the metre aids in bringing out another great excellence of these poems; the ease and completeness with which character is exhibited. There is not one of the personages of the "Bothie," or even of "Amours de Voyage," where the sketching is much slighter, whose individuality is not as thoroughly impressed upon us as if they had been delineated in a three-volume novel by Mr. Trollope. We are made to understand by most happily selected touches, and delicately illustrative phrases, not only what they are in themselves, but precisely how they affect one another. It becomes as impossible for us to attribute a remembered remark to the wrong person as it would be in a play of Shakespeare. To say that Clough's dramatic faculty was strong might convey a wrong impression, as we imagine that

he was quite devoid of the power of representing a scene of vivid action; but the power of forming distinct conceptions of character, and expressing them with the few touches that poetry allows, is one of the gifts for displaying which we may regret that he had not ampler scope.

The descriptions of natural scenery in the *Bothie* form probably the best-known and most popular part of Clough's poetry. In this, as in some of his most important poetical characteristics, he may be called, in spite of great differences, a true disciple of Wordsworth. His admiration for the latter appears to have been always strongly marked; and one of the more interesting of the prose remains now published is an essay on Wordsworth, perhaps somewhat meagre, but showing profound appreciation, together with the critical propriety and exactness of statement characteristic of Clough. His simplicity, sincerity, gravity, are all Wordsworthian; but especially his attitude towards nature. Through a manner of description quite different we trace the rapt receptive mood, the unaffected self-abandonment, the anxious fidelity of reproduction, which Wordsworth has taught to many disciples, but to no other poet so fully.

In the essay referred to we find a view of Wordsworth's poetical merits, which to many persons will appear paradoxical, but which seems to us perfectly true, and applicable to some extent to Clough himself. He says that Wordsworth, the famous prefaces notwithstanding,—

"really derives from style and diction his chief and special charm;" . . . "he bestowed infinite toil and labour upon his poetic style; in the nice and exquisite felicities of poetic diction he specially surpassed his contemporaries: and his scrupulous and painstaking spirit, in this particular, constitutes one of his special virtues as a poet. He has not the vigour and heartiness of Scott or the force and sweep and fervour of Byron: but that permanent beauty of expression, that harmony between thought and word, which is the condition of 'immortal verse,' they did not, I think—and Wordsworth did—take pains to attain. There is hardly anything in Byron and Scott which in another generation people will not think they can say over again quite as well, and more agreeably and familiarly for themselves: there is nothing which, it will be plain, has in Scott or Byron's way of putting it, attained the one form which of all others truly belongs to it: which any new attempt will, at the very utmost, merely successfully repeat. For poetry, like science, has its final precision; and there are expressions of poetic knowledge which can no more be re-written than could the elements of geometry. There are pieces of poetic language which, try as men will, they will simply have to recur to, and confess that it has been done before them."

And he goes on to say that "people talk about style as if it

were a mere accessory, the unneeded but pleasing ornament, the mere put on dress of the substantial being, who without it is much the same as with it: whereas really some of the highest truths are only expressible to us by style, only appreciable as indicated by manner."

With all this we agree: but it seems to us that two conditions are necessary for the success in style spoken of, and that Clough has only given one. In order to attain it, a man must be conscious of very definite characteristic moods, and must have confidence in them, take an interest in and value their definite characteristics; then in expressing them he must work with a patient, single-minded effort to adapt the expression to the mood, caring always for the latter more than for the former. This was certainly the manner of Clough's composition, and hence many of his poetic utterances have, as he phrases it, "final precision." We do not mean to compare their effect to Wordsworth's. Clough has none of the prophetic dignity of his master, of the latter's organ-music he has not even an echo: and he far surpasses him in subtlety. There is a peculiar combination of simplicity and subtlety in his best things, the simplicity being as it were the final result and outcome of the subtlety, so that the presence of the latter is felt and not distinctly recognised, which we find in no other poet except Goethe. It is this combination that fits him for his peculiar function of rendering conscious the feelings that pass half unconsciously through ordinary minds, without seriously modifying them. There is a pretty instance of this in an idyllic song which we will quote. Most of the song is rather commonplace; a peasant girl driving she-goats homeward thinks alternately of the scene, and of her absent lover. Suddenly we are surprised with this very Cloughian sentiment.

"Or may it be that I shall find my mate,
And he returning see himself too late?
For work we must, and what we see, we see,
And God he knows, and what must be, must be,
When sweethearts wander far away from me."

The excellence of the lines that we have italicized we should describe paradoxically by saying that their naïveté is at once perfect, and, as naïveté, impossible.

On the other hand, if Clough has many of Wordsworth's excellences, he certainly has his full share of the cognate defects. It is natural, perhaps, to the man who values the individuality of his thought and feeling so much as to spend great care on its expression, to want the power of discriminating between those parts of it that are, and those which are not worth expressing. Certainly Clough has not, any more than his master, the selec-

tive faculty that leads to the sustained elevation and distinction which we expect from a great poet, and which the adoption of a simple manner renders peculiarly indispensable. Commonplace thought and feeling in strikingly simple language does not make, perhaps, more really worthless poetry than commonplace thought and feeling in ornate language; but its worthlessness is more patent. There is this one advantage, that the critic is not forced to dwell upon it: no one's taste is perverted, except perhaps in the first charm of the poet's novelty. No one now pretends to admire the dulness and twaddle in Wordsworth; and in Clough even more than in Wordsworth the expression rises and falls with the matter: the dullest and most trivial things are the worst put. We will only say that the genius of twaddle, which often hovers near his muse, makes its presence especially felt in his last poems, the "*Mari Magno*" tales. These must, of course, be judged as unfinished productions; but no retouching could have enabled them to rank very high as poetry. They are easy, pleasant, even edifying reading, and they essentially want effectiveness. They are written in obvious emulation of Crabbe; and in a natural and faithful homeliness of style, which occasionally becomes a transparent medium for a most impressive tenderness, they certainly rival Crabbe; but their general level is much lower. The charm of Crabbe, when he is not tender, lies in the combination of unobtrusive dignity, and a certain rustic raciness and pregnancy, with a fair share of the artificial point and wit that properly belong to the Popian measure. Clough has nothing of this; and though in the best passages his characteristic fineness of apprehension makes amends, on the dead levels of narration the style is much inferior to Crabbe's: its blankness is glaring. In the first tale especially the genius of twaddle reigns supreme; it reminds us of—we will not say the worst, for it has no bad taste, but—the second-rate portions of *Coventry Patmore*.

The inferiority of these poems is due, as we before hinted, to a deeper cause than a temporary defect of vigour or a mistaken experiment of style. It is evident that we have here Clough without his peculiar inspiration—his talent, we may say, but not his genius. As an artist he is noteworthy—his production has many high qualities, viewed as technically as possible; it is not, however, as a mere artist, but as an utterer of peculiar yet representative moods, that he has the power to excite our deepest interest. But these moods are the moods, in the main, of youth; and when Clough, after a period of more than usually prolonged adolescence, finally adopted the adult attitude towards life, they ceased to dominate his habitual thought and feeling. Not that any abrupt change shows itself

in him. There were two tempers singularly entwined in him throughout: his letters for the most part present a striking contrast to the contemporary poems. In the latter we find chiefly absorbing effort after an ideally clear vision, a perfect solution of problems: in the former mild practical wisdom, serene submission to the imperfections of life, cheerful acquiescence in 'the best under the circumstances.' And this quieter tone naturally grew upon him. Not that he could ever separate speculation from practice, or in either sphere settle down into smooth commonplace: but he grew tired of turning over the web of commonplace notions and rules, and showing their seamy side: he set himself rather to solve and settle instead of raising and exposing difficulties. At the same time the sincerity which had led him to emphasize his passionate perplexities, still kept him from exaggerating his triumph over them: he attains no fervour of confident hope, nor expansion of complacent optimism: he walks in the twilight, having adapted his eyes to it somewhat, but he does not mistake it for dawn. Whether in such twilight he would ever have seemed to see with sufficient clearness to impel him to utter his vision to the world, is doubtful: at any rate the utterance would, we imagine, have taken a prosaic and not a poetical form. He was looking at life steadily till he could see it whole: aspiring, as he says in an early poem,

"To bring some worthy thing
For waiting souls to see."

But the very loftiness of this aspiration, and the severity with which he would have judged his own claims to be a teacher, incline us to think that he would never have uttered the final outcome of his life's thought. What he wished to do for the world no one has yet done: we have scarcely reason to believe that he could have done it: and he would have been content to do nothing less. His provisional views, the temporary substitutes for 'demonstrated faith' by which he was content to walk, he would hardly have cared to publish. That they would, however, have been interesting, we can see from the only fragment of them that the editor has been able to give us, a paper on "The Religious Tradition." From this, as it illustrates a different side of Clough's mind to that on which we have been led chiefly to dwell, we will conclude by quoting some extracts:—

"The more a man feels the value, the true import, of the moral and religious teaching which passes among us by the name of Christianity, the more will he hesitate to base it upon those foundations which, as a scholar, he feels to be unstable. Manuscripts are doubtful, records may be unauthentic, criticism is feeble, historical facts must be left uncertain. Even in like

manner my own personal experience is most limited, perhaps even most delusive ; what have I seen, what do I know ? Nor is my personal judgment a thing which I feel any great satisfaction in trusting. My reasoning powers are weak ; my memory doubtful and confused ; my conscience, it may be, callous or vitiated.

" I see not what other alternative any sane and humble-minded man can have but to throw himself upon the great religious tradition. But I see not either how any upright and strict dealer with himself—how any man not merely a slave to spiritual appetites, affections, and wants—any man of intellectual as well as moral honesty—and without the former the latter is but a vain thing—I see not how any one who will not tell lies to himself can dare to affirm that the narrative of the four gospels is an essential integral part of that tradition. I do not see that it is a great and noble thing to go about proclaiming that Mark is inconsistent with Luke it is no new gospel to tell us that the old one is of dubious authenticity. I do not see either that it can be lawful, for the sake of the moral guidance and the spiritual comfort, to ignore all scientific and historic doubts, or if pressed with them to the utmost, to take refuge in Romish infallibility

" Where then, since neither in Rationalism nor in Rome is our refuge, shall we seek for the Religious Tradition ?

" Everywhere ; but above all in our own work : in life, in action, in submission ; so far as action goes in service, in experience, in patience, in confidence. I would scarcely have any man dare to say that he has found it, till that moment when death removes his power of telling it. Let no young man presume to talk to us vainly and confidently about it. Ignorant, as said Aristotle, of the real actions of life, and ready to follow all impressions and passions, he is hardly fitted as yet even to listen to practical directions couched in the language of religion. But this apart—everywhere : among all who have really tried to order their lives by the highest action of the reasonable and spiritual will."

ART. III.—WATER SUPPLY OF LONDON.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Water Supply.* 1869.
2. *Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on the Thames Navigation Bill.* 1866.
3. *Report from the Select Committee on the East London Water Bills.* 1867.
4. *Summary of the Weekly Returns of the Births, Deaths, and Causes of Death in London during the year 1868.* (Published by the authority of the Registrar-General.)
5. *Ninth and Tenth Reports from the Medical Officer of the Privy Council.*
6. *The Practical Medicine of To-day: two Addresses delivered before the British Medical Association and the Epidemiological Society.* By SIR WILLIAM JENNER, Bart., M.D. London: H. K. Lewis. 1869.

IN nothing, hardly, has so much progress been made during the past twenty years, as in sanitary legislation and sanitary works. In nothing, certainly, is it obvious that so much remains to be done during the next twenty years. Questions which with a large and increasing population must necessarily be of increasing importance, are now, after a long period of neglect, beginning to have their importance recognised. It is only within a very recent period that science has shown how intimate the connexion is between the observances of sanitary laws and the health and well-being of the people. Scientific researches during the last two or three periods of epidemic disease, have demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt the existence of such immediate connexion; and the statistics of mortality have proved that the adoption of measures in particular districts has been followed by the saving of lives, which in other and neighbouring places must therefore be considered to have been forfeited by neglect. These facts, as yet it would seem but partially realized, have produced a certain amount of activity in these respects, and have led to the carrying out of several works of a character unknown to our forefathers; but they have also proved that nearly all the measures yet adopted must be looked upon as temporary and not final, that they serve to palliate only and not to remove evils, and that much more remains to be accomplished if a fair chance of health and long life is to be afforded to crowded populations. From the recognised necessities of the present day, therefore, some idea may be formed of

those of a century hence, when, with a population at least doubled in number in all its crowded centres, the need of pure air and water will have increased fourfold, and when also the principles of sanitary science, now beginning to be conjectured, will have become established facts.

The question of water supply is especially one of increasing importance, and in many cases of no little difficulty. In the case of a thinly peopled country, or in the earlier days of a city or town, no difficulty is experienced: nature has almost everywhere provided a supply of some kind, and the choice of localities for building, is of course made where such supply is most readily accessible. But whatever be the nature of the supply, whether it be in the form of streams, rivers, lakes, or wells, a time is to be looked forward to when it will prove insufficient, and from that time forth artificial means of procuring water must be resorted to. The quantity required for consumption increases, of course, with the population, but it increases in a much greater ratio, for the concentration of people on one spot creates necessities in this respect that did not previously exist. Drains are constructed, and must be flushed, roads and streets must be watered, supplies must be kept at hand and used unsparingly when necessary for the extinction of fires. Factories are probably established and steam power is wanted: domestic requirements are also increased; every incident of a town life compels, or at least renders desirable, a larger use of this element; every new appliance of modern civilization, every luxury and comfort which increased wealth affords, causes in one way or other an additional consumption of water. So rapid has been the increase in this way in recent periods, that the daily consumption in London has risen from eighteen to thirty-two gallons per head of the population in the last forty years: and in many towns it has increased even faster than this.

And while the progress of civilization is thus daily increasing the quantity of water required for the necessities and enjoyments of the urban populations, it is in another way diminishing that which is available, at the most important time, for that purpose. Improved cultivation and drainage of land is everywhere producing an effect upon our rivers, which renders them in their natural state less and less adapted for affording an equable supply of water. The consequence of improved land drainage is, that water flows off the land in much less time than formerly; so that after heavy rains, rivers are quickly swollen and the flood waters rapidly passed down; and in dry weather but little remains to maintain the average flow. Every swamp and morass, every straggling pond and wide shallow ditch, to some extent every wood and hedgerow, used to be a kind of reservoir which

held the water for a considerable time after rainy weather, and parted with it by slow degrees only in the following dry season, thus keeping something like an even volume in the streams and rivers: now, except where it finds a subterranean passage and breaks out in springs, nearly all of it runs off at once. This effect is taking place everywhere, and in some countries more remarkably than in England. In Spain, for instance, where extensive clearings of forests have been made on the sides of mountain valleys, the whole character of the smaller rivers has been changed, they have been nearly dried up in summer and turned into foaming torrents in winter. But in this and in every country the same thing is happening, only more gradually and in a less marked manner. The inundations of the present day are more serious than those of former periods, except where protective works have been constructed; and in the same proportion the minimum size of the rivers has been lessened; so that, apart from the questions of water supply, storage reservoirs on many of our rivers have become most desirable for the sake of the rivers themselves, *i.e.*, to maintain the navigation and prevent injury from floods.

Thus from various causes the difficulties of the question increase year by year. There are generally three or four stages in the water supply of a town; and as many distinct processes which have been, or will have to be, successively carried out. Works are required first to preserve the quality of the waters within reach, and afterwards to increase their quantity. If a town be situated on, or near to, a stream or river, the inhabitants are for a long time content to draw their supply directly from it at the most accessible point. The stream, however, necessarily gets polluted in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, and the first measure is to shift the spot whence the supply is drawn to a higher point, so as to be beyond the reach of the polluting influences. This will overcome the difficulty if there be no source of pollution higher up; otherwise it is evidently only a temporary expedient, and must be followed by the second process, either that of still further removing the point of diversion or "*intake*," or else of intercepting or otherwise disposing of the sewage of the places above, so as to keep the original river pure. If by one of these methods the purity of the water be insured, the next thing is to provide against a deficiency in quantity. Where a river is used for navigation, or its waters are employed for the irrigation of surrounding lands, or for turning mills, &c., it is provable that long before any considerable population can be concentrated upon it, uses will have been found for nearly all the water ordinarily flowing there, and it cannot therefore be abstracted without injury to those

uses. The third process is therefore to store the surplus waters of the flood season, so that they may be rendered available to maintain the existing summer flow. If after this has been done there is still a deficiency, it will then and then only, become necessary to adopt the measure which should naturally be the last of all; namely, to divert the waters of some other district, and bring them by artificial means to the place which has greater need of them.

Of course the order in which these successive measures may be required varies according to circumstances, and there are cases in which the last-mentioned process, that of going to an entirely new source, may be desirable at an earlier stage. Still, it can never be an actual necessity unless the other three have been tried and failed; and this can be only when the waters of the district are either deficient in purity at their sources, or, after being equalized throughout the year, are still insufficient for the functions they are required to perform.

In the case of London, with the exception of one great work, the New River, executed at an early period, no attempt has been made to carry out any of these measures until within the last twenty years; the first object, that of separating the sewage and other contaminations of the metropolis itself, having been secured by works which were finally completed in 1855.

The progress of the question has, however, been rapid since that time in comparison with the previous long period of stagnation, and a beginning has been made towards the accomplishment of the other two processes, namely, the purification of the upper rivers, and the storage of their flood waters. And while these things are under consideration, or in the earliest stage of adoption, proposals have been made also to set them aside in favour of the last of the measures above named, and to have recourse at once to new and distant sources.

Where the original supply is from wells and not from streams, the period of exhaustion generally comes much sooner: for the water in that case is really derived from a subterranean reservoir, the precise form and dimensions of which are unknown, but whose capacity is not likely to be very great, while the means afforded by nature for its replenishment, and the communications between its different parts, are imperfect and are liable to be influenced by a variety of causes. If, too, the water-bearing stratum which forms the reservoir be not completely covered by an impervious one, it will at a very early stage get polluted by the infiltration of impurities from the surface of the ground, a kind of pollution which no system of drainage could entirely prevent. Formerly a large proportion of the water consumed in London was drawn from wells. Their use has at length been

abandoned nearly everywhere, but not nearly so soon as it should have been, inasmuch as the water has been for a long time exceedingly impure. The Thames was not made use of to any great extent in early times, as there were then no means of raising the water for distribution, and the smaller streams on the north side of the river, most of which are now extinct, were at first the principal sources. In the year 1285, a pipe was laid for the conveyance of water from Paddington to Cheap, thus showing that at that time, and indeed for long afterwards, the inhabitants even of the parts of the city near to the river had not begun to look to it for their supply. The want of water was very much felt in the sixteenth century, the metropolis having by that time considerably increased in size, and the Thames being still practically out of the reach of all but the dwellers on its banks. We hear of several projects about that time; one, in particular, for bringing water from the Colne, at Uxbridge, seems to have engaged the serious attention of Lord Burleigh in 1580. The sources of the River Lea in Hertfordshire were then proposed for the like purpose; and in 1605, the New River Act was passed, giving power to the citizens of London to make—"A River or Newe Cutt for the bringing in of a fresh streame of running water to the North part of the city—" from the springs of Chadwell and Amwell. After encountering great difficulties this work was carried out. The Corporation having been unable to provide the capital, it was taken out of their hands by Sir Hugh Myddelton and a company of shareholders or "adventurers" formed by him; and this company was afterwards assisted by a grant from the Crown. The work was completed and opened in 1613, and has ever since supplied the purest and best of the water consumed in London; although the original sources at Chadwell and Amwell furnish but a small portion of that distributed by the present New River Company.

About the same time, or rather before the construction of the New River, the first attempts were made to raise the waters of the Thames for the purpose of distribution. In 1582, Peter Morrys, a Dutchman, showed that he could "by a most artificial forcier convey water into men's houses;" and in accordance with his design the first pumping engine, worked by the tide, was erected under one of the arches of old London Bridge, and pipes laid in connexion with it. After a considerable interval other pumping works were established, first at Villiers-street, Strand; then at Millbank; at West Ham, from the river Lea; at Bankside, Southwark; at Lambeth, and other places; but these works did not come into general operation before the beginning of the nineteenth century. From that time until 1852 the Thames and Lea, within the tidal range, were almost the sole sources of supply.

Of course, at that time these rivers received all the sewage and other contaminations of the Metropolis, which, in consequence of the tides, remained for a long time floating backwards and forwards close to the intakes of the water companies. In order to abate this evil, some of them shifted their works further west—for instance, to Battersea, Hammersmith, and Kew; and in 1852 the Metropolis Water Act was passed, which required all to move above Teddington Lock, beyond the reach of the tide, and thus effectually to exclude the impurities of London and its neighbourhood. There are now five Companies which take their water at Thames Ditton, or Hampton, in accordance with the Act; they supply between them about one half the Metropolis, the average daily quantity taken from the river being about fifty million gallons.

There are also three other Companies which supply together about a similar quantity—namely, the New River Company, twenty-three million gallons, partly from the original sources at Chadwell and Amwell, and from wells, and partly from the River Lea; the East London Company, nineteen millions, from the Lea; and the Kent Company, about six millions, from chalk wells on the south-east side of London. The entire consumption of the Metropolis is therefore nearly one hundred million gallons daily; and it is rather more than this—namely, about one hundred and eight millions in the hottest days of the year.

In the year 1849, the quantity supplied was only forty-four million gallons. It has therefore been more than doubled in twenty years. As, however, the whole population is now supplied by the water companies, whereas in 1849 a small proportion, about 18 per cent. of the whole, received none at all, it follows that this rate of increase appears somewhat greater than it really is. But even after making the necessary allowance for this, the increase due to population, and additional use of water, is still equivalent to the entire quantity having been doubled in twenty-two years. And if the population continues to augment, and the use of water be not interfered with, a similar future increase must be looked forward to; and we must expect the quantity to be again doubled within twenty or thirty years from the present time.

The existing works and present sources of supply are, however, incapable of any very considerable extension, and are certainly inadequate to furnish double their present amount. There has also been some dissatisfaction felt respecting the quality of the water now supplied, nearly the whole of which is taken from the rivers, and is subject to all those sources of contamination to which rivers are necessarily exposed. Under these circumstances projects were brought forward about three years ago for

abandoning the present system, and obtaining entirely new supplies from distant sources. The publication of these projects led to the appointment of the Commission, whose Report, after a full consideration of the entire question, is now before us. The first duty imposed upon the Commissioners was that of investigating these projects. Mr. Bateman, the engineer who supplied Glasgow with water from Loch Katrine, was the first to propound a scheme of this kind; and his great experience in constructing similar works entitles his views on this subject to be received with every consideration. He proposes to impound the waters of a district of about two hundred square miles in area on the western slopes of the mountains of Central Wales, which at present contains the principal sources of the River Severn. The quantity of rain falling in this district is very great. Mr. Bateman considers that there is at least 70 or 80 inches in the year even in dry seasons, and that of this amount about 45 inches run off the ground, after allowing for evaporation and absorption into the soil. He, however, bases his calculations on the supposition that 36 inches may be so depended upon; this depth of water over the whole area represents a volume of water equal to about 292 million gallons for each day in the year. Deducting about one-fourth of this, which it is proposed should be returned to the Severn for compensation, there remains a quantity of 222 million gallons per day, the whole of which Mr. Bateman proposes to convey to London, being more than double the entire quantity now consumed.

In order to obtain this large volume for daily use, it is of course necessary to store the water in reservoirs situated at the lowest part of the ground from which it is to be collected. Mr. Bateman has planned his reservoirs to hold 120 days' supply—i.e., 120 times 292 million gallons: so that the supply would be unaffected even by an absolute drought for four months, or, of course, by a partial drought for a much longer period. The reservoirs are to be constructed by embanking across the mouths of valleys, and they would be the greatest works of the kind ever executed, two of them being each five miles in length and half a mile or a mile wide, retained at the lower end by embankments of eighty feet in height. The largest would contain, in cubic contents, half as much again as Loch Katrine. There would be two distinct systems of reservoirs, the conduits from which would meet at Marten Mere, near Welshpool; from that point there would be one conduit to London, the total distance being 183 miles. This main conduit would be in some places an open channel about twenty-six feet in width, and in others a covered aqueduct or tunnel, about sixteen feet wide by twelve deep. The principal valleys are intended to be crossed by means

of syphon pipes, which would follow the surface of the ground, descending and ascending again to nearly the same level: with that exception the entire conduit would have a tolerably even fall of about one foot per mile from end to end. The water would thus flow with an average velocity of about 130 feet per minute, and would be about five days in transit. It would be delivered in the first instance at Stanmore, about ten miles out of London, and at a height of 250 feet above the Thames, where distributing reservoirs would be built; and pipes leading from thence would deliver it, without pumping, to all parts of the metropolis, with the exception of a few of the highest houses in the suburbs.

Mr. Bateman does not, however, propose that the whole of this project should be carried out in the first instance. One-half of the proposed district should be taken first and the reservoirs constructed upon it, which would then supply about 130 million gallons; the main conduit, however, being at once made large enough for a quantity of 230 millions. Mr. Bateman estimates the cost of this first instalment of the work at 8,685,000*l.*, and of the entire works when complete at 11,400,000*l.*

Messrs. Hemans and Hassard, who are the authors of the second great project which was submitted to the Commission, propose as their gathering ground a district of 177 square miles in the Lake country of Cumberland and Westmoreland. Ullswater Lake is in the centre of the proposed area, which includes also the smaller lakes of Haweswater and Thirlmere. The average annual rainfall of this district appears to be as much as 100 inches; and 64 inches is the least quantity observed during three unusually dry years. Messrs. Hemans and Hassard think they may depend on fifty inches out of this quantity running off the ground; which, after allowing for compensation to the rivers, would leave a quantity more than sufficient for supplying 250 million gallons per day.

The engineers propose to convey to London 150 millions in the first instance, and eventually 200 millions; a quantity of 50 millions being disposed of to other towns on the route, which will thus be made to pay a portion of the cost. The waters are to be stored in reservoirs, the lakes themselves being made available for this purpose. About one-half of the district drains into Ullswater Lake at present; the waters of the other portions would be collected in the first instance in the lakes of Haweswater and Thirlmere, and some smaller reservoirs to be constructed for the purpose, and would be conducted from thence by tunnels through the hills into Ullswater. One of these tunnels would be eight miles long. The engineers have computed the capacity of their reservoirs on the same principle that Mr. [Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—*NEW SERIES*, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. D D :

Bateman has adopted—namely, so as to allow of a period of 120 days without rain. The smaller lakes will be drawn upon first in dry weather: Ullswater will be kept full, and its surface will not be lowered below the ordinary summer level except in the case of a total drought exceeding 93 days in duration; so there would be generally no visible difference in the scenery of the lake in consequence of its being made use of for this purpose. The main conduit for conveyance of the water to London would commence at the southern extremity of this lake, and would have in the first instance to be led through a tunnel under the Kirkstone Pass of seven and a quarter miles in length; and on the remaining portions there would be tunnels and syphon pipes where necessary. The total length from Ullswater to London would be about 270 miles. The conduit is intended to terminate at Harrow, where reservoirs would be made at a height of 220 feet above the Thames. The engineers' estimate for the entire work is 13,500,000*l*.

There is not, it will be seen, very much difference in cost between Messrs. Hemans and Hassard's project and that of Mr. Bateman: the additional expense of the former is compensated for by the payment that may be expected from intermediate towns to which a supply could be given *en route*. The Cumberland district has an advantage over the Welsh district in that the lakes form of themselves natural reservoirs, which, with a comparatively small outlay, can be made available for storage purposes. On the other hand, Mr. Hemans has to contend with the disadvantage of having to convey the water a longer distance by about ninety miles, and to construct two heavy tunnels through the mountains which surround his collecting ground.

A third project—that of Mr. Hamilton H. Fulton—is to collect the water from the sources of the Wye in South Wales, a district somewhat similar to that proposed by Mr. Bateman. The Commissioners having considered all these schemes with the assistance of eminent engineers whom they summoned before them, report that they are practicable, although open to certain objections which do not appear at first sight. The quality of the Welsh water is not perfect, inasmuch as it is frequently subjected to a peaty discoloration which would render it disagreeable and unpopular, if not actually deleterious. The provisions for storage are also apparently insufficient, and the anticipated rainfall somewhat greater than could be depended upon.

During the sittings of the Commission the extraordinarily dry summer of 1868 very severely tested the calculations as to rainfall, in reliance upon which not only these schemes had been devised, but many works of a similar character had been constructed; and the alarming scarcity of water at Manchester, Preston, Rochdale, and other towns, showed that the scale on

which storage reservoirs had been frequently provided was inadequate. The most eminent engineers now appear to think that about 170 days' supply should be stored instead of 120 days, as proposed by Mr. Bateman and Mr. Hemans. The adoption of this altered basis of calculation would of course materially increase the cost of carrying out those works beyond the estimated amounts.

The engineers, however, rely, as the principal arguments in favour of their schemes, on the probable exhaustion of the present supplies, on the purity and softness of the water they obtain, and on the height at which they can deliver it in London, and consequent saving of cost in lifting for distribution.

With respect to the last point it is tolerably easy to estimate the advantage that would be gained. The water from the Lakes would reach the metropolis at an elevation sufficient to reach a considerable part of the district without pumping; the Welsh water would be available for a still larger portion; but the consequent saving of annual expense would only make up for a small part of the required outlay in either case. It is possible that 75,000*l.* a year, or thereabouts, might be saved in this way: this at five per cent. may be considered to represent a capital sum of 1,500,000*l.*—an amount which would go some way, although not very far, towards justifying an outlay of from eight to twelve millions.*

Apart, however, from this simple and obvious consideration, the advantages offered by these projects can only be determined by a comparison with that which is capable of being accomplished by the present works and the present sources of supply. These points have been very carefully considered by the Commissioners, and formed the second branch of their inquiry. First, as to the quantity of water that can be obtained:—The River Lea, the Commissioners say, is exhausted; the East London Water Company, who draw from it, being now engaged in constructing a conduit from the Thames at Sunbury in order to obtain ten million gallons daily from that river in aid of their supply from the Lea. With the Thames the case is different. The Thames Companies now take about 50 million gallons daily, and have power to draw twice this quantity—namely, 100

* Mr. Bateman estimates the total saving in pumping, filtration (which he thinks the Welsh water would not require), and payments to the Conservators of the Thames, &c., at 180,000*l.* a year. His estimate of the cost of pumping is, however, only an estimate, as he could not get access to the figures, and it is very much in excess of what has been stated from time to time by the engineers of the companies themselves; nor does Mr. Bateman appear, from his evidence, to have allowed for the continuance of pumping at Hampstead, Norwood, and the other high districts.

million gallons, or, including the East London Company, 110 millions. It has been alleged that their exercise of this power should not be allowed, and that it would be injurious to the river; the Commissioners, however, do not agree with this suggestion, and consider that the draught may be increased up to the full quantity. The minimum flow of the Thames at Hampton at the driest season of the year appears to be about 350 million gallons daily; this quantity may therefore be diminished by the Water Companies by nearly one-third. Beyond this the Commissioners think they should not be allowed to go; but if a further draught be required, a system of storage should be had recourse to. In this case the quantity might be increased at least fourfold. The average flow even in summer is 500 million gallons, and in time of floods it is enormously greater, as much as 25,000 millions having been known to pass in one day. A comparatively small portion of this surplus stored in reservoirs on the upper river, would therefore enable the ordinary flow of the dry season to be made up, notwithstanding the increased draught by the companies. There is, consequently, no question of deficiency of water in the Thames: the only question is as to the period at which the formation of storage reservoirs should be insisted upon; and the construction of such reservoirs would, it must be remembered, not only assist the water supply, but benefit the river and all who live near it, by diminishing the violence of the floods. We have no detailed plan of any system of storage reservoirs; but several engineers incidentally pointed out to the Commissioners places in the river where this object could be effected; and the expense would be obviously inconsiderable as compared with that of works for bringing water from Wales or Cumberland.*

The whole question of the desirability or necessity for an entire change really depends upon a consideration of the quality of the water, and this is a subject upon which there are very different opinions. The Thames water, in the first place, is hard; that which would be brought from Wales or Cumberland would be soft. Mr. Bateman considers that soft water is preferable alike for drinking, washing, and manufacturing purposes; the general opinion seems, however, to be rather in favour of hard water for drinking; and although softness is a quality which is undoubtedly desirable on economical grounds for washing, the Commissioners think that its advantages in this respect have been over-rated, and on the whole that this is not an object which it is worth going very much out of the way to obtain, and

* Mr. Beardmore, C.E., stated that for about 800,000*l.* a reservoir might be constructed above Oxford, by means of which the dry weather flow of the Thames could be increased to the extent of 100,000,000 gallons a day.

especially as it is possible to soften water artificially for manufacturing purposes.

The presence or absence of small quantities of earthy-matter, such as that which constitutes "hardness" in water, is unimportant as compared with that of the organic matter which in the smallest quantities may be productive of the most serious consequences. Unfortunately, the modes of chemical analysis at present in use, although they can accurately determine the precise quantity of the earthy substances, are by no means so reliable, as far as the detection of organic matter is concerned. On this point the Commissioners say:—

"The question now naturally arises, can we not, by careful analysis of the Thames water, discover what quantity of organic matter it contains; what is the nature and character of such matters; and how far they are deleterious or otherwise? We have endeavoured to arrive at a solution of this question, but unfortunately without much success. The inquiry seems beset with difficulty. The organic matter is present only in very small quantities, and in shapes and conditions which are very difficult to identify. The treatment of them is still a problem in chemical science, only now beginning to be effectually studied, and the most eminent chemists are yet by no means agreed either as to the processes most proper to be followed in the analyses, or as to the value and bearing of the results obtained."

The analyses made, however, furnish very important, although not complete information. Carbon and nitrogen are two of the principal constituents of organic substance. Of these nitrogen is the element on whose presence or absence the chemists chiefly rely for discovering the existence of such substance in water. But it is an element which does not generally remain in a free state. As soon as living organisms break up, the nitrogen contained in them enters into new combinations with the substances by which it is surrounded. It combines most readily with hydrogen, forming ammonia; this is always the principal constituent of fresh sewage, and is that on which its fertilizing properties mainly depend. Ammonia is therefore, after free nitrogen, the first thing to be sought for, and its presence to any appreciable extent is a proof of contamination. But the formation of ammonia is only one combination, out of several liable to take place, and it in turn disappears, the nitrogen combining instead with oxygen, and simultaneously with various mineral substances forming nitrates or nitrites. The previous existence of organic matter in water is therefore proved by the presence, first of organic carbon, and nitrogen gas and ammonia, especially if it be recent; secondly, of nitrates and nitrites.

The Thames waters as supplied for consumption, contain, generally, about 0.2 parts in 100,000 of organic carbon, about 0.03 parts of organic nitrogen, a slight trace of ammonia, and

about 0.2 of nitrates and nitrites. The water supplied to London by the Kent Water Company from wells in the chalk contains much smaller quantities—namely, 0.05 and 0.012 parts of organic carbon and nitrogen, but a larger quantity of nitrates. That of the New River Company, which is partly from wells and springs, and partly from the River Lea, contains quantities which are about a mean between those of the Thames and the Kent wells. These results show that the well water may have held at first as much organic matter, but that it has had time to undergo a greater number of changes.

The Glasgow water from Loch Katrine contains quite as much carbon and nitrogen as that consumed in London, but no nitrates at all, and very little earthy matter of any kind. The proposed supplies from Wales and Cumberland, as well as the soft water of mountain districts, now used at Manchester, Preston, and many other towns, is generally similar to that of Loch Katrine, although hardly equal to it in purity, the nitrates being generally absent, or existing only in very small quantities. The distinguishing features of the Thames and other London waters as compared with these, are the presence in the former of carbonate of lime, or "hardness," and of a much larger proportion of nitrates.

The nitrates are in themselves perfectly harmless; they exist in fact in minute quantities in rain water, but when found in excess, they are considered to represent the previous existence of organic matter, and according to some chemists, necessarily of animal matter. But in any case danger is not to be apprehended from them, but from matter which may remain in an unconverted state, and in quantities too small to be necessarily discovered by analysis. The Thames is known to receive a considerable quantity of animal matter in the form of surface drainage from manured lands; also dead animals and other refuse, and the sewage of several towns and villages. The great question is, what becomes of this animal matter? The water taken at Hampton and supplied by the Companies in London is analysed, and the animal matter is not found there, but instead thereof, a certain quantity of nitrates, &c., is discovered. Dr. Frankland, who conducts these analyses on behalf of the Registrar-General, puts his finger on these nitrates, or rather at that portion of them which is an excess of the rain water proportion, and calls them by the name of "previous sewage contamination." This conclusion is disputed by other chemists, who assert that the nitrates may have a different origin.

This, however, is not, after all, the vital question, it is rather—What becomes of the sewage matter? Is it converted into harmless salts? Does the conversion of some portion in this way justify us in assuming the conversion of it all, or does any remain, and the analysis fail to reveal it?

These questions formed the turning-point of the Commissioners' inquiry; and they had the advantage of hearing the evidence of all the chemists and scientific men who are able to throw any light upon the subject in the present state of chemical science. The opinion which they have formed is, that the whole of the sewage and other organic matter is dissolved and enters into new and innocuous combinations before it reaches the intake of the Water Companies, or at least before it is supplied by them for distribution.

Their conclusion is thus stated:—

"The evidence we have collected on this subject presents great diversities of opinion; but there is one result which we think is clearly deducible from the facts before us—namely, that in the present state of chemical science analysis fails to discover in properly filtered Thames water anything positively deleterious to health. Whatever may be the difference of opinion with respect to the time required for the removal of all objectionable organic matter, all the chemists agree that in Thames water taken from the present source and properly filtered all such matter has disappeared, and that the resulting compounds, such as nitrates, &c., remaining therein are innocuous and harmless.

"Having carefully considered all the information we have been able to collect, we see no evidence to lead us to believe that the water now supplied by the companies is not generally good and wholesome.

"The only point raised against the Thames water on the ground of organic contamination is of a less positive character: it is said that water which has been once contaminated with sewage may still contain undecomposed organic matter, which, though inappreciable by the most delicate chemical tests, may still exercise prejudicial effects on the human system.

"The strongest form of this objection has reference to some opinions now prevalent, that certain forms of disease, such as cholera and typhoid fever, are propagated by germs contained in excremental matter; and it is conceived possible that when matter of this kind once gets into streams, these germs may escape destruction and long preserve their dangerous character. It is said that no process is known by which such noxious material can be removed from the water, and therefore it is argued that water which has at any time been contaminated by sewage is thenceforth unsuitable for domestic use.

"These opinions have been advanced by many eminent men of science; they are worthy of respectful attention, and ought to operate as a constant stimulus to the most searching examination of the state of the water, to the improvement of the modes and means of scientific analysis, and to the diligent collection of medical data as to the effect of the waters upon the public health. But we cannot admit them as sufficiently well established to form any conclusive argument for abandoning an otherwise unobjectionable source of water-supply.

"We are of opinion that when efficient means are adopted for excluding the sewage and other pollutions from the Thames and Lea and their tributaries, and for insuring perfect filtration, water taken

from the present sources will be perfectly wholesome, and of suitable quality for the supply of the metropolis."

Of course, if the dangerous matter alluded to as the germs of disease be absolutely irremovable from water, it would follow that under no system of supply could we be safe from them; for even the mountain gathering-grounds proposed by Mr. Bateman are not altogether uninhabited, and the water running off them would not be absolutely and invariably free from the touch of animal matter. Nor would the water of springs or deep wells be any better, for it must also at some time have worked its way down from the surface of the ground. It is in the last degree improbable that these germs referred to by the chemists, whatever be their nature, should live for ever through all possible changes of the element they inhabit; but it is by no means unlikely that they may exist for weeks, or even months after being developed from decaying substances, and that they may survive for a considerable time the grosser and more tangible matter from which they took their rise; and if so they may be, at all events occasionally, in the Thames water as now supplied. But is this possible species of contamination a source of sufficient danger to render it desirable to abandon an existing system in favour of new and costly works? Twenty years ago there is no doubt that every one would have answered this question, as the Commissioners have answered it, in the negative; but recent researches have somewhat altered the aspect of the case.

Some very careful inquiries have been made respecting the character of the water supply in use during recent outbreaks of epidemic both in England and other countries, and the result has been to prove that two at least of such kinds of disease, cholera and typhoid fever, are communicated by the use of impure water. Dr. Parkes, the Professor of Military Hygiene at Netley, says that in twenty-three instances of the prevalence of typhoid fever he has ascertained the cause to be the drinking of water contaminated by sewage. Among others, two notable examples of this occurred the year before last, and were investigated by the medical officers of the Privy Council. At Terling, in Essex, there was a sudden outbreak of typhoid fever in December, 1867; and upwards of 260 cases of this disease, and 41 deaths, took place during three months out of a population of 900. Dr. Thorne, who was employed by the Privy Council to examine into the circumstances, found the people drinking the water of wells in immediate contact with sewers and cess-pits, and that all the first cases of disease occurred among persons using these wells. The outbreak commenced immediately after a rise of water in some of the wells, which being nearly dry had not been drawn from for some time previously.

A still plainer case occurred at Guildford a little earlier in the same year. A new well had been constructed for the water supply of the higher part of the town, and water from this well was first supplied to about 330 houses on the 17th August for one day only. On the 28th of August there were several cases of typhoid fever in these houses, which are all situated in the highest, and generally healthiest, district; and the number increased day by day, until there were about 500 cases in all, and 21 deaths. Out of the cases which occurred in August and September all but three were of persons who drank of the water supplied from this well on this day; and it was afterwards found that a sewer ran within ten feet of the well, and that the joints of the sewer were leaking, and saturating the soil immediately above the spring which supplied it.

With regard to cholera, we have information on a larger scale of the connexion between the disease and impure water supply in London itself. During the cholera epidemics of 1848-9 and 1853-4, the greatest number of deaths occurred in the south of London. This district is supplied by two water companies—namely, the Lambeth and the Southwark Companies. In 1848, the Lambeth Company supplied water taken from the Thames near Hungerford Bridge; and the deaths in their district were 125 in ten thousand. The Southwark Company took their supply at Battersea, and their deaths were 118 in ten thousand, or not quite so many as in the Lambeth district. In 1853, the Lambeth Company had removed their works to Thames Ditton, and then their deaths were 37 in ten thousand, as against 130 in ten thousand of the Southwark Company, who still supplied water from Battersea; the difference being three to one in favour of the Lambeth Company after shifting their works up the river, and out of the reach of London sewage. There was also in 1853 a great mortality in St. James's, Westminster, and this was proved to be due to the impure water from a pump in Broad-street. In the epidemic of 1866 the mortality, as is well known, was principally in the east of London, and in the district of the East London Water Company. The circumstances of this outbreak have been made the subject of a very elaborate report to the Privy Council by Mr. Netten Radcliffe; and there is no doubt about the facts he has revealed, although some eminent men still dispute the conclusions to which they point. The facts are briefly these:—

The East London Company supplied water originally derived from the River Lea at Tottenham, and stored in two groups of reservoirs, one group being at Lea Bridge and the other at Old Ford. The great mortality of the epidemic occurred in the districts supplied from the Old Ford reservoirs: it was seventy-nine per ten thousand in those districts, as compared with an average

of about seven per ten thousand throughout the rest of London. These reservoirs are close to a branch of the River Lea which is enclosed by locks, and is nearly stagnant, and receives a large quantity of sewage; and the reservoirs being on a lower level than the adjoining river, it was found that the water of the river oozed into them through the banks whenever they were not full. The water is also generally filtered before distribution; but on some two or three days in the summer a portion of unfiltered water was mixed with the supply to make up for deficiency in quantity. This unfiltered water, consisting in part of the percolations from the river containing sewage, was known to be supplied a short time previous to the formidable outbreak of the disease in that particular district. There is also evidence that the water was not only impure, but especially impure as being contaminated with choleraic poison. The first two deaths from Asiatic cholera in London occurred on the 26th and 27th of June, when two persons died in a house which drains into the River Lea about 600 yards from the Old Ford reservoir. The disease broke out in the East London district on the 11th of July, the number of cases rapidly increasing from that time until the beginning of August, when the deaths were at the rate of 150 per day.

The conclusion of Mr. Radcliffe attributing the outbreak to the special infection of the water by the drainage from the house inhabited by the two cholera patients may be disputed. The general fact of its coincidence with the district of an impure water-supply cannot be denied, and it can hardly be said to be the result of accident, nor can the great mortality in the area of the Southwark Water Company in 1853. Nor are these the only instances in the case of this disease; other outbreaks have occurred both in this country and Holland and Germany, when similar causes have been found to exist.

As far as the practical question of water-supply is concerned, there is no occasion to prove the theory of special infection in water by sewage-matter from places where diseases prevail. It is enough to show that the admission of sewage can under any circumstances produce the effect: that alone should be a perfectly sufficient reason for its entire exclusion. But the influence of special contamination, if it can be demonstrated, is most important as showing that water containing sewage may be consumed daily for any length of time with perfect impunity, but may suddenly become dangerous on the occurrence of epidemic disease at the place from which it comes. Of course the cases proved, some of which we have cited, are for the most part extreme cases, where the water has been very much polluted; but it is only with reference to extreme cases that we are able to trace the connexion. At Terling one person in every twenty

who drank of the infected water died, and about one in every three had the fever; at Guildford about one in a hundred died, and one in four was attacked, and this occurred although they drank the water on one day only. These are extreme cases; but inasmuch as in every case of infectious disease some persons suffer and others escape, a greater or less number in proportion to the virulence of the poison, how can we tell, out of the 15,000 deaths which occur annually throughout the country from typhoid fever, how many may be due to the drinking of sewage-water, only in a more diluted form? And again, in the cholera epidemics the water supplied by the Southwark Company from Battersea in 1853, and that of the East London Company in July, 1866, under the circumstances that we have referred to, were contaminated to a somewhat greater degree than is probable in the case of the future supplies from the Thames. The admission of sewage was somewhat more recent, and the state of the water, as far as chemical analysis could reveal it, was rather worse. The soakings from the River Lea into the Old Ford reservoirs were analysed by Dr. Letheby, and found to contain 1·12 grains of organic matter per gallon, or about twice that of the Thames water on the average. The Southwark and other Thames companies' supplies in 1853 contained generally, according to the Commissioners, about four times their present proportion of the same. These differences, though considerable, are still hardly sufficiently great to justify us in concluding that the injury done in the one case will not occur at all in the other. Is it not more likely that the smaller proportion of the poison should produce a smaller number of deaths, should the disease unfortunately come amongst us again?

Again, the proportions of organic substances vary so much from time to time, that even if analyses did furnish a safe guide to the wholesomeness of water, they could still hardly be depended upon in determining the quality of that of the Thames under all the circumstances that may arise with respect to that river. The previous sewage contamination shown by Dr. Frankland varied from 110 to 3360 parts in 100,000 in different months of last year in the case of one metropolitan water company, and from 150 to 2945 parts with another company. The Thames water at Staines analysed for the Commission, contained in May ·027 parts of organic nitrogen, and in October ·097 parts. The largest proportions of impurity are found in the case of sudden storms occurring after dry weather, when the flood-waters first reach the dry surface of cultivated lands and the town sewers are flushed. Large quantities of water suddenly admitted into the river in particular places, from these causes, are not very quickly diffused throughout its entire volume. Under these circumstances the examination of one specimen per month, or one

gallon out of each 300,000,000 supplied, hardly shows what may occur under exceptional circumstances, and it is only exceptional circumstances that are to be feared.

For more reasons than one, therefore, the use of the Thames water is not justified merely by the fact that "analysis fails to discover anything positively deleterious." The admission of something positively deleterious is undoubted, and it is necessary to prove that it is got rid of. The discovery of nitrates as the result of previous organic matter no longer existing as such, does not prove this point, but goes some way towards showing its probability. The motion of the water in the river undoubtedly assists in the process of conversion. This process is always taking place, as the Commissioners describe, although they cannot show that it is sufficiently rapid to be completely effectual :

"But though we believe that the organic contamination of the Thames is much less than is commonly imagined, still it would be sufficient to do great mischief, were it not for a most beneficial provision of nature for effecting spontaneously the purification of the streams. Some of the noxious matter is removed by fish and other animal life, and a further quantity is absorbed by the growth of aquatic vegetation ; but in addition to these abstractions, important changes are effected by chemical action. The organic compounds dissolved in the water appear to be of very unstable constitution, and to be very easily decomposed, the great agent in this decomposition being oxygen, and the process being considerably hastened by the motion of the water. Now, as such waters always contain naturally much air dissolved in them, the decomposing agent is ready at hand to exert its influence the moment the matter is received into the water ; in addition to which the motion causes a further action by the exposure to the atmosphere ; and when (as in the Thames) the water falls frequently over weirs, passes through locks, &c., causing further agitation and aëration, the process must go on more speedily and more effectually.

"The effect of the action of oxygen on these organic matters, when complete, is to break them up, to destroy all their peculiar organic constitution, and to re-arrange their elements into permanent inorganic forms, innocuous and free from any deleterious quality. This purifying process is not a mere theoretical speculation ; we have abundant practical evidence, which we shall hereafter refer to, of its real action in the Thames and other rivers."

The Commissioners had analyses made of specimens of water taken from the river at different points of its course, in order to try and ascertain the effect of the various admissions of sewage. The general result of these examinations is to show that the water is purer at Hampton than at any point higher up, except the sources ; but the disturbing causes were found to be so numerous that it was not possible to trace the disappearance of the effects

of particular sources of pollution. There was shown to be a diminution in the quantity of organic nitrogen from '033 parts at Lechlade to '024 at Hampton, but this slight general improvement does not, of course, prove the total disappearance of sewage matter from any one place; and the Commissioners remark in speaking of the differences noticed at different seasons of the year, that "compared to these the slight changes in the quantities of organic nitrogen noted in the Thames water in different parts of its course are comparatively insignificant." The opinion of Dr. Letheby, Dr. Odling, and Dr. Miller of King's College, who gave evidence before the Commissioners, appears to be that in a running stream animal matter totally disappears in a comparatively short distance, and leaves no injurious effect behind. On the other hand, Dr. Frankland has always maintained that water once contaminated with sewage is unfit for consumption under any circumstances. Dr. Angus Smith considers that the water "may be safe in some cases, in others not." Sir Benjamin Brodie says that—

"Causes are in operation which partially remove sewage and diminish its injurious effects; but the question is whether those causes are adequate to cause a complete result—that is to say, whether they will take out of the water all the injurious matter which is contained in it. I do not think it is possible in the present state of our knowledge to pronounce an absolute opinion upon that point. But if you ask whether it is wise to drink water into which you have put sewage, knowing that you have no possible means of getting that sewage out, that is a question which any one can answer for himself."

Mr. Wanklyn, Professor of Chemistry at the London Institution, says:—

"The urea in the sewage would be very readily broken up, and a little exposure would dispose of it; but the albuminoid matter in sewage is extremely persistent, and you could not depend upon getting rid of the albuminoid matter."

And Dr. Lyon Playfair, when asked—"Is it not considered that by the time the Thames water, with which London is now supplied, reaches the delivery pipes, all the organic matter is converted into nitrates and nitrites?" replied—"I think that the evidence from the cholera of last summer was perfectly conclusive on that point, that it was not."

With these opinions before us, and in view of the facts already proved respecting the propagation of diseases by water, and the probability of further discoveries in this direction, we can hardly think that the conclusion arrived at by the Commission as to the wholesomeness of the Thames water will be eventually satisfactory to the inhabitants of the metropolis. The Commissioners however, naturally draw attention to the improvements in the

river that are being effected in consequence of the powers recently granted to the Board of Conservators. These improvements will be considerable, and they form an element for consideration in this case which should on no account be overlooked; but they are not, in the opinion of any of the scientific men we have quoted, such as to alter the conclusions formed respecting the eligibility, for water supply, of the river in its present state. The Conservancy Board have power to require the large towns to use their sewage for irrigation before pouring it into the river; and they have also established a system of watching and scavenging, in order to remove dead animals, and other things which may be seen floating on the water; the London water companies contributing to the expense of these proceedings. The problem of sewage irrigation, however, is one which is not altogether solved at present. When successfully carried out it does a great deal towards purifying the sewage, but it does not do everything. At Croydon the sewage water passes three times over land, and when running off the third time it is clear and apparently good, and it is so far improved at least that fish will live in it where they previously would not. Nevertheless a portion of the noxious matter continues dissolved: perhaps three-fourths may have been got rid of, but the most dangerous part is precisely that which is most likely to remain; and such clarified sewage is anything but a desirable contribution to a water supply. The Thames basin, above Hampton, contains 888,000 inhabitants, and the Commissioners say that the sewage of about 212,000 of these, or all who live in the large towns, is now passed into the river. When the irrigation works are carried out, the greater part of the sewage will be improved, and perhaps to the extent that takes place at Croydon: although the circumstances are there especially favourable. The Conservators have, however, no power over the towns on the tributary rivers, which are also draining into the Thames; and all the smaller places are gradually making new drains, so that a larger proportion of the 888,000 inhabitants contributes year by year to the nuisance, and that population is of course increasing. If the admission of sewage into a river used for water supply be an evil, the enforcement of the Thames Navigation Acts may mitigate, but cannot cure that evil.

The information obtained by the Commissioners respecting the quality of the Thames water throughout its course, is probably sufficient to establish one conclusion—namely, that it would not be desirable merely to shift the point of supply to any higher part of the river. The organic matter found at Lechlade is probably caused by drainage from the surface of manured land, and may be less injurious in character than that which is met with in the lower river; still, the fact of its existence in large quanti-

ties so high up the stream furnishes a sufficient ground for preventing recourse to that or any intermediate point, in order to avoid the evils met with below. If the intake be removed at all, it should be to an undoubtedly pure source; and sources of unquestioned purity are to be found in abundance in the Thames basin itself.

The Commissioners had a careful survey made of the entire district, and their Report clearly points to a solution of the question independent of Wales or Cumberland, should their verdict as to the wholesomeness of the water be reversed by the progress of sanitary science. A very large proportion of the Thames water is derived from springs; the water is somewhat hard, and therefore inferior in point of economy in domestic use to that of the mountain districts; but it is of at least equal, if not greater purity, and in consequence of the uniform delivery of the springs it is far more easily applied to a system of uniform distribution. It is believed that one-half of the volume of the river at Hampton has its origin from springs:—

“The importance of such a condition of things for the supply of this large metropolis cannot be over-estimated. It insures that permanence and regularity which are necessarily among the most important elements in a metropolitan water supply. With natural subterranean reservoirs extending over 2000 square miles, a storage reserve is provided comparatively independent of the seasons, and maintained by the ordinary operations of nature, while no filtration can equal that effected through masses of sand, sandstone, earthy limestones, or chalk, from 50 to 300 feet thick. The quantity of mineral matter taken up is in most cases moderate, while the really objectionable ingredient, the organic matter, is reduced to a minimum.

“At the same time the water is kept at a uniform low temperature, and protected from light and air, conditions unfavourable to the existence of living organisms. Springs from such sources probably represent potable waters in their best state; and amongst the favourable specimens of such waters may be instanced many chalk-springs, the water from the lower chalk at Caterham, and some of the springs of the lower green-sands of Surrey.

“It is satisfactory to know that there exists within easy reach of London a supply of the best and purest spring-water, which, in case of need, could readily be rendered available as an auxiliary source of water-supply for the metropolis, in quantity sufficient at all events for drinking, if not for other purposes.”

Several suggestions were made to the Commissioners respecting the use of spring water from different parts of the Thames Valley. Mr. Bailey Denton, the well-known agricultural engineer, submitted the most comprehensive plan of this description. He suggested to purchase two canals which unite near Lechlade, to gather into these canals the available spring water of the dis-

tracts through which they pass, and to construct a new channel or conduit from their point of junction, down the valley of the Thames, towards London. Between Lechlade and Oxford he would form branch conduits to collect the head waters of all the smaller streams and tributary rivers which might be available. As far as Wallingford he proposed to have an open channel fifty-two miles in length; and from Wallingford to Hampton he would construct a covered duct eight feet deep and ten feet wide for seventy-five miles, which would terminate in the reservoirs of the existing water companies. The whole distance from Lechlade to Hampton would be 127 miles. Reservoirs would be constructed for each separate source of supply in order to equalize throughout the year the quantity of water passed into the main conduit; and compensation reservoirs would be formed on the Thames, to return in the dry season an amount equal to that abstracted from the streams otherwise leading into it. Mr. Denton proposed by these means to supply 100 million gallons daily for the use of the metropolis, at a cost of 5,320,000*l*.

The cost of this project is somewhat greater in proportion to the quantity of water supplied than that of Messrs. Hemans and Bateman's proposals. Mr. Denton's sources, however, are all from fifty to one hundred miles distant from the metropolis, whereas most of the tributaries of the lower river are fed from springs equally pure and good, and much nearer at hand. It is rather a curious circumstance that, with all the excellent springs round London, no attempt has been made to procure water from any of them except in one instance, and that was carried out 250 years ago. The New River has proved an immense benefit, and is also a commercial success, but has never been imitated. The tributary rivers near the metropolis are, on the north side, the Roding, the Lea, and the Colne; and on the south side the Darent, the Ravensbourne, the Wandle, the Mole, the Wey, and the Loddon. All these rivers are fed principally from springs. They are all consequently available for water supply, and projects for that purpose in connexion with most of them have been devised from time to time. The springs in the valley of the Colne, near Watford, have been frequently the subject of such proposals.

Mr. Telford, in 1834, made a report to the Government recommending that the north of London should be supplied from the Verulam (a branch of the Colne); and the south from the Wandle. An elaborate scheme for bringing water to the metropolis from the Surrey sands, which form the principal sources of the Wey, was proposed in 1849 by the General Board of Health, and supported at that time by Mr. Bateman. Again, a scheme for use of springs near Basingstoke, the head waters of the Loddon, was recently laid before the Commissioners—namely, that

these springs should be led to Hampton at comparatively small expense, by the conversion of the Basingstoke Canal into a conduit for that purpose.

As far as these and other sources west of London are concerned it would be desirable that they should not be used, except in connexion with compensation reservoirs as proposed by Mr. Denton, for otherwise the rivers would be injured by the loss of the water during the dry season. There are, however, other springs in the east, with regard to which this difficulty does not arise, for they find their way at present into the lower part of the river where its volume is maintained by the tide, and their loss would be, therefore, immaterial. There are chalk springs at Grays in Essex which yield seven million gallons a day, and are believed to be capable of yielding ten million. There are also wells in the chalk at Woolwich, Deptford, Bromley, and Caterham, and many other places, whence large quantities of spring water are obtained by pumping, and it is believed that these quantities could be increased to a great extent by means of additional wells throughout the whole south-eastern district.

From the spring waters of the Thames Basin, therefore, abundant supplies are to be obtained, and some are to be had without difficulty as far as the rivers are concerned. Others can be rendered equally available by the storage of compensation water, a measure the adoption of which will at the same time confer great benefit by restraining the mischievous inundations of the flood season. These are the sources which we believe the inhabitants of London should look to in case the objections to river water alluded to by the Commissioners' should become more firmly established than they now admit them to be. We do not, of course, know the precise outlay that would be required in order to make use of all these sources. Mr. Bateman says that water-works on a large scale answer best, and he is able to point in favour of that assertion to those which he has successfully carried out at Manchester and Glasgow. Still works in the Thames Valley would at least have the advantage of being capable of gradual adoption, whereas those proposed for the distant sources would necessitate immediate outlay to an extent more than commensurate with the wants of the present generation. They would utilize water which is at present useless and frequently injurious; and which can certainly not be required for any other district. And they would not have the effect of making the whole metropolis dependent on one system. This last point is one which must be taken into account in considering any great scheme of supply from a distant source. An accident to any portion of a conduit of 180 miles in length leading

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]-NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. E E

from Wales, or 270 miles leading from Cumberland, would in that case deprive us of water entirely. Nor can we altogether neglect to consider the possibility of a similar thing being brought about by design. The invasion of the country by a foreign enemy is an event we do not much anticipate in these days, but still we must and do take precautions against it; and were London supplied entirely with water from Cumberland it would be in the power of an enemy landing in the north to cause with one stroke two great calamities. A few pounds of gunpowder under one of Mr. Hemans' syphons would not only leave the metropolis without water, but would discharge the contents of Ullswater at a rapid pace into some quiet valley in Yorkshire or Lancashire. But even without this, an accident, such as an explosion like that at Erith a few years ago, occurring in the immediate neighbourhood of any part of the conduit, would be quite sufficient to occasion a formidable catastrophe. Such improbable contingencies might, in the case of smaller works, safely be left to be dealt with if they occur; but they must be thought of beforehand where the interests involved are so enormous.

A more important consideration perhaps than this, looking forward to future times, is the probability of the water from the distant sources being required by the places to which they naturally belong. The towns on the Severn are not very great in comparison with London; but on the north-east of the Severn basin there is one of the most populous districts in England. Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Kidderminster, Stockport, Worcester, Bromsgrove, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, and all the towns of the Black Country, lie within fifty or sixty miles of Mr. Bateman's sources, and naturally look to that district for a future supply of water, the whole of which would, according to his intention, pass close by them to a place a hundred miles further away. Many of these towns are now obtaining an inefficient and precarious supply from wells, and as their population increases, will necessarily have to look out for improved sources. The probable future candidates for the Cumberland waters are even more numerous. The whole of Yorkshire and Lancashire lies between Ullswater and London, and their future wants in this respect are likely to be considerable; they are, in fact, already in the field, for at the time Mr. Hemans was maturing his plans, another engineer, Mr. Dale, was preparing the details of a project for supplying twenty different towns, including among them Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax, from the same sources. The population of all these places is small compared with the three millions of the metropolis; but the increase in their requirements is quite as rapid, and the cir-

cumstances of the manufacturing districts are such as to make the collection of pure water from their immediate neighbourhoods a matter of great difficulty; and as in one town after another the resources immediately at command fail, it will generally be requisite to go to a considerable distance.

The diversion, on a large scale, of the water of one district for the use of another is a measure which, on all grounds, ought not to be adopted without a strong case of necessity being shown. No such case has been made out for London. There is no deficiency in quantity, for the Thames sometimes brings down in two days of flood a volume equal to twelve months' supply. There is no defect in quality, for the only allegation in this respect, if it can be sustained at all, is against the water as it is found in the rivers after contact with things which it might be made to avoid. No obstacle has been shown to exist to prevent the water being procured, if necessary, from the springs when its purity is unquestioned. Its collection in detail from several points might be in some respects more costly than the concentration of large works in one locality, but the sources are much nearer, and nature has already performed some portion of the work: the storage and equalization of the rainfall is better and more safely accomplished by the natural subterranean reservoirs of the chalk and limestone than by gigantic embankments holding behind them 120 or 170 days' supply. The Commissioners' verdict in favour of the Thames basin will probably hold, even if their approval of the river water at Hampton should not be considered a final decision.

Meanwhile there are other questions connected with the subject of water-supply which are sometimes of even greater importance than the great question of the source. Very much depends on the treatment and distribution of the water after it has been procured. In the first place, all waters from rivers and streams contains particles of earth, &c., in suspension, in addition to the dissolved matter found by analysis, of which we have already spoken: this suspended matter is to be got rid of by allowing time for deposit, and by filtration; and if these processes be neglected, the water will be muddy or turbid, and contain possibly more injurious substances than any of the permanently impure kinds we have before alluded to. Again, it is useless to have the best water, if for want of constant supply it is not at hand when required; and if on that account it be kept, as it often is in the poorer class of houses, in dirty cisterns and other unclean receptacles, it may be worse when actually used than if it had contained from the first all the organic matter which so much care has been exercised to avoid. And again with reference to quantity—there is little doubt that

about one-third of the thirty-two gallons per inhabitant now consumed in London is wasted. Any measure which could put a stop to this waste would be as useful as the storage of three months' supply on the rivers, or would reduce by at least one-sixth the cost of any new system of works. All these points have been inquired into by the Commissioners, and their report contains some practical recommendations relating to them. Filtration, they say, is often imperfectly performed by the Water Companies, and they advise further powers of enforcing the law in this respect. They advise a constant supply in all cases if possible, and a power of inspection of domestic arrangements in order to prevent waste. Constant supply is now given only in some few parts of the metropolis; the waste is already enormous, and without some means of controlling it, the general introduction of the "constant" system is said to be impossible. The Commissioners recommend inspection by appointed officers in order to reduce the waste; and in view of the additional power which it would be necessary to confer for this purpose, and of the great importance of the management of the water-works generally, as affecting the life and health of large populations, they think that they should not continue to be in the hands of companies, but should be transferred to the local governments. In that case payment for water by individual consumers could be abolished, and a general compulsory rate would provide for a supply to which every inhabitant would be equally entitled.

There is, no doubt, great need for improvement in the system of distribution of water in London. Notwithstanding the increase in consumption from eighteen to thirty-two gallons per head, there is still in many of the poorer districts a supply for only one hour or thereabouts during the day, and consequently a deficiency in the quantity obtainable which interferes greatly with the formation of habits of cleanliness and decency, and the sanitary well-being of the people. The importance of the unrestricted use of pure water by the inhabitants of crowded courts and alleys can scarcely be exaggerated. The greatest obstacles to such unrestricted use, and the most frequent causes of deterioration in the quality of the element consumed, are both very possibly in most cases near at home. If it is so, the removal of these obstacles may be more necessary, and confer greater benefit, than any improvement in the source of supply could effect. The first object to be secured is to provide that all classes of the people shall have the full benefit of the water at present within reach; the next to insure that its quality be good beyond all possibility of suspicion; and then to make provision for the inevitable though not immediate increase in quantity beyond the capabilities of the existing system.

ART. IV.—SUNDAY LIBERTY.

1. *Address to the House of Commons. Address to Working Men. Report, &c.* Published by the National Sunday League.
2. *Law Journal Reports for January, 1869.*
3. *A Statement of the Sunday Rest Question.* By the Sunday Rest Association.
4. *Report of the Society for Promoting the due Observance of the Lord's Day.*
5. *Report of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association.*
6. *Sabbatism: a Heresy.* By J. BAXTER LANGLEY, M.R.C.S., &c., Vice-President of the National Sunday League.
7. *The Sabbath of the Jews in its relation to the Sunday Question.* By Dr. BENISCH.
8. *The Literature of the Sabbath Question.* By ROBERT COX, F.S.A. Scot. 1865. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
9. *Sunday: its Origin, History, &c.* By J. A. HESSEY, D.C.L. London: John Murray.
10. *Sabbaths: an Inquiry into the Origin of Septenary Institutions.* Revised by the Author, and reprinted from the *Westminster Review* for October, 1850.

NOT long since two deputations from societies connected with the Sunday Question waited on the Prime Minister on the same day, with mutually conflicting petitions;—the one praying the Government to take into consideration proposals for a stricter observance of the Lord's day, the other advocating measures for the relaxation of present restrictions. It may serve to give us some idea of the conciliation of manner and the skilful amenity of language displayed by the heads of some of our great departments, as well as how very little mere words can convey all our meaning, when we were told in the newspapers that both deputations retired from the interview highly gratified with their courteous reception.

These societies represent tendencies which have long been in internecine conflict in the midst of us, and never fiercer than in recent times. The extent of the controversial literature on the subject of Sunday obligation in the second quarter of this

century is no less amazing than the fiery pugnacity of some of the writers: one would imagine they had fallen into the common mistake of identifying the "Lord God of Sabbath" with the "Lord God of Sabaoth," *i.e.*, Lord of armies or hosts. It is true the controversy on the Sunday Question has lost something of the bitterness and savagery with which it was carried on some few years ago, when we heard of ladders placed across roads to damage the knees of Sabbath-breaking horses, and evangelical Christians, Dunstan-like, congratulating themselves on the tokens of the divine disapproval when accidents befel profane Sunday trains. The greatest improvement in this respect has taken place within the pale of the Establishment, which has always contained a liberal school on this as on other matters—Dr. Hessey's conciliatory lectures aided in this direction. Some of the more learned Nonconformists also have held enlarged views on this subject, which of late have become more extensively diffused. The clouds have begun to break even in Scotland, where Dr. Macleod and other distinguished divines have for some timesteadily discouraged ultra-severity. It is the representatives of the extreme evangelicals within the Church, and the less learned and more enthusiastic among the Dissenters, who have always formed the backbone of the Sabbatarian party, and who though diminished in numbers and influence still pertinaciously hold aloft the standard of strict Sabbath observance. The pressure of outward profane opinion has compelled more regard to decency and charity in the field of Sunday polemics, and in our great towns the severity of men's views has been considerably mitigated; but there is still very great room for improvement, and a more enlightened toleration on all sides for the varieties of practice and opinion on the subject. Still at serious dinner-tables where we appreciate the sterling qualities of the vintage, gratitude compels us to speak with bated breath of the expediency of Sunday amusements, lest the aroused spleen of our host and hostess, genial and liberal on most other topics, should seriously interfere with their digestions. Still in the less populous districts if a man depart from the regulation mode of passing the day, he is looked at as a social monstrosity by sober persons, cautioned against if not absolutely shunned as a possible betrayer of innocence and corrupter of youth, and generally considered as most probably untrustworthy in any serious or important transaction. Now we are far from sympathizing with those who would do away with all regard for the Sunday; and we hardly need affirm that all licentious, obstreperous, ungodly, and unmanly behaviour we equally condemn on this and all other days of the week; but we protest against that limited view which would narrow down all reverence and all religion to one

mode of expression, and consider those who do not conform thereto as at any rate unentitled to a character of strict morality and sober respectability.

We propose therefore to offer a few considerations which may somewhat further conciliate conflicting opinions.

For this purpose, however, we will first enter briefly into a few details on the origin and history of Sabbath observance. Those who wish for exact proofs and a fuller account of the points touched upon, we refer to the works mentioned at the head of our article, where they will find ample evidence of most of the points we adduce, and more precise references than our space will allow us to make. In expressing our general acknowledgment to these authors, however, we would particularly refer to the work of Mr. Cox on "*The Literature of the Sabbath Question.*" And we wish to take this opportunity of recording our admiration of the perseverance and zeal, no less than the discretion and sound knowledge, with which Mr. Cox for many years past has laboured to diffuse more enlightened views on this subject. A previous work of Mr. Cox ("*Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties*") was favourably noticed in this Review some years ago. The work at present before us contains an extensive catalogue of all the principal books, whether ancient or modern, in which the various opinions respecting the Sabbath are set forth. The titles of the more remarkable are followed by a slight sketch of their contents, illustrated by extracts. There is added an analysis of the numerous passages of scripture adduced in controversies on the subject; and in the supplement (which forms nearly half of the first volume, and a third of the second) a number of long or shorter articles, where the results of many points of the controversy are summarized and arranged. It will be evident from this description of Mr. Cox's work that its form is somewhat peculiar, and hardly calculated for easy reading; but it is valuable as a book of reference, and the spirit and manner of many of the detached articles are excellent. Those who are curious about the history of obsolete opinions, and the acrobatic feats of religious logic, will also find much here to interest them.

It is especially important that clear ideas connected with the origin of Sabbath observance should be diffused at the present time; because although there is a great softening down in the dogmatic views of those who advocate strictness on religious grounds, yet even those who professedly take up the advocacy on the modified ground of social benefit only, insensibly to themselves seem not to be able to avoid an insinuation of the religious obligation of the Sunday. Now if this question is ever

to be set at rest amongst us, it can only be by our arriving at a rational and permanent basis for our ideas upon the subject.

Archbishop Whately once published some essays entitled "The Errors of Romanism have their Origin in Human Nature." It might be shown, we think, that all tendencies, whether good or bad, which have extensively prevailed at any time, have their source in some law of our nature either bringing about its proper effect or being abnormally perverted. At any rate there can be no doubt that the institution of the Sabbath has its first origin in a law, not only of human, but we might almost say universal nature. For everything around and within us speaks of rest—of periodic cessation from labour: the revolution of the seasons, the hibernation of the vegetable world,* the changes of day and night, all invite man and other animals to repose. After continuous exertion it is the most imperious necessity of our nature; it is the very object of labour itself; it seems almost as the Buddhists would represent it, the end of all things, for the aim of our most strenuous toils is that we may rest again; it may be rest more luxuriously, more unmolested, more magnificently, but rest itself is the golden thread which forms the groundwork of the future's dreams. Like all the radical constituents of our nature, this longing for rest sometimes prevails in an excessive form. It is possible even that much of the supposed religious instinct, and much that passes for religious craving, is only one of the forms of a longing for rest. Certain it is that in many religions it is presented as one of the most salient of the objects of hope. Christianity herself does not think it beneath her to appeal to us on similar motives; she calls her burial-grounds cemeteries—sleeping places; she proclaims to us, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they *rest* from their labours," and she points to the final glory of her children, when she says "there remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God."

There is no doubt that an appeal founded on this prospect has extraordinary force, with particular dispositions. Whether it arises from fastidiousness or sensibility of mind, from feebleness of constitution or deficiency of nervous energy, certain it is that there are some temperaments easily jaded and overborne by the intercourse of society. To such the longing for quiet and repose assumes the proportion of a master passion; if through determination of will or the necessities of life it happens that this desire is not gratified, the result is often paralysis or in-

* See "On the Influence of Mechanical and Physiological Rest." By John Hilton, F.R.S., p. 5.

sanity;* nature avenges herself, and the poor machine gives way. To this natural longing we attribute that tendency which in different ages of the world and under most religions has from time to time displayed itself, inducing men either to seek the solitary cell of the hermit, or to group themselves in small societies far away from the common haunts of men. Other motives, such as ambition or religious enthusiasm, doubtless at various epochs have influenced the more eminent among this class; but the great ground-motive which has been in perpetual operation, and supplied the rank and file of such institutions, has been that of which we are speaking. Wearied souls overburdened by the heat and clamour of existence, have flown off as it were to the confines of active life, and on the solitary hill side, in the sequestered wood, or even the desolate wilderness, have sought their Vallombrosa or Chartreuse, the lonely Athos, or the inhospitable Nitrian desert. And it is not in Christianity alone that this longing for solitude and rest has found scope; in the further East we behold† the monastic institution among the Buddhists, and among the Mahometans at some periods religious solitaries have been almost as numerous as in the early Church. And when we turn to the New World we do not find that the fresh scenes, and the inward flow of youthful blood from all the most vigorous nations of Europe, have been able to eradicate this deep-seated tendency of human nature. It is true that in the noisy streets of the great towns and along the main lines of route everything seems ringing with life and activity; but as if sickened by the eager onward whirl, one by one, as Mr. Hepworth Dixon has told us, men steal away from the outskirts of the crowd, if not into monasteries yet into curious retired societies, whose rules for the preservation of quiet, order, and religious retirement quaintly remind us of the brotherhoods of old. Among all races it is the same: in contrast to those strong spirits who "where the feeblers faint can only feel"—but whose most fiery and longest sustained bursts, after all, are avenged by long involuntary periods of stagnation and torpor, or else the fire burns out by its own fierceness, and is 'extinguished in death—in contrast to these, there have ever been slightly-strung and quiet souls who have felt conscious at once that the "song of the earth spirit" and the perpetual whirring of "the roaring loom of time" was too deafening and overwhelming for their sensitive ears.

So universal and imperious is this necessity of rest, that if any

* Ibid. p. 10.

† See Hardy's "Eastern Monachism."

society or kingdom could be supposed where no proper provision was made for it—where incessant grinding toil was forced upon the multitude by exacting masters, and no dearly expected day of leisure came round to alleviate their misery—we verily believe that at last this intolerable weight would be thrown off by a convulsion more violent and sanguinary than any yet recorded. Even the cruellest slave-owners have recognised the fact that certain recurring days of rest were necessary to render the requisite toil possible; and the fiddles and hymns of the negro's Sabbath have been a feature often remarked upon in descriptions of the sugar plantations. All history bears witness that the struggles brought about by too severely trying the endurance of the labouring class have been of the fiercest. It was, the Jewish legends relate, when Pharaoh had hopelessly increased their labours, and would not any longer that the people should be "let from their burdens," that those mighty throes took place which resulted in the exodus of a whole people, and which have so strongly coloured their after history. And the Roman annalists tell us how that in the Servile War, brought on by the severities exercised towards the slaves, their State trembled in the balance as it only yet had done before the arms of Hannibal. It has too, we believe, been experimentally established that where toil has been prolonged beyond proper periods of rest, its results, instead of increasing, have fallen off both in quantity and quality. If any one doubts this, we are sure he will be convinced if he will only try the experiment on himself. No man who has any pretensions to be a real worker, would doubt this conclusion for an instant: dilettantes and dawdlers indeed may conceive it possible to go on incessantly, but then their severest toil is only a dawdle.

So universal, absolute, and imperious is this requirement of a period of rest, so bound up with the first necessities and innate laws of man's nature, that in this sense we have not the least hesitation in affirming that we believe a Sabbath, a day of rest, to be a divine institution; in that our frame has been so constituted, that we can no more do without it than we can without light, or air, or food. Man himself cannot live his proper allotted time without it, civil society cannot go on without it, the highest attainments of man, whether in quality or quantity, cannot be produced without it! What more do we want to make an institution divine? What greater authority does the word divine import into the subject than this first order of necessity?

Granting then that a day of rest is *in this sense* a divine institution, the question arises, What is the proper period of its recurrence? Unless it can be physiologically proved that the sixth day is exactly the proper average limit of human endurance

(an attempt which we have not heard ever to have been made), that the evening of the fifth day does not come up to our capacity of prolonged labour, and the seventh just goes beyond it, there seems no reason why the rest day might not just as well have recurred on every sixth or every eighth day. It is pretty generally agreed now that the natural origin of the septenary division of days arises from the period of the moon; the monthly interval, however, would not bring back the rest day sufficiently often. What are called the changes or the quarters of the moon therefore would serve conveniently to break this interval into four: four periods of seven days each, making up in round numbers the monthly cycle: "as," says Bishop Ironside of Bristol, "the subdivision of the month into weeks is chalked out to men by the four changes of the moon" (Cox, vol. i. p. 190). Increased importance would be given to the number seven by the observation of the seven principal planets after which the days of the week were named. The seven musical notes, and certain discovered properties of numbers (seven being the sum of the first two perfect numbers above unity, four and three; three representing the triangle and four the square) would still further make this number remarkable. Some have *opposed* the planetary to the lunar theory of the week; but it is probable we think that they were both in operation simultaneously, and tended to confirm each other. It appears clear that the septenary division of time was at a very early period made use of in Egypt. When therefore the Jewish leaders were shaping the institutions of their countrymen, nothing would be more natural than that they should adopt it as a ceremonial and religious observance, and so a natural division of time has become for a considerable part of the world a religious division. And this may well be conceded, whether we hold or not with the divine legation of Moses, since it is quite in analogy with other instances of the same kind, circumcision having been in use in those regions before it was made a sign of the covenant with Abraham, and Christ having adopted baptism, a custom in frequent use among his countrymen, as the initiatory rite of his religion. Many, with the view of supporting the universal obligation of the Sabbath as a religious institution, have endeavoured to prove that it was part of the primæval law given to man at the creation. But even for those persons who accept the ancient Jewish records as literal history, and make no

* The experiment appears, however, to have been tried on cab-horses. Mr. Bianconi, who established the public cars in Dublin, having stated at a meeting of the British Association that he found he could work a horse with more advantage eight miles a day for six days, than six miles a day for seven days; thus, by not working on Sunday, making a saving of 12 per cent.—Cox, ii. 189.

allowance for the large poetic and legendary element overlaying certain prominent facts, even for such persons it is impossible to make this out with any regard to the usual principles of historical and logical proof. Dr. John Owen, however, the famous Puritan divine, supports this view. Our limits forbid us to consider it further, but a refutation of it may be found in Dr. Hessey's lectures (Lect. iv. p. 101 et seq. See also pp. 43, 68, 278).* In further support of their views, the advocates of the universal obligation of the Sabbath have constantly asserted the general prevalence of the weekly division of time. This assertion, however, is totally destitute of foundation. Egypt and parts of Central Asia made use of this division; as far as we know Ceylon is the farthest point east to which it travelled; certain allusions in some Cingalese Buddhist MSS.† being considered by some to refer to it. But neither among the early Romans or Greeks, nor among the Chinese or the ancient races of America or Polynesia, is there to be found any trace of it.‡ Some writers, in order to borrow for the Christian Sunday the strictness of the Jewish Sabbath, have attempted to prove not only that there was a law given to the human race at the creation, but that in primæval times the Sabbath was on the actual first day of the week, and that it was transferred to the seventh at the time of Moses as a sign of the covenant relation between God and the Jewish people, and that when Christ came the original day of the Sabbath was restored. One writer asserts that it was stated by some Jewish rabbis (whom he does not, however, name) that the restoration of the primæval Sabbath-day was to be one of the evidences of the Messiah. These views have found a considerable number of advocates, the best known of whom are Dr. Kennicott, formerly Canon of Christ Church, and Dr. Samuel Lee, late Reg. Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge.

Bishop Horsley speaks of these theories as "mere conjecture, of which the sacred history affords neither proof nor confutation." (See Cox, vol. ii. pp. 39 et seq., 86, 101, 168, and 202 et seq.). As a specimen of the extraordinary kind of reasoning we alluded to above, and showing how learned divines have found in the scripture text more than could ever be fairly got out of it, we will give an amusing extract from Dr. Kennicott. He is well known to scholars as a corrector of the Hebrew text of scripture; but like some later professors of Hebrew, he is an evidence that

* See also Cox, vol. ii. pp. 5, 47 et seq. 61, 64 et al., where the arguments of Cocceius, Milton, and Barrow against this view are set forth.

† Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism."

‡ For further details, see "Septenary Institutions," mentioned at the head of this article.

considerable linguistic acquirements are not always accompanied by sound judgment. The learned Doctor's object is to prove that the patriarch Noah kept the Sabbath, which he makes out with the help of a number of "*probablys*" and "no doubts," the comical force of which will be more apparent to any one who has the scripture text before him. He commences by assuming that all the special communications from God to man took place on the Sabbath, and concludes that "*therefore* this command to Noah, 'Come thou into the ark,' &c., was given on the Sabbath-day."

"The weekly employments of Noah till the end of the flood are then minutely traced. During the first week the ark receives its freight; and after seven days, *i.e.*, on the Sabbath, the waters begin to rise, and Noah rests and worships. On the day before another Sabbath he sends out a dove for the first time, '*probably* that he might the *better know how to adapt his devotions to the day following.*' At the end of the third week the dove is again sent forth, and by returning empty makes the patriarch aware that the waters are still on the earth; he *therefore probably* spent the next day, the Sabbath, in praying for their abatement. Staying yet other seven days he sends forth the dove a third time, no doubt with the same view as before; and now it returns with an olive leaf. But when despatched after a like period, *i.e.*, on the day before the Sabbath, as usual, it returns to the ark no more. Noah then looks forth, and, seeing the ground, is so thankful for his deliverance that he *doubtless* employed the next day, which was the Sabbath, in acts of gratitude and praise. On the fourth Sabbath after this, the ground being now dry, he is ordered to quit the ark; and as he had spent six days, or the time between one Sabbath and another, in going into the ark with all the creatures, so *probably the same time* was spent in bringing them out again, Noah's labour being *therefore* again ended on the day before the Sabbath. Having drawn this fanciful picture (says Mr. Cox), Dr. Kennicott fondly regards it as '*conclusive for Noah's observation of a Sabbath.*'"—(Cox, vol. ii. p. 208.)

Such attempts, however, to bind the Jewish Sabbath upon Gentile necks, by means of a primæval appointment, or by any other means, are pretty generally relinquished by the soundest divines, who in whatever light they view the obligation of the Lord's day, agree that the law of the Sabbath as a positive ordinance has no binding force since the foundation of the Christian Church.

It may be questioned, however, whether in several points of view the Jewish ordinance, as originally given, would not be an easier burden than the modern Sunday as understood by some. It was only after the return from the captivity that the load of painful observances and restrictions was laid upon it that Christ rejected and reprobated. The original idea of it was as a day of rest and rejoicing: it was commemorative of a redemption from

toil, the commencement of national existence, the deliverance from bondage. One of the reasons given for its observance by all classes of the people is, "that thy bondman and thy bondwoman may rest as well as thou." The sacrifices offered on that day were connected with feasting and joy.* * It was a day of social privilege, when indeed servile work was prohibited, and all ranks of the people might meet on an equality of rest and rejoicing. Many of its associations were purely democratic, and what some would call now-a-days revolutionary ; such for instance as the release of debtors, and the giving up the spontaneous produce of the land to the poor in the Sabbatical year, the owner being debarred from taking it ; and of the same nature are the reversion of estates to their original owners, and the setting free of all bondmen in the year of jubilee. Maimonides informs us that the eve of this year was a time of riotous rejoicing to the lower orders. Hardly sufficient stress has been laid on this side of the question by our modern Sabbatarians ;—it would not perhaps altogether consist with their notions of the sacredness of the rights of property.

Dr. Benisch shows that the ancient Rabbis were of opinion that the injunction against labour on the Sabbath-day only applied to labour for gain, but labour that was conducive to recreation or to sanctification was to be considered meritorious. Moreover they held that all such recreative employment of the day as tended to improve men's minds or humanize their dispositions, to be implied in the idea of sanctifying it, or keeping it holy,—and as tending to personal sanctification : thereby evincing a much more enlightened appreciation of the true end and aim of religion than many modern Christians. In accordance with this, the modern Jews allow lectures on secular knowledge at their scientific institutes on their Sabbath, and allot a portion of the time to entertaining as well as religious knowledge at their Sabbath schools ; they sanction also, not only social gatherings, but even what the Doctor calls "physical activities" on that day, in the way of innocent amusement. Dr. Benisch therefore indignantly protests against the application of the terms "Jewish" or "Judaizing" to the strict notions of the Christian Sabbatarians ; since Jews as a matter of fact are altogether opposed

* The tendency to strictness increased no doubt at times when the priestly class was in full power and influence ; and this fact has left its mark on Jewish literature, of which that class was for the most part the keeper. Priesthoods naturally desire to make such days of importance as are given up to their operations, when they are the chief actors on the scene. So at one time in the Church there was an attempt to make all festivals as strictly regarded as Sunday.

to such puritanical rigour, and strongly object to being thus stigmatized.*

But whether Jewish notions on the subject were more or less strict, the institutions connected with the Sabbath are confessed by the soundest scholars and divines to be non-obligatory on Christendom. The attempt to connect the first day of the week with similar, or even more arduous restrictions on the authority of the New Testament, in our opinion has miserably failed. It can only be attained by such processes of "theological torsion" (as a Saturday Reviewer once called them), as would serve to make of the text "that which cometh out of the mouth defileth the man," an injunction against smoking; an exposition which we believe was once ventured upon by a reverend divine in one of his "counter-blasts to tobacco." There are seven texts usually brought forward by the advocates of the opinion that the Sabbath was transferred to the first day of the week, which the limits of an article will not permit us to discuss. They may be found treated in Dr. Hesse's book (p. 29 et seq. and notes), and in various parts of Mr. Cox's (as vol. i. 105 note, vol. ii. 53 et seq., 120, 185, 261 et seq., 292, 451). On various points we think Dr. Hesse's arguments inconclusive, even as founded on the ordinary text of the authorized version of the New Testament, and apart from all questions of criticism. In our view, the mind of the Pauline section of the Church at any rate, and the real genius of Christianity, is set forth in the commencement of the 14th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; commenting on the 5th and 6th verses of which Dean Alford says (Greek Testament *in loc.*):—

"It is an interesting question what indication is here found of the observance or non-observance of a day of obligation in apostolic times. The Apostle decides nothing; leaving every man's own mind to guide him in the point. He classes the observance or non-observance of particular days with eating or abstaining from particular meats. In both cases he is concerned with things which he evidently treats as of absolute indifference in themselves. Now the question is, supposing the obligation of one day in seven to have been recognised by him in any form, could he have thus spoken? The obvious inference from this strain of argument is that he knew of no such obligation, *but believed all times and all days to be, to the Christian strong in faith, alike.* I do not see how the passage can be otherwise understood. If any one day in the week were invested with the sacred character of the Sabbath, it would have been wholly impossible for the Apostle to commend or uphold the man who judged all days worthy of equal honour, or paid no regard to that day. He must have visited him with his strongest disapprobation, so violating a command of God. I there-

* See Dr. Benisch's pamphlet, "The Sabbath of the Jews," *passim*.

fore infer that *Sabbatical obligation to keep any day*, whether seventh or first, was not recognised in apostolic times."

The Dean goes on to say that this inference does not affect the observance of the Lord's day as an institution of the Church, binding "from considerations of humanity and religious expediency." Dr. Hessey does not altogether agree with the above views, and throughout his remarks we trace a sort of dread of following out his conclusions, a certain desire to be liberal, so far as is consistent with the character of a sound divine, and eminently "safe" man (see Lectures, p. 337 et seq. note 333). Substantially the same view as Dean Alford's is taken by several eminent critics, both English and foreign.

The following are the words of Luther—

"As for the Sabbath, there is no *necessity* for its observance; and if we do observe it, the reason ought to be not because Moses commanded it, but because nature likewise teaches us to give ourselves from time to time a day's rest."—*Werke*, ii. 16.

We extract this quotation from an article in this Review for April, 1856, where there are words of Calvin to the same effect; where also there is an interesting outline of the History of the Sabbath and of the Sunday Question in Great Britain up to that time, to which the reader may like to refer.*

From the little we have said, we think it appears even *on scriptural testimony alone*, that there are not sufficient grounds for asserting that the religious observance of Sunday in one particular way more than another is a matter of positive moral obligation.

We now turn to another and distinct branch of the subject, which stands altogether on independent considerations. Whether the account we have given, and the inferences we have drawn, be true or false, does not in the least degree signify, in view of the principles we now contemplate. The popular orthodox notions might be absolutely incontrovertible—those baseless theories which have so long been used to ensnare men's consciences and sadden their lives might rest on the highest evidence—yet the question would still remain, Are we justified in forcing our convictions upon others? Let our religious system be ever so true and excellent, what right have we to insist that others should make it the measure of their lives? What right has any man, or any body of men, to say this is the proper way to employ a certain portion of your time, we will not allow you to pass it in any other; this is the right road for respectable persons to walk along, if you will not proceed upon this, we will compel

* "Sunday in Great Britain."—*Westminster Review*, vol. ix.

you to idleness, or leave you to seek the relief of vice? In short, the question resolves itself into one of civil and religious liberty. We join civil with religious liberty because in some respects we hold it has been seriously infringed by Sunday legislation, more particularly in those restrictions laid upon the opening of public museums and galleries, to those toiling thousands by the proceeds of whose labour they are mainly supported, and who have little opportunity of visiting their property on any other day of the week. But as such restrictions are advocated in one disguise or another on religious grounds, they may be perhaps more fitly regarded as interfering with religious liberty. It is extraordinary, after all the discussion and agitation of the present century, that this subject is so little understood. In all parts of these islands many persons who have often had this sacred shibboleth in their mouths, who have toasted it at Whig dinners, shouted for it at elections, marched through the mud after it when inscribed on gaudy banners, have no more real motion in what it consists than the veriest old port-wine preserved Tory in the remotest depths of an agricultural county. Many who consider religious liberty one of the grand points of their creed, and who would be positively shocked to be accused of any infraction of it, almost daily are guilty of offence against its first principles. And in no particular has this been more painfully evident than on the Sunday Question. In our opinion, those that are commonly called the orthodox dissenters have here been especially in fault. They themselves so long suffered under religious disabilities, and had so long and painful a battle to fight before equal liberty was conceded to them, that it might have been expected they would have become well grounded in the grammar of freedom, and would have seen through the quibbles by which it was attempted to invalidate its rules. But so it has been too often throughout history. Persecutors and persecuted have no sooner fought out, and in some way settled their differences, than their first use of a common ground is to make it a basis of attack on which to unite their forces against some unhappy third party who has the misfortune to be obnoxious to both. It is a generally recognised commonplace of the advocates of religious liberty, that a man has a right to worship God in the way that his conscience approves; it is not so generally recognised, that it follows from this, that he has a right to refrain from all or any worship which does not meet the wants of his conscience. Our readers must do us the justice to understand that we are not saying that he is wise, or modest, or prudent, to refrain from all religious communion with his fellow-men, but simply that according to the strict principles of religious liberty he has a perfect right to do so, and that where you interfere with or curtail that right, or subject him to any annoyance

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. F F

on account of its exercise, you are infringing the principles of religious liberty. Now this is what the great majority of the Sabbatarian* party do. They are not content with being allowed to worship in any of the ways they think best, unless they can force their ways upon others. No one objects to the ceaseless ding-dong of high church or low church bells; the euphonious harmonies of St. Rosewater's, or the manly thunderings of tabernacles or Little Bethels, none propose to molest; but still they are not satisfied so long as the Sunday-going suit or the penny cigar of our toil-jaded brother on pleasure bent, comes between the wind and their morality. If he is so perversely disposed as to prefer green fields and nature's flowers to green altar-cloths and the embroideries of art, if the song of birds and the west wind's whispers soothe his ear and console his heart more than all the chants of choristers or even the melodious pipes of school-children, then let all the sections of the religious world join forces to make his day of pleasure as unpleasant as they can. In fine weather no fast trains shall run to carry him quickly beyond the noise and smoke; if wet, no museum nor friendly gallery shall gratify his eye and excite his intellect without overwearying his attention. It shall be made as difficult as possible for him to get even a decent dinner, and heaven and earth shall be moved to cut off his supply of tobacco. A conspiracy of every circumstance of discomfort at last drives him in despair to his only alternative refuge, the beer-house or the gin palace; and then too soon, alas! he offers an edifying illustration of the evil consequences of what they call neglecting the Sabbath; they should rather say the victim of a system which turns God's rest day into a day of weariness and gloom. Let it not be supposed that we are in the least degree exaggerating matters. We can confidently appeal to the various publications, petitions to Parliament, &c., which have emanated from the more thoroughgoing partisans of the strict Sunday party. Any one but slightly acquainted with them, and with the general proceedings of the party, will bear us out, that we have not only not exaggerated, but have given but a small part of the details we might have done to show the determination and unscrupulousness of the extreme Sabbatarians. It is true indeed, as we said before, that their proceedings of late have been modified, and that they are more cautious of shocking public feeling and common sense; but that the old leaven is still at work, and that their intolerant spirit will die hard and contest to the last

* It must not be considered that we use this word with any invidious meaning. It is used simply for brevity and convenience's sake, to designate that large party which, made up from adherents of different religious bodies, and on various grounds, support the strict observance of Sunday.

every inch of the ground, is painfully evident from recent facts. For instance, we could refer to a case (*Baxter v. Langley*)* decided only at the close of last year in the Court of Common Pleas, with the main features of which probably many of our readers are familiar. It rose out of an attempt to prosecute an "Association for the Development of Religious Feeling" by the means, among others, of certain Sunday Evening Services at St. Martin's Hall; it was attempted to bring the association under the provisions of the 21 Geo. III. c. 49, entitled, "An Act for preventing certain abuses and profanities on the Lord's day, called Sunday." It might have been thought that anything in the nature of a Sunday service was so far a concession to Sabbatarian feeling that it would have been met with forbearance at least. Moreover, the place of meeting was regularly registered as a place of religious worship for the use of persons calling themselves Recreative Religionists, by which appellation we may presume they intended to signify their opinion, that it is no offence to the deity to make innocent amusement a part of his worship. The counsel in the case explained that the designation was not intended "to refer to recreation in its ordinary sense, but to the creation of a new form of religious worship, by which it was hoped to remedy the alleged indifference of the people at large to ordinary religious services."

The plaintiff, however, contended that the registration for religious worship was a mere colourable evasion of the law, and that it was a disorderly house within the meaning of the statute in question. It appears, however, from the summing up of the evidence as given in the judge's judgment, that the services in the hall consisted mainly of—

"Pieces of sacred music, such as the *Stabat Mater*, performed on the organ, accompanied by other instruments and by a choir. . . . An address was delivered, always instructive, sometimes of religious tendency, sometimes neutral rather than religious, but *never expressly irreligious and never profane*. There seems to have been a desire to introduce the singing of hymns. . . . Among some hymns printed was to be found Addison's metrical paraphrase of the 19th Psalm. In most of them were expressed sentiments of adoration towards the Supreme Being, and in all of them exhortations to moral duty. There was no public prayer or address to the deity other than that contained in the musical composition. There was no debating or discussion,—nothing dramatic or comic, or tending to the corruption of morals, or to the corruption of religion, or profanity."

One would have thought that this might have been considered an edifying and certainly a harmless mode of spending the Sunday evening, even by very strict persons. That such an opportunity

* "Law Journal Reports," January, 1869.

should be offered to the masses in our large towns we cannot but consider a work of the highest usefulness, and its authors to have acted in a true spirit of philanthropy.* Notwithstanding however our sympathy with them, we cannot think they were well advised in taking up such a name as "Recreative Religionists," which strikes us as not only ridiculous, but likely to give rise to a misconception of their real purpose. We know too that many true friends of Sunday liberty were not only displeased with the ludicrous aspect thus given to their efforts, but considered it an unworthy concealment of their true stand-point, the right, namely, of literary and scientific men to devote their labours to the intellectual and moral improvement of their fellows in any way they think best, on Sunday evenings as on any others.† In extenuation however, it must not be forgotten that the major part of the blame rests with the iniquitous state of the law: all history informs us how often unwise legal restrictions have given birth to perverted growths, both religious and political. It certainly is monstrous that in England in the latter half of the 19th century men may not be left unmolested on Sunday evenings to meet together for mental improvement, without running the risk of some religious fanatics invoking a penal statute against them. We rejoice to say the plaintiff in the above case was nonsuited; but our amelioration seems indeed slow, when we reflect that this happened only some nine months ago, and that efforts have been made by earnest and liberal-minded men for the relaxation of Sabbatarian strictness for more than thirty years past. Such attempts at persecution show plainly that the more zealous Sabbatarians will be hindered by no scruples in their attempts to bind the old yoke more tightly on our necks. They are constantly at work under one guise or another, seeking to add to their party, and attract adherents by ever-changing sophisms. At one time they profess that their desire simply is that Sunday should be preserved as a day of rest for the working classes; at another they avow their anxiety lest, if the present system were broken in upon, the poor man would be defrauded of seven days' work for six days' pay.

By these, and many other plausible statements, many well in-

* Mr. J. B. Langley, the defendant in the above suit, is a Vice-President and Chairman of the Council of the National Sunday League, and has long been an apostle in the cause of Sunday Liberty, as well as having risked being its martyr. His spirited pamphlet mentioned at the head of this Article, "Sabbatism a Heresy," contains in a compendious form a very good *exposé* of the fallacious arguments which the Sabbatarians attempt to derive from scripture in support of their notions.

† See the letter: of Professors Huxley and Carpenter which appeared in the papers shortly after the above trial.

tioned persons are induced to swell the ranks of the party who, if they fully perceive the scope of their action, would be shocked at their ignoring the principle of religious liberty, and shrink from enforcing compulsory Sabbath observance. But that is undoubtedly the real end and aim of those who are the moving spirits in the movement. They are determined that, as far as in them lies, there shall be no manner of passing the Sunday allowed but that which is strictly in accordance with the usual and stereotyped forms; and that where they cannot absolutely compel the observance of these forms, they will endeavour to obtain such enactments as will make the time passed in disregard of them as uncomfortable and unprofitable as possible.

This is evident even in the proceedings of the most moderate and plausible of the Sunday societies—viz., the Sunday Rest Association. The main object this society proposes to itself is to abolish compulsory and unnecessary Sunday trading. With this object literally understood we have every sympathy: we must be permitted, however, to raise the question, How much of such trading is compulsory, strictly speaking? The society professes a desire that “the legislative power should secure to all persons the *opportunity* of observing it as a day of rest and worship,” and looking on the “Christian Sunday as a sanatory, economical, and beneficent institution . . . asks nothing of Parliament beyond unrestricted freedom to worship God,” &c. It appears to us that most of those persons for whom the society is solicitous have the “*opportunity*” of observing it as a day of rest and worship already, but are simply lacking in inclination for worship in the forms usually presented. This may be to be lamented, but Parliament can hardly therefore be asked, according to the ordinary use of words, to remove restrictions from the worship of God. If they *like* to take part in worship in any of the modes intended by the Society, there is no restriction that we are aware of, prevents their doing so. Although the society appears anxious to deprecate the supposition that they would advocate “any legal enactments having for their object the enforcement of the religious observance of the Sabbath,” we cannot help thinking that their frequent mingling up religious considerations with the grievances of these hardly-used Sunday traders, has given rise to a suspicion, not perhaps altogether unreasonable, that they would not object to obtain by a side wind the very end they would seem to deprecate. Of this at least we are sure, that many of these small dealers would more readily listen to the suggestion to put down their stalls or put up their shutters, did they not believe that it was the commencement of an artful attempt to allure them to a morning’s endurance of what, however wrongly, they conceive to be the *ne plus ultra* of gloom and dreariness

and incomprehensibility. Perhaps if we tried them with a few picture-galleries and gardens we might succeed in running the stalls and oyster-barrows off the road.

We invite therefore the right rev. and noble patrons and presidents, M.P.'s, knights and squires, who represent the Sunday Rest Association, if they are really anxious, with single eye and without sinister intention, to put down Sunday trading, just for once to join forces with that other society which has for its object the elevation of the labouring classes by teaching the eye and cultivating the taste. We allude of course to the National Sunday League, which for some time has been endeavouring by petitions and other means, without success, to obtain the opening of museums and galleries on Sunday afternoons. It is true that they have hitherto, we believe, found many of their most strenuous opponents in the committee of the society above referred to, and it is further unfortunate that one of their number is supposed to have promoted the prosecution against the Sunday League referred to above; but we have no doubt that the latter will be happy to let bygones be bygones, and willingly join hands to compass so good an object as the relief of the labouring classes from compulsory and unnecessary toil. Only in order to raise a hope of success, it must be made clear that their ostensible is their real object, and that there is no covert intention of forcing upon them something they dislike.

But now, in all seriousness and kindness, we would ask the more thoughtful of our Sabbatarian friends, whether this experiment of a relaxation of the Sunday law is not worth trying.

Let us consider what would be the probable effect of acceding to the petitions of the National Sunday League, which solicited Government support for Mr. Gregory's motion for the opening on Sunday afternoons of the national museums, galleries, and gardens.

We would ask, What would be the effect as to the religious observance of Sunday if the prayer of this petition were granted? Would it be favourable to such observance or not? Our own impression is that it would, and that the direct effect would be not a decreased, but an increased respect for the means of worship. It must be, we think, generally conceded that whatever softens the heart, enlightens the mind, and awakens the more generous emotions, must, all other things being equal, render a man more susceptible of religious influences.

If two men were put before a religious instructor, one utterly ignorant and brutish, the other having received such education only as is attainable through the ear and eye, somewhat refined, we will say, by the influence of good music, painting, and poetry, and the associations they involve—in which would he find the

more hopeful pupil? We think few will deny, that if he were an instructor worthy of the name, he would have more to work upon in one case than in the other. A little knowledge, indeed, may be a dangerous thing, if it is intended that that knowledge shall never increase; but if it is intended to lead on to higher acquirements, a little knowledge seems a necessary preliminary. The mere self-respect and the aspiration towards something higher than his present state, begotten in a man by the contemplation of lofty ideals, are no mean auxiliaries to those who would really help him to rise. Certainly it must be better than the mere sodden stupidity and stolid indifference too often the result of unalleviated toil. What do well circumstanced and educated men aim at for their own children? Would they condemn them to see and know nothing, until by one sudden bound they could relish a didactic discourse on the advantages of religion and morality? Is it not the recognised theory of modern education to make knowledge attractive? and what are all the picture books and illustrated editions put into the hands of the fortunate little schoolboys of the present day, but attempts to make art the handmaid to less enticing subjects? Now museums and galleries are the picture books which should lie open to the hard-worked classes of our large towns and their children, on that day when for the most part they alone have leisure to visit them. Depend upon it, when they have been gazing perchance on some splendid representation of the Crucifixion or Ascension, they will not be less likely to listen to those whose presumed business it is to explain these things. The avenue of sphinxes and the temple of Rameses may awaken an interest in "the land of Egypt and the house of bondage;" and the remains of Nineveh, whether in their reality or representations, may not render less palatable disquisitions on the minor prophets. But letting alone these details, it is undeniable that the essence of art is order and harmony, and that therefore, as tending to awaken in the mind conceptions of these, art must be a serviceable handmaid to religion in its highest sense. Orthodox teachers have often attempted to impress upon us that the state of degradation in which the human race is involved, is in consequence of our having degenerated from an original harmony; hence they speak of it as "our fallen condition." That therefore which strives to represent to us something more perfect than the ordinary routine of life, which seeks perpetually to realize an ideal fitness, an indescribable harmony, the absolute beauty and truth in things, in so far as it has any attraction for us at all, must tend to assimilate us, in however small a degree, to that which we admire. It is thus that works of genius are the teachers of an age. Admiration ordinarily leads to love, and a love of truth and harmony in

external objects may beget a desire for them in ourselves, or at least awaken in us a sense of what is distorted and unproportioned.

It is true, as was shown in an able article in a recent number of this Review, that the inculcation of religion or morality is not the proper, or we should rather say, the special object of art; but we believe its accomplished author would be the last to deny that if this is not its special object nor its main test, yet assuredly that art in its higher forms has a direct tendency to awaken the intellect and refine the affections; that it exerts a powerful influence in ameliorating the ruggedness of the brutal, elevating the aspirations of the grovelling, charming away the anxious cares of the overburdened, and raising for a moment above the world the heart engrossed in the sordid business of life. We believe that hardly any man could hear the glorious strains of Handel and Mozart, or the stirring words of our greater poets, or gaze upon the wondrous creations of Raphael, totally unmoved; at any rate such a man would be found among the tired sons of sloth and luxury, the true begetters of the *nil admirari* philosophy, rather than among the children of toil. Now in so far as the stagnant surface of a man's nature is moved, so much greater scope is there for such wise teachers who may know how to put in a word in season. The influences we have indicated are strictly analogous to those of religion; must it not be better therefore to welcome art as an ally, than have to dread her as a rival?

As an evidence of the utter injustice of the insinuation that the petitioners in favour of Mr. Gregory's motion are enemies of religion, we extract the following words from the petition presented by gentlemen connected with the literary profession, with science and art:—

"The Sunday, as a day of rest and leisure, when the thoughts of men, released from the engrossing labour of mere existence, turn naturally to the beauties of the universe, and its creator, is the time most fitted for the exercise of the reflective faculties; and your memorialists being firmly convinced that all true education must *tend to the love and reverence of the Deity*, believe that if such institutions as above enumerated were open to the people on Sunday afternoon, it would be an inestimable boon to the labouring population, would raise up an opposing principle to intemperance and immorality, and in every way advance the condition of the people."

Among the signatures to this petition, and a similar one to the Queen, presented a few years ago, we find the names of Lord Stanley, Sir John Herschel, Sir Charles Lyell, Sir Roderick Murchison, Rev. Professor Jowett, Rev. Wm. Rogers, Chaplain to

Her Majesty, and several other clergymen, together with a large* number of eminent men in the professions, and gentlemen distinguished in science, literature, and art. Added to these are several written testimonials in favour of the object of the petition from the London police magistrates, the late Chief Commissioner of Police, and the coroner for Middlesex. We mention these facts because we do not think the public generally are aware of the weight of experience, talent, and respectability thrown into the scale in favour of the prayer of the petition.

Again, on the occasion of the deputation to Mr. Gladstone on the subject, the artisans made the following declarations:—

"That we reverence the Sunday as one of the greatest blessings of the middle and working classes, and so far from advocating anything that should lead to its desecration, *are only anxious that it should be devoted to its original purpose, of a day of devotion, of rest, and of innocent enjoyment.* That we ourselves would be the first to oppose the opening of any places of frivolous and vicious amusement, and that as we claim for ourselves full liberty of conscience and action, so also do we respect and honour the devotional observances of others."

Sixty of the trade societies supported the prayer of the petition.

Some persons have suggested that the Saturday afternoon should be given up as a holiday to the working classes. But this though a valuable addition to their time for making purchases for the following day, and so tending to do away with the Sunday trading,† would be quite inadequate as a substitute for the holiday of the following day, when the working family is "tidied up" and rested. It must not be forgotten that the vast majority of labouring families in the metropolis have to live in one room, sometimes even (so dear and scarce are lodgings) two families, or a young man lodger in addition. It is utterly impossible, for health's sake, that after they have attended a place of worship they can crowd in this, often small and unventilated, room all day. What is left them but to wander about the streets, or go to the pot-house, if all places of public resort are closed? We believe that a considerable portion of those persons connected with the great publican interest have thrown their weight against the petition. No wonder!

To the statement that the opening of public institutions would increase Sunday labour, many of the artisans themselves reply that they believe it would to a considerable extent diminish it;

* The names fill several closely printed octavo pages.

† In summer, however, they cannot purchase their provisions until the Sunday morning, as they would not keep fresh during the night in their close and crowded rooms.

as there are those who now work on Sunday in order to be able to take a holiday on some other day when art collections are open. It is plausibly asserted that it would be hard that the custodians of places of public resort should be deprived of their day of rest; but there seems no reason why an arrangement might not be made to compensate the few necessary attendants by a holiday in the week, as is already the practice on the Continent. Experience does not show that a free access to such institutions increases Sunday trading; as we had recently accounts from Paris, a city in which these matters have long been unrestricted, of the Society of Employés de Commerce, a voluntary association which has succeeded in inducing a large number of the traders to close their shops on Sunday. This attempt is unconnected with any religious movement, and is said to be meeting with marked success (reported in *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Times* of May 26, 1869). Intelligent workers, whether with brain or hand, everywhere and of whatever class, are far too sensible of the necessity of a weekly holiday to think of breaking in upon it; and it is a libel on them, merely intended to delude, to pretend that their chief object in desiring the removal of Sunday restrictions is that they may devote themselves more exclusively to the pursuits of the week.

We hear indeed here and there of working men opposed to this movement, and of a petition by the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association against it. But they represent a very small section indeed of the real working men of the metropolis, and chiefly that limited element more or less under subjection to the various ministers of religion and their surroundings. We have no wish to say anything disrespectful of them, but we hope that some day they will understand better the principles of religious liberty, and feel, however much they may enjoy their own mode of passing the Sunday in frequent attendance at church or chapel, that there are some otherwise constituted, and remember that Christianity in no way justifies, but *most absolutely condemns*, all attempts to infringe the spiritual liberty of others. They rejoice in their own freedom of conscience, let them respect that of their brethren. And let them ask themselves who it was that won that freedom for them: was it that class who would now urge them on to help to bind a yoke on their fellows, or that great liberal school of free-thought which has long borne the burden and heat of the day in the great battle against all unnecessary yokes, and which is still labouring for the benefit of the workman in the recognition of his right of combination, the facilitating his means of education, and many other ways.

We have not space to afford more than a passing allusion to Mr. Hughes's Sunday Trading Bill, which was withdrawn last

session, but which we believe is to be brought in again. It may be serviceable in so far as it legalizes and defines the hours of necessary traffic on Sunday morning ; but we fear that at present it will have little chance of becoming law without being so mutilated and supplemented by the Sabbatarian party as to render it useless. We object to anything like excessive or compulsory Sunday Trading, as much as they do ; but we have more faith in natural laws than in artificial enactments ; after lengthened toil man spontaneously turns to recreation if he can get it. We believe that if Sunday is made a real day of rest for the people, instead of a day for the most part of gloomy and dissatisfied idleness which is not rest ; if proper and improving means of recreation are plentifully provided ; if popular education and the system of local free libraries are thoroughly developed, we shall infallibly, in the long run, shut up the shops, and sensibly decrease the custom of the gin-palaces. If, as the Sabbatarians pretend to believe, any attempt should ever be made to rob the working man of his holiday, and wrench from him seven days' work for six days' pay, we would resist such an attempt with all the energy of which we are capable. But we are persuaded that such dreary anticipations are perfectly chimerical ; the modern tendency everywhere, both on the Continent and in America, is to increase the periods of relaxation instead of abridging them. Workmen who are agitating to reduce the ordinary working-day to eight hours, will not suffer themselves to be cheated out of their one whole-holiday. We insist on the *principle* of a day of rest as strongly as the Sabbatarians ; but we also take our stand on Sunday Liberty, and maintain that every man should be free to use his rest as he thinks most conducive to his mental, moral, or physical improvement. We respect sincere religion too, and those under its influence, as much as any one ; we would not countenance any insult offered them, or allow any restrictions, or that even the slightest inconvenience should be put in their way, so long as they in their turn respect the freedom of others. The various orthodox parties are in a state of privilege, their churches and chapels occupy every nook and corner of the land ; if by fair means they can draw our whole population within their walls there is none to hinder them. All we ask for is equal liberty for others : as men are at present constituted, there are those for whom the glories of art, or scientific, historical, or natural studies, have more attractions than the most elaborate liturgies or the most "painful preaching," to whom the native heavens declare most eloquently the glory of God, and the study of the marvellous works of Creation, and the no less wonderful frame of man, beget more fruitful and improving reflections than the most skilful exposition of doctrines which seem to them for the most

part incomprehensible: such persons may be, as we are told, deficient in a sense, they may be wanting in the capacity of appreciating what deserves appreciation; but if so, it is their misfortune, not their fault, they are not likely to be reclaimed, but rather rendered more obtuse, by the arts of petty persecution. And, after all, can the less ignorant of our Sabbatarian friends seriously consider that a scientific or art lecture on Sunday evening is so much worse than the exhortations of a Mormon preacher or illiterate ranter, that one should be protected and recognised under the name of religion, and the other be held amenable to the penalties of the law. Those who appeal for facilities to devote their Sunday afternoon and evening to intellectual and moral improvement, are a numerous, a thoroughly respectable, and we believe an increasing class; they have as much right that their claims should be considered by an impartial legislature, as any other section of the community; at present they are in the humour to accept as an act of grace the concession of their desire for the means of Sunday recreation and improvement. We in conclusion therefore counsel the more prudent of the religionists to "agree with their adversary quickly, whilst they are in the way with him;" for recent events must surely have warned them, that no Acts of Parliament will long maintain privileges, however supported by prescription, when they are used offensively or become obnoxious to the growing intelligence and sense of justice among the people.



ART. V.—THE AFGHAN TRIBES ON OUR TRANS-INDUS FRONTIER.*

1. *Report showing the relations of the British Government with the Tribes on the North-West Frontier of the Punjab from Annexation in 1849, to the close of 1855, and continuation of the same to August, 1864.*
2. *Memorandum on the Dera Ishmael Khan District.*
3. *The Mission to Candahar, with Appendices.* By Major H. B. LUMSDEN.
4. *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848-49.* By Major HERBERT B. EDWARDES, C.B., H.E.I.C.

THE natural boundary of Hindustan on the west is the Indus. Rising among the lofty mountains in the interior of Thibet, and passing Attock, where it is first considered an Indian river, the Indus, through the remainder of its course flows almost

due south. At Attock, it receives the waters of the Caubul river, but its greatest accession is 400 miles further down. Here the five rivers which drain all the eastern steepes of the Himalaya, and give its name to the Punjab, flow in one united channel into the Indus. From this point the Indus becomes a river of the first magnitude; its lower course separates into two branches, which ramify into many smaller ones, and enclose a Delta, about seventy miles broad, comprising the kingdoms of Sinde and Tatta.

The Trans-Indus frontier of our Indian Empire commences at Torbeila, a place situated to the north of Attock, and extends southward for a length of 800 miles to its termination at Mitunkote, on the upper confines of Sinde. This frontier is divided into four great districts, the province of Peshawur, the district of Kohat, and those of Dera Ishmael Khan, and Dera Ghazee Khan. It is of great extent, peopled throughout with Afghan and Belooche tribes, and bounded on the north and west by ranges of steep and difficult hills. These hills are the dwelling places of thousands of wild mountaineers—like the denizens of the plains, of Afghan, or Belooche origin—but beyond the limits of British jurisdiction. Enamoured of their savage independence, they acknowledge no superior but the chiefs of their tribes, and are engaged in constant war among themselves, or aggressions upon their neighbours.

The Trans-Indus Frontier is a name familiar enough to every Englishman; but the country and the people are, we fancy, hidden from most in mist and perplexity. From time to time an Indian telegraph informs the readers of the daily papers that a party of hillmen, with a name difficult to pronounce and quite impossible to remember, have made a raid into British territory, killed one or more British subjects, and escaped to their mountain fastnesses without molestation. Then comes the din of preparations for reprisal; and at last the troops are got into motion, and move off in the direction of the hills. The reader of the newspaper is on the alert, but as often as not, he is doomed to disappointment. He is at times gratified by an account of hard fighting, but then, quite as often, the whole affair bears a very close resemblance to the memorable expedition of that French king who marched up a hill, and then marched down again. Still, whatever the troops do, or do not do, the disturbance invariably ends in a profusion of congratulations. Confidence is everywhere restored. The hillmen, having had as many of their villages and crops destroyed as the troops could get at, are said to be animated with the liveliest sensations of respect and gratitude towards the British Government; and every one may once more apply themselves with peaceful

minds to the extension of railway communication and the development of the internal resources of that noble empire which Providence has committed to our charge. The newspaper reader rubs his eyes, thoroughly bewildered, doubts if he be quite awake, but feeling his own ignorance and impotence, hopes everything is done for the best, and banishes the Trans-Indus Frontier from his thoughts, until—again the telegraphic announcements appear in the papers—again the hill men with the painful names have been maltreating the subjects of her Majesty, and so on, step by step, the old drama is again unfolded before his troubled and wondering mind, concluding as before with a happy and congratulating Governor-General in Council, “rich with all the fruits of peace, and crowned with all her flowers.”

The object of the present paper is to explain this seemingly anomalous state of affairs. We have no new policy to recommend. On the contrary, we hold that our dealings with the Frontier tribes have all along been conducted with a rare and judicious combination of firmness, justice, and moderation, which will eventually establish permanent friendly relations between them and us. What we propose to do, is to give an account of the manners and customs of these tribes, such as will enable our readers to judge for themselves of the peculiar difficulties we have to encounter upon our western frontier. The manner in which these have been confronted must be reserved for consideration at some future time.

Speaking roughly, the country of the Afghans may be considered as an elevated plateau, having as its northern bulwark the mountains of Hindu Kosh and the Paropamisus; on the west sloping gradually away into the desert which divides it from Persia; separated from Beloochistan on the south by the deep valley of the Bolan; and having as its eastern barrier the mountains of Suleiman. This range rises abruptly from the low lying plains of the Indus, part of which must also be included in the country of the Afghans. The northern parts of this plateau—the districts of Caubul, Swaut, and Bajour—consist of a succession of valleys running up into the mountains of Hindu Kosh, which are thrust out like huge mounds on either side of them. The eastern and southern districts are traversed by a number of bare rocky ranges, from the Suleiman, and the mountains of Paropamisus, which extend across the country in a south-westerly direction; and on the extreme south-west it merges into the bare and desolate desert of Seistan, which extends far to the southward of the river Helmund. The Afghans have never been a nation, in the European sense of the word, knit together by common aspirations, moved by common impulses, or acknowledging common interests. They are, and always have been, a

number of independent tribes, each of which ought to form a little commonwealth within itself. But these tribes are split up into numerous sections and subdivisions; the relentless prosecution of blood-feuds divides even family against family, and thus it happens, that any form of settled government over the whole has always been impossible. There are also other elements of confusion. The name Afghanistan originally included a much smaller extent of country than is comprised under it at present. The present area has been arbitrarily brought together by the force of conquest, and is inhabited by races differing in origin, regarding each other with bitter animosity, and not even possessing community of religion; for the gulf which in Central Asia separates the Sunnite from the Shyite Mussulman, is at least as difficult to bridge over as that which divides them from the Jew or the Christian. It has been said that the present Ameer expressed his indignation at the easy complacency with which Sir John Lawrence acknowledged any *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan; and many English writers appear to think he had some cause for dissatisfaction—that he is in some way the legitimate sovereign of the country. On this point, however, Englishmen need feel no distrust of Lord Lawrence's policy. There never has been a legitimate sovereign of Afghanistan since the foundation of the world. A legitimate sovereign is a rarity in any oriental country, but quite unknown in Afghanistan. The only sovereign who has any *right* to reign there, is the sovereign who has *power* to do so. Any one who has more power than the reigning sovereign would be stigmatized by the voice of all Afghanistan, as either a madman or a fool, if he declined to assert his pretensions on the ground that he was not the legitimate king. Honour, consistency, and good faith have never played any part in Afghan politics. The king preserves his authority by playing off one party against another; the nobles renounce their allegiance, and return to it, just as it suits the interests of the moment; pretenders to the throne are continually in the field, and no one for a moment supposes that they have not, *morally*, as much right to it as any one else. This the present Ameer knows perfectly well, and if he ever gave expression to the sentiment with which he is credited, he caught the trick of it from some English newspaper.*

* "It is impossible for any stranger, from a study of the present state of parties in Afghanistan, to form a probable conjecture as to who may succeed to the throne of Cabul on the Amir's (Dost Mahommed Khan) death, for even the best informed among Afghans themselves do not pretend to guess at it; their constant prayer is 'that the life of the Amir may be preserved.' There is no certainty that any of the Amir's sons will succeed, for, as it has frequently happened in Asiatic states, some enterprising spirit may dash out of

Evils of this kind the Afghan calls liberty. The independence he likes is perfect freedom for every one to do just as he pleases. Any deductions from this ideal, although he may be compelled to endure them, he regards as an unjust interference with the natural rights of man. He is too the laziest and most indolent of men ; he hates trouble, and it would be a trouble of the most protracted kind to attempt the reconstruction of Afghan society. Give the Afghan a mud cabin, a wife, horse and arms, and he is satisfied. Idleness may almost be said to be his dominant vice. Every traveller who has lived among them has noted with wonderment the stupid and listless manner in which they will sit in the streets for hours together, staring at each other. When the proceeds of plunder are exhausted, their minds are wholly occupied with the thought of how to get food without paying for it. They will wander from door to door in the hope of getting a dinner. Hangers on of this kind—taking advantage of the Afghan custom enjoining hospitality—are so numerous that the richest men, from the sovereign downwards, are obliged to enter into the minutest details of their housekeeping. They have to practise the strictest economy to avoid bankruptcy—so great is the number and voracity of these horse leeches. Nothing comes amiss to the Afghan, whatever be his rank or his wealth. He is always open to a gift, and General Ferrier mentions that at the ruler of Herat's table, he has more than once seen the remains of the repast made over to the guests, many of them generals and governors of towns, who "pounced upon and cleared them off in the twinkling of an eye, seizing the bones with as much alacrity as would have done the most famished poodle." The best proof, however, of their indolence is the manner in which they pass the winter. In the city of Caubul the winter is exceedingly severe, and prohibits exercise abroad ; and then is the time when the Afghan tastes supreme bliss. A hole is dug in the centre of the floor, and a small quantity of lighted charcoal placed in it ; over this is arranged a table covered with a number of capacious cloths and quilts. A very little fuel suffices to raise the heat, which is retained by the cloths and quilts, and as little is required to renew and sustain it. This arrangement is termed a "sandali." All day long the members of a family will

the crowd, and by his own good sword and personal character alone carry off the prize. One thing, however, seems inevitable, and that is, that on the Amir's death a struggle for power must ensue, and will probably result in the total humiliation of one of the leading branches of the Amir's family, or the dismemberment of the present Afghan monarchy into a number of petty states, when anarchy must prevail, commerce cease, and this unfortunate country be once more deluged in blood."—*Lumsden's Mission to Candahar*, p. 6.

sit under the "sandali," the cloths drawn up to their chins, and eating incessantly the preserved fruits of the past autumn. On the surface of the table their repasts are spread, and when inclined to repose they fall backward where they sit, and draw the cover of the sandali over them. The Afghan speaks with enthusiasm of the delights of this sedentary life; but the English reader will not be surprised to learn that when at last the long winter breaks up, Afghan society finds its legs benumbed, and useless for any active purposes.

Physically, the Afghan is one of the finest animals that walks the earth; tall, vigorous, and well shaped. His black eyes are full of fire, and his step of resolution and pride. His beard is worn short, and his hair is shaved off from the front to the top of the head, the remainder at the sides being allowed to fall in large curls over his shoulders. Courage is the first of all virtues, in the estimation of an Afghan; but his courage is simply a tiger-like ferocity, unmixed with a spark of generosity, and unsoftened by a touch of mercy; he makes but a poor soldier; he is totally unamenable to discipline; he has no sense of the advantages of unity, and cannot be brought to perceive them. In the day of battle, every man fights as it were for his own hand; if his individual reputation is increased, he does not care who wins the day. The greatest number of Afghan soldiers consists of cavalry, because though they like fighting, they dislike exceedingly the trouble of marching on foot. They scorn all tactics. They will have independence of action,—liberty for every man to display his prowess to the best advantage. They have only one method of attack—to bear down upon the enemy at all points at once, in a wild charge of horse. Such onsets have frequently proved successful against the Persians, but have failed utterly when attempted against squares of British Infantry, and the steady fire of British Artillery. The present Ameer has what he calls a regular army, but in cases of necessity, the Afghan army might consist of the whole male population of the country. "We are all swordsmen," is the boast which is constantly on their lips; and at the first news of war, every Afghan is eager to mount his horse and take the field. Commissariat arrangements, hospitals, magazines, and the like civilized encumbrances, do not, of course enter into their considerations. Each man takes with him a small bag of provisions, and trusts to Providence and plunder for the supply of his future wants. They move with wonderful celerity straight across country until they meet the enemy. The villages are deserted as they approach, and they leave behind them a broad track of desolation. The spot where they encamp is the base of their operations; water is the chiefest difficulty, and it not unfre-

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. 11. G G

quently happens that the various contingents of the national army engage *en route* in sanguinary conflicts among themselves for the possession of the few wells. Revenge is, perhaps, the feeling which, after courage, the Afghan ranks highest in the scale of the virtues. Blood feuds are transmitted down from age to age, and prosecuted with a fearful pertinacity. The following is an instance which tells more than pages of dissertation. A Douranee of the neighbourhood of Candahar had a blood feud with a young man whom he had long vainly watched in the hope of finding him off his guard. At last he heard that his enemy had sent sweetmeats to the house of a resident of Candahar, as a preliminary to espousing his daughter, upon which he left his village, and came privately into the city. The Afghans have a custom called *Namzaud Bâzee* (trysting)—the lover being secretly admitted to interviews with his mistress, which frequently last until a late hour in the night. The avenger watched in vain for an opportunity, till the very night before the wedding, when he gained access to a court adjoining that of the house in which the girl lived, and boring a hole through the wall, lay in wait there with his matchlock. In the evening the lover came as usual to tryst; he had that day sent the customary present of the bridal dress and ornaments, but his betrothed “through modesty had declined examining them before all her female acquaintance,” and when the young man asked her if she approved of them, the mother explained this, and called her away to look at them then. This was late in the night; the moment she went out, the blood avenger took aim at his victim as he sat on a low couch, and, in perhaps the happiest moment of his life, shot him dead. (Conolly’s *Overland Journey*, vol. ii. p. 193-195). The Afghans are Soonee Mussulmans,* of the usual bigoted and intolerant type. They have an assured conviction that the whole universe, excepting only Soonees, are re-

* “The Koran, as a book of law, was only suited to a rude society, like the Arabian tribes for whom it was framed. When the power of the caliphs was extended, it became impossible to govern their numerous subjects by the comparatively few rules and maxims which this volume contained; and the difficulty was increased from a great portion of them being local, and altogether inapplicable to many of the nations who had embraced the Mahomedan religion. The fundamental principle, however, of this faith required, that wherever it was introduced, all former usages and laws should be abolished; it was deemed profanation to desire knowledge on such a subject from any other than a divine source. There appeared, therefore, no remedy but to render it more copious. An account of the actions and traditionary sayings of the Prophet, who was believed never to have acted or spoken but by inspiration, and whose every act and word was in consequence considered as a law, was collected from his wives and companions. This immense collection was termed *Soona*, and regarded by the *Soonees*, or those who believed in it, as of equal authority with the Koran.”—*Malcolm’s Persia*, vol. ii. p. 236, 237.

served for everlasting torments. They are rigid and scrupulous in the observation of all rites and ceremonies. From their conversation one might imagine that the central doctrines of their faith were the great pioneers of their lives. God and the prophet are always on their lips. They are always swearing and imposing oaths upon one another with a profound and solemn gravity, which is all the more amazing because they must know that these professions are never of any value whatever. The Afghan is probably the greatest and most incorrigible liar to be found in the whole world. Perhaps the records of no oriental nation exhibit so many and such flagrant instances of unscrupulous perjury. In proportion to the depth of his treachery are the oaths which an Afghan will take to accomplish his purpose. He will pray countless prayers, swear oaths upon any number of korans, consign himself and his descendants to everlasting punishment; and when at length he has in this way beguiled his victim into his power, he will seize the reward of his falsehoods with a callous disregard to truth, honour, and justice positively appalling. The following is a well known incident in the early life of the late Ameer Dost Mahommed Khan, and will illustrate our remarks. While yet a young man, Dost Mahommed having shown his great capacity for public life by the perpetration of a most atrocious murder, was nominated governor of the Kohistan. The Kohistan, at this period, was in a state of terrible disorder from the number of blood feuds and the lawless habits of the chief men. Dost Mahommed, however, brought it into an unprecedented state of quiescence by the gradual extermination of the chiefs, who were successfully inveigled to their destruction by a variety of ingenious devices. One, however, the most powerful as well as the most able, rejected all his overtures. He would not be allured either by the bait of an intermarriage or the solemnest oaths sworn upon numerous korans. Dost Mahommed felt that so long as this man remained at large, he had effected nothing. His work might at any moment have to be all done over again. But like all other great men, this cautious chieftain had his enemies. The bitterest of these was in attendance upon Dost Mahommed. He was seized and put to death, and the Dost claimed the merit of incurring disgrace in the eyes of the world to prove the sincerity of his attachment to the Kohistanee chieftain. The chieftain was overcome; the murder of his enemy, he felt, demanded both his gratitude and his thanks, and accompanied by a numerous retinue, he set off to express his obligations to his benefactor. The Dost received him in the most affectionate manner, and a thousand protestations of friendship and service flowed from his lips. The day was spent in feasting and merrymaking, and at night the Dost requested his guest to

enter his castle for the purpose of witnessing an inventory of the effects of the slain. But no sooner was the castle gate closed behind the deluded Kohistanee, than at a signal from the Dost he was seized and decapitated, and his gory head flung from the ramparts among his attendants.

In their social and private concerns, not less than in their public, the Afghans are enamoured of falsehood. They vastly prefer to arrive at their ends by some circuitous process, than to march straight towards them. Even in their most unimportant affairs they adopt this method. From the prince to the peasant, affairs of the greatest and the smallest consequence are governed and directed by intrigue. One plot is heaped upon another, until those concerned are themselves fairly lost and bewildered in the mazy windings of the web which they have so assiduously spun.*

It is almost needless to say that the unity of the Deity has petrified into a mere formula, capable still of being used as an exciter of murderous fanaticism, but offering no barrier to a plentiful growth of beliefs and superstitions which are radically at variance with such a doctrine. Wild, savage, and barbarous as is the Afghan, he neither lacks "the vision and the faculty

* "It appeared that on some occasion when the Khail did not, he thought, pay sufficient respect to his opinion, he had paired off with Syud Syfoo, and, as he candidly confessed, made a fool of himself by building at joint expense the kullah in which we had stayed at Gundoor Munsoor Khan. However, as the money was *burnt*, he began to leave off thinking about it; but his chum soon gave him other trouble for his thoughts, by insisting upon the necessity for building this and that upon the joint account, and moreover teaching his wife to be dissatisfied because she had not fifty useless things which Syud Syfoo gave his own wives; but worst of all, when he returned this last time to his home, he found that his spouse had forsaken the ways of the Pisheen Syudaunees. (I thought he was going to tell me that she had changed some material part of her faith.) She had grown ashamed of the simple and modest habiliments which became the wife of a Syud of Pisheen, and arrayed herself splendidly in silk and satin, *à la Persanne*. This, he said, he could not overlook; he had given his lady a bit of his mind, and Inshallah Tallah! he had a *hoonur* (stratagem) which would astonish his brother-in-law. 'This evening,' concluded he, 'you will see the chief Syuds come, in the name of all the Khail, to make a formal request that I will send for my family to reside among them, as it is fitting the house of a *peerkanek* should. I will make a great favour of complying with their request, and then it will be known that I have listened to the desire of the Khail. My house will be sent for, and then Syud Syfoo and his Persian women may make the most of their kullah.' In effect, at evening came a deputation of elders to wait upon Muheen Shah, as he had taught me to expect, and a long hour did they sit and argue with our friend, who met their words with loud Pushtoo orations, and to judge from the tone of his voice, seemed quite opposed to their wishes. At last, however, he slackened, and allowed himself to be entreated; thanks and adulation were lavished upon him, and he gave a finish to the artifice by putting on the air of a man who had sacrificed a private feeling to a deep sense of public duty."—*Conolly's Overland Journey*, vol. ii. p. 145.

divine," nor yet "the accomplishment of verse." He has a warm and glowing imagination; poetry and music are the delight of all, high and low alike. The rudest Puthan will speak of the beauties of his native hills and valleys with an enthusiasm which sounds strange in one so rude outwardly. And all the habits of his life tend to strengthen this imagination, and establish it as the sole organon of truth. The Afghan wanders with his flocks amid regions where the wild and awful in nature are blended with all that is soft and beautiful. Valleys such as that of Istaliff, clothed with the loveliest verdure and brightened with the wild flowers which gleam and quiver in illimitable profusion along the margin of the numerous streams, where the southern face of every hill is rich with vineyards, and the long avenues of majestic walnut trees add unspeakable magnificence to the prospect, when autumn "lays a fiery finger on the leaves," but begirt on every side with tall stupendous cliffs, gaunt and bare, their summits crowned with eternal snow. Earthquakes amid these wild and elevated regions are of frequent occurrence; storms of the most tremendous character break over them; and winter comes,

"fiercely driven, on his chariot throne
By the tenfold blasts of the arctic zone."

Frequently he has to traverse broad deserts of burning sand, where the hot wind blows like the blast of a furnace, and not a living creature is to be seen except now and then a herd of wild asses, hurrying by with the speed of light, or the robber lying in wait beside the unfrequent well for his parched and wearied victim. He carries his life, as it were, always in his hand. Plague, pestilence, and famine, battle, murder, and sudden death, are his habitual companions. All the circumstances of his life are wild, terrible, and utterly unaccountable.

"Matter or mind, of either what knows he,
Or how with more than both this orb divine may be?"

These various influences, acting upon a temperament naturally sensitive and imaginative, have made the Afghan mind the willing receptacle of every species of strange and extravagant delusion. The air rustles with the wings of invisible beings, who punish and protect the human creatures among whom they move. The country is studded with the graves of ancient saints and heroes who still watch over the land in which they lived and died. The "evil eye" can destroy horses, sheep, camels,—nay, human beings even, are not beyond the reach of its baneful power; consumption, decline, and other diseases being frequently attributed to the glance of an evil eye. Above all, there are the Syuds of Pisheen—a truly wonderful race of men, sprung from

the blood of the martyr Hoosain,—whose blessings and whose curses are equally efficacious. The spirits of the departed appear to them in sleep; the secrets of the future are revealed to them in midnight dreams; at their command gins and other malignant visitants, which sorely trouble both the bodies and souls of devout Mussulmans, are compelled to leave their victims. But for this proneness to superstition—this ready belief that there are supernatural powers about them whom they can neither hear, nor touch, nor see—it would be difficult to know how society could exist in Afghanistan. By the swiftest method of natural selection, the weak would be exterminated by the strong. The extraordinary accumulation of sacred places in particular, is a powerful preservative of order. The tomb of a holy man is a blessing to the neighbourhood in which it stands; property left there is safe from theft; the wearied traveller sleeps in security beside the last resting-place of the saint; and even the avenger of blood must stay his hand if his victim takes refuge at one of these shrines. The sick come there to be healed of their diseases; the troubled in mind for the solution of their difficulties; and to visit all the chief shrines in a country is a work of merit second only to the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Afghan tribes are grouped under four heads. 1. The Douranees. 2. The Ghilzies. 3. The Berdouranees. 4. The tribes of Damaun.

Candahar is the capital city of the Douranees, and the districts over which they range with their flocks, are about 400 miles in length, and from 120 to 140 in breadth—the town of Farrah stands at the westward extremity.

The tribes known under the name of the Ghilzies are the most numerous in Afghanistan. Small numbers of them are to be found scattered among the population between Farrah and Herat; and again among the Tadjiks who people Caubul and its dependencies. They occupy the well-watered and fertile districts which lie between Caubul and Jellalabad; but their greatest and most powerful families cultivate the lands lying between Ghuznee and Caubul, and the broken country eastward of the first city, as far as the western slopes of the Suleiman mountains.

The other two groups of tribes occupy—the Berdouranees, the provinces of Peshawur and Kohat, and the hill country which encircles them; and the tribes of Damaun, the eastern slopes of the Suleiman mountains and the plain of the Indus. It is with these only that we are concerned in the present paper.

Peshawur.—The Province of Peshawur is divided into four districts, Eusofzye, Hushtnuggur, Doaba, and Peshawur Proper. The Eusofzye portion is a plain forty miles long and thirty miles broad, which slopes eastward towards the Indus, and southwards

towards the Caubul river; a ridge of high uncultivated land runs along the left bank of the latter river, at a distance from one to three miles, which is fissured into countless ravines from the drainage of the open country. Hushtnuggur lies westward of the Eusofzye valley. A bare, desolate plain stretches between them, broken into numerous ravines, which afford lurking places for robbers. The Doaba is a moist and rich tract of land, enclosed—as its name implies—between the Swaut and Caubul rivers. Peshawur proper contains two districts; one a triangular shaped tract formed by the junction of the Caubul and Bara rivers, and having the Khyber hills for its base; the other extends along the right bank of the Caubul river, to its junction with the Indus; and the Khuttuck and Afreedee hills, which run down to Attock, form its southern boundary. The first district is the most highly cultivated portion of the province. The fields are irrigated by means of canals cut from the Bara river, which, from time immemorial, has been an object of veneration among the denizens of the valley. Shekhan, the spot where the diversion of the water is effected, is regarded as a spot of especial sanctity. In better days, before the Sikh infidel had polluted the province with his presence, the people believed that if a Hindoo bathed in the stream the amount of water palpably diminished. To secure it from such pollution, a guard of hill men was always stationed at the spot, and if, in spite of all precautions, a Hindoo did contrive to immerse his accursed carcase in the sacred stream, a cow had at once to be sacrificed, when the waters gradually assumed their accustomed volume. The city of Peshawur stands in the centre of this district, just eighteen miles from the mouth of the Khyber Pass. The mountains which enclose this province on three sides are tenanted by numerous tribes of Afghan extraction—the most important and numerous of which are the Afreedees and the Eusofzyes. The Afreedees are the most formidable tribe along the whole line of our frontier, being numerically the strongest, and possessing peculiar advantages of situation both for attack and defence. Their territory commences between the Khyber Pass and the Caubul river, and stretches right round the western and southern limits of Peshawur, until it reaches the Khuttuck lands extending along the banks of the Indus. It thus projects abruptly into British territory, separating Peshawur from the district of Kohat; the two narrow passes which alone afford communication, being entirely in the hands of the Afreedees, who, for an extent of eighty miles, overlook the fertile plains under British rule. Westward their mountains stretch far back to the neighbourhood of Jellalabad. The Afreedees are divided into three great branches; the Khaibaris, who hold the Khyber Pass and the hills nearest Peshawur; the Shinwaria, who dwell in the

western hills looking towards Caubul; and the Orakzyes, who occupy the mountains to the south and west of Peshawur. The appearance of the Afreedees is wild and uncouth in the extreme; they are lean, muscular men, with long gaunt faces, hooked noses, high cheekbones, and black complexions. They wear dark blue turbans, and long dark blue tunics sitting close to the body and reaching to the middle of the leg. They are inveterate robbers, and the arts of picking and stealing are taught them from their earliest infancy. The Khaibari mother commences to educate her children in this essential accomplishment when they enter their fifth year. They are stimulated to steal the neighbour's fowls, spinning-wheels, and other household utensils, and a child who manifests unusual dexterity is an object of pride to its happy parents, and of envy to their friends and acquaintances. The wits of these young thieves are much sharpened from the circumstance that their allowance of food is proportioned to their success; a confirmed blunderer getting very little to eat. This early training makes of the Afreedee probably the most enthusiastic robber in the world. Quite apart from the plunder, there is, to him, an irresistible attraction in the act of robbery for its own sake. He has, as an old frontier officer has observed, such an innate relish for violence, that not even the prospect of gain is sufficient to insure a traveller from injury if the Afreedee chances to meet him at that unexceptionable spot in the old family *durrah* where wayfaring parties have been usually dealt with. The opportunity, the memories which cling around that hallowed spot, the pleasure of drawing a long knife, handling a human being roughly, and terrifying him exceedingly—these are temptations which elderly characters, the heyday in whose blood is tame and waits upon the judgment, might possibly be able to put aside, but which no young Afreedee, with his reputation either to make or enhance, could be expected to resist. Syuds, Moulvies, Fakeers, and other sacred characters, find their sanctity no preservative. The Afreedees strip them, if possible with greater pleasure than an ordinary mortal who looked for nothing better, and observe jokingly that they intend to hang up their clothes as sacred relics in their houses.* The

* Forster, in his "Overland Journey," gives an amusing account of his treatment at the hands of these marauders in the Khyber Pass. "Towards the close of the day, I was entangled by my own indiscretion in a perilous adventure, the issue of which must be wholly ascribed to good fortune. When the rain had ceased, the heat of the sun was extreme, and neither shelter nor water was to be procured. Anxious to escape from these inconveniences, for the journey was yet long and the *kafilah* proceeded at a slow rate, about thirty of us, mounted, and the greater part well armed, resolved to leave the escort. . . . We had advanced about four miles, when a small body of Afghans, which had issued from the hills and stopped us, peremptorily demanded

Afreedees are brave, skilful marksmen, and could bring from 15,000 to 20,000 soldiers into the field. They might prove formidable neighbours but for internal dissensions. The Afreedees cannot unite. Their quarrels are of too long standing ever to be relinquished. When operating against any section of the tribe, we have always found other Afreedees eager to gratify old grudges by ranging themselves on our side. Like other tribes, the Afreedees have their chiefs, but these have very limited powers. Every individual has a voice in the transaction of public affairs, and the confusion which arises, in consequence, can easily be imagined. An assembly for the despatch of business generally ends in a free fight among the counsellors; blood is often shed, and another feud is added to the old score, which has for ages filled the Afreedee hills with murder and confusion. They are, in truth, for ever fighting, tribe against tribe, family against family. The country is studded with small fortified towers, where property is deposited for protection. These are generally within

a sum of money, as a toll for passing through their territory. Here I feel myself sensibly humbled when, as a faithful narrator, I am obliged to say that our corps behaved in a most pusillanimous manner, and sacrificed without fair cause the evident advantage which a common exertion of spirit would have given. We were about thirty strong, and to the sight resolute, good-looking fellows, all armed, except myself, with matchlocks or side-arms. On the enemy's approach, our leader, a portly man with a large beard and spreading mustachios, mounted on a curveting steed, was struck with a violent terror, which was instantly communicated to the party. The mountaineers failed not to augment the consternation, and without ceremony proceeded to the usual modes of plunder; but fearful of the arrival of the kafilah, they were prevented from a total capture. Aware of the risk of this day's journey, I had concealed my cash in two long and narrow purses, which, in the manner of garters, were tied round my legs. This arrangement was fortunate, for the Afghans, perceiving my reluctance to dismount, knocked me off the mule, and forcibly opened the different parts of my dress. Not finding anything of value, they were proceeding to beat me with violence, when a Hindoo interposed and proposed a ransom for my release. This generous Hindoo, who I hope will undergo no further transmigration unless he likes it, exerted so much warmth in my behalf, and spoke so urgently to those marauders, that one of them gave him a severe blow in the face. He did not, however, desist, but by an active perseverance, supported by a small sum of money, he accomplished his purpose. At the close of this affair, I had mounted my mule and was rejoicing at the escape, when I received a smart blow on my back, and turning about, an Afghan who had taken this mode of attracting my notice, told me with an exulting laugh that our party might move on, as the kafilah was in sight. This injunction was speedily obeyed by me and some others, but our doughty commander, seeing the near prospect of relief, began to utter many bold words and show a disposition of recovering his property and honour by an assault of the Afghans, who, roused at the menace, though the kafilah was close at hand, drew their daggers and advanced their shields, daring him to battle, and to fight for what he had lost. The cautious officer again qualified his wrath, but he reprobated them in very spirited language, and denounced a severe vengeance on some fitter occasion."

musket-shot of each other, and the Afreedees, weary of inaction, can at any moment prosecute their family quarrels without leaving their homes. The smallest pretext is sufficient to justify a fight. General Sir Sydney Cotton saw one of their battles in the vicinity of the Kohat Pass. Two villages had quarrelled about a mulberry tree. The fight, when the General visited the spot, had lasted three nights and three days. A great number had fallen on both sides, but the wrath of the survivors did not appear to be lessened a whit. All this time, and within sight of the battle, the women were pursuing their usual avocations in the most unconcerned manner. Their husbands, brothers, sons were engaged in mortal combat within a hundred yards of them, but they were spinning, grinding meal, and carrying water, as if nothing extraordinary was occurring. They are, as the General says, too much accustomed to this sort of thing to be at all disturbed or excited.

The Eusofzyes in early times inhabited the regions which border on the great salt deserts, and which are at present tenanted by Belooches. From these habitations they were expelled about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and emigrated to the neighbourhood of Caubul. Shortly after their arrival, they afforded protection to Mirza Ulugh Beg, a prince of the house of Timour, and subsequently secured his elevation to the throne of Caubul. Ulugh Beg at first treated his benefactors with the greatest distinction, but their arrogance and lawlessness soon disgusted him. They set at nought the king's authority, plundered his villages, and filled even his capital with tumult and disorder. Ulugh Beg determined to expel or destroy them. His power had been much strengthened by large bodies of Tartars who had entered his service, and he further contrived to divide the Eusofzyes into two hostile parties. Allying himself with one of these, he attacked the other, but his troops were defeated, and he was compelled to have recourse to treachery. In Afghanistan it has been a time-honoured custom to get rid of your enemies by inviting them to a banquet and murdering them. Perhaps Ulugh Beg was the originator of this custom; at any rate he practised it upon this occasion with great success. Under pretence of arranging the terms of a general pacification, the Eusofzye chiefs were invited to a grand entertainment, and cut off to a man. The tribe, bereft of leaders, was then assailed, hunted from Caubul, and wandered in extreme distress to the neighbourhood of Peshawur. At that time the Afreedees tenanted the same hills which they do at this time; but in the province of Peshawur itself, the chief tribe was the Dilazauk Afghans, who are now extinct, or nearly so. The Dilazauks received the Eusofzyes hospitably, and assigned the Doabeh to

them as a residence. The Eusofzyes requited these favours in the true Afghan fashion. As soon as they were strong enough to insure success, they attacked the Dilazauks, and either reduced them to slavery or drove them from their lands. They then entered the kingdom of Swaut—a tract of country which filled up the hilly space between the Peshawur valley and the mountains of Hindu Kosh, expelled the reigning sovereign, and reduced the inhabitants to the condition of serfs. These conquests completed, the Eusofzyes proceeded to divide their newly acquired possessions. The Mahommedzyes, who had recently arrived from Khorassan, received Hushtnuggur, the Guggeeannees, who had been expelled from the neighbourhood of Caubul by the Emperor Baber, were accommodated with lands in the Doabsh, which they still inhabit; and sundry other tracts were allotted to the Mhomands, Othman Khail, and several smaller tribes.

The Eusofzyes are divided into two great branches—Eusof and Munder; and it is necessary to remember that the Eusofzye division of the province of Peshawur is tenanted by the Munder branch, while the Eusofzyes proper occupy the valleys of Swaut and Bonair. It is needful to describe briefly the character of these valleys. To the north and east of the Eusofzye plain stretches a chain of mountains, beyond which is the Chumla valley. To the north of this valley is the valley of Bonair, and westward of that the country of Swaut. Swaut is divided into Upper and Lower Swaut, and consists of a long valley, which, with considerable windings, may be said to run generally in a south-westerly direction, and is watered through its whole extent by the Lundy, or Swaut river. This valley is a very lovely place: the lower ranges of hills slope gently down on either side of the river, almost bare of trees, but clothed with verdure as soft and rich as velvet. Behind these rise higher ranges, towering abruptly over the valley, their summits crowned with snow, and their sides supporting huge forests of the wild olive and the pine. Through the whole extent of Upper Swaut numerous little valleys branch out into the hills at right angles from the main one, each watered by its own sparkling rivulet, and abounding in fruit-trees of every description. The valley is densely populated, and there is scarcely a square yard of tillable ground which has not been broken up. The patches of land about the lower ranges of hills, and even the spurs from the higher, have been brought into cultivation; and where the approach is inaccessible for bullocks, the work has been done by hand. The Bonair country resembles Swaut in its general features. It consists of one long valley, with a stream running down its whole length, and numberless smaller valleys, beautiful

and well watered, diverging on either hand, and running up into the hills. Thus the country of the Eusofzyes consists of two parts, wholly different from each other in their general features, and is by themselves divided into the Sum (a Pushtoo word signifying Plain), and the Kohistan, or hilly districts, comprising the valleys of Chumla, Swaut, and Bonair.

In the original partition of the country, among the various divisions of the tribe it was inevitable that some should get better lands than others; and in order to rectify this injustice, the tribe agreed that, from time to time, there should be a general interchange of lands. This was effected by the simple plan of drawing straws of different lengths by the heads of the tribal divisions; and lands were regularly distributed at intervals of ten, twenty, and thirty years. But in the narrow valleys of Swaut and Bonair the population rapidly began to press hard upon the limits of subsistence, and this interchange of lands became the cause of incessant turmoil and agitation. A division located in some fertile spot which allowed a rapid increase of its numbers, found itself threatened with wholesale starvation when called upon to remove in a body to some less advantageous habitation. It generally refused to abide by the drawing, declared that there had been some knavery at work, and took up arms in defence of what it chose to call its "rights." To put an end to these quarrels, about sixty years ago a new system of distribution was adopted, and is still practised in the hills beyond British jurisdiction. The people of each village draw lots for their lands and village; afterwards the people of each street or quarter; and finally, single families. In this last case, if one house is found better than another, the difference has to be made good. If, however, the two parties find any difficulty in coming to terms, each removes the effects from his house, takes away the doors, pulls down the roof, and leaves only four bare walls standing; otherwise a feud would ensue which would compel those two families and their posterity to kill each other for an indefinite period of time.

The original inhabitants of the country were reduced to the condition of serfs, or, as their masters called them, "Fakeera." They constituted the majority of the population, and their numbers were increased by people from the Punjab, driven across the Indus by famine, and Hindoos, attracted thither by gain. Afghans also, who emigrated from other tribes into the lands of the Eusofzyes, were degraded to the condition of Fakeers. The Fakeer could own no land; he had no voice in the *Jeergas*, or general assemblies for the transaction of business; he was subject to the person on whose land he resided, and compelled to work for him gratis. An Eusofzye might beat his Fakeer; and

even kill him, if he chose to do so, without being called to account; and theoretically, the position of a Fakeer was that of a mere chattel. In practice, however, they were not so badly off. The Eusofzye, a true Afghan both in his indolence and his pride, lived among his serfs like a Spartan among his helots. He was in his own estimation much too grand a man to do aught else but smoke, converse in a bragging manner about his exploits, and occasionally practise the use of his weapons; consequently, an industrious vigorous Fakeer became an essential necessity if the Eusofzye wanted to live at all. Public opinion not only was not indifferent to the welfare of the Fakeer, but considered it a most disgraceful thing to ill-use him; and an Eusofzye would at any time enter into the most desperate quarrels in defence of his serfs. They were, in consequence, mildly treated; they could practise for their own advantage any trade they pleased, and even own land on the Metayer system. When we took possession of the Sum, we found many villages wholly tenanted by these Fakeers and their children. They cultivated their chief's lands, possessed cattle of their own, lived in houses furnished by the chief, and received the produce of the land in exchange for their labour. Others earned a livelihood as masons, weavers, dyers, and by their skill in other trades which the Afghans consider it derogatory to their dignity to practise. The only sign of their servitude was that they could not remove to any other part of the country. Hospitality, personal courage, and a ferocious zeal for the Mahommedan faith, are the elements essential to the formation of an Eusofzye worthy of the name; and stories are common among them of extraordinary exertions to obtain notoriety by the practice of one or all of these virtues. In every village there is an apartment set apart for the reception of guests; and every day it is the turn of one of the inhabitants to supply travellers with food. When the stranger reaches the public room one of the attendants who has charge warns the person whose lot it is to furnish refreshments for that day. Should a great man arrive with twenty or thirty people in his train, the kettle-drum is beaten, to give notice that a large quantity of provisions is required. On this, every person who has meat too *high* for his own taste hastens off with it for the benefit of his guests. The Eusofzyes of the hills keep their meat until it is almost rotten; fresh meat, they say, is a food for beasts, and not for men. Hospitality, however, whatever it may once have been, can no longer be included in the catalogue of the Afghan virtues. Even among these rude hill men it exists as a superstition only, which they would, if they dared, gladly get rid of; and the man who had entertained you to-day with his highest meat, would not scruple to shoot and

plunder you to-morrow as soon as you had passed the limits to which the rites of hospitality extended.

The Eusofzyes are bigoted Mussulmans; but in the Sum this zeal for the faith was compatible with the unchecked practice of every species of degrading vice, and in the Kohistan with a most remarkable simplicity. Mr. Elphinstone tells a story of some Bonairees, who coming upon a Moollah engaged in copying the Koran, cut off his head as a self-convicted impostor. "These books," they said, "you told us came from God, and here you are making them yourself."

In the Kohistan the women enjoy unusual liberty; they go about unveiled, and are in the habit of making long excursions in parties, unaccompanied by their husbands. They are handsome, and in marked contrast generally to the men, being strong and buxom, while the men are thin, apparently feeble, and ill-favoured. Far otherwise is their condition in the Sum; here the women are kept in strict seclusion; and before the advent of British officials, with their meddlesome ways, in all cases of infidelity the husband took the law in his own hands; Puthan honour requiring that the woman should be killed first, and her lover afterwards.

"In one of our rides about Peshawur," says Burnes, "with the chief, we had a specimen of justice and Mahommedan retribution. As we passed the suburbs of the city we discovered a crowd of people, and on a nearer approach saw the mangled bodies of a man and woman, the former not quite dead, lying on a dunghill. The crowd instantly surrounded the chief and our party, and one person stepped forward and represented, in a trembling attitude to Sultan Mahommed Khan, that he had discovered his wife in an act of infidelity, and had put both parties to death; he held the bloody sword in his hands, and described how he had committed the deed. . . . The chief asked a few questions, which did not occupy him three minutes; he then said in a loud voice, 'You have acted the part of a good Mahommedan, and performed a justifiable act.' He then moved on, and the crowd cried out, 'Bravo!' (Afreen!) The man was immediately set at liberty."

Wives can no longer be got rid of with impunity in this summary fashion; but the jealous care with which women are still kept concealed, renders the selection of a bride an affair of extreme interest and difficulty. Recourse is had to a class of persons called "dooms," three or four of whom are attached to the houses of most Puthans of rank. These people are entrusted with the secrets of the family. Their wives act as servants to the ladies, and through their agency they know both the character and the personal appearance of every eligible young woman in the Sum. Hundreds of dooms congregate at every marriage; they are critics, having experience in such matters; they pronounce authoritatively on the manner in which the

thing has been done, and spread abroad the fame or dishonour of the family throughout the country. They are the go-betweens who effect an alliance between families desirous of intermarrying ; and it is their main object to penetrate the secrets of those seeking an alliance, and preserve their own intact. Lieutenant Lumsden mentions a case where a doom met another at a marriage, and after the ceremony began, joked his companion as overreached, the young lady he had provided being remarkable for a tremendous squint. "Not so fast," replied the other ; "you will find my bridegroom, when he dismounts, as lame as a camel with his knees tied."

It only remains to be added, that the people of the Sum, living in a perfectly level plain everywhere practicable for guns, and in villages which mutual jealousy prevents them from surrounding even with a wall, have always had to yield allegiance and pay tribute to some superior power. Not so the Eusofzyes of the Hills. The great Akbar himself was signally foiled in an attempt to penetrate their pathless valleys. It is on account of his defeat that they claim their exemption from the payment of revenue. Their story is, that they gave great annoyance to the officers of the Emperor Akbar when building the fort of Attock. Enraged at this, as soon as the fort was completed, the emperor sent an army of 12,000 men into the country, which was utterly destroyed by a miraculous shower of stones which fell on them in the Kala defile. The curses of a mad Fakeer, by name Jahan Khan, who received some injury from Akbar's troops, brought down this signal calamity upon the imperial army. Thereupon, Akbar in terror granted them a perpetual immunity from all taxation ; and no one until Runjeet Sing ever attempted to collect any revenue among them.

The smaller tribes resident in the province and the surrounding hills offer no points of notice which have not been included in the foregoing account of the Eusofzyes and Afreedees ; we will, therefore, pass on at once to a narrative of the events which led to the severance of this province from the Douranee kingdom of Afghanistan, and its inclusion in the dominions of Runjeet Sing.*

* The tribes in and about the Peshawur province are the following :—

Beyond British jurisdiction . .	{ Eusofzyes. Rauizais. Othmankheyl. Upper Mhomanda. Afreedees.
Within British jurisdiction . .	{ Eusofzyes. Khulils. Guggeanees. Momands of the Plain.

If we except the savage invasion of Persia by the Ghilzyes, and their short-lived supremacy in that country, the Afghans were in the condition of subject people until the death of Nadir Shah. That conqueror had a high estimate of the valour of this portion of his subjects, and a contingent of 16,000 Afghan horse accompanied him in all his expeditions. Four thousand of these were recruited from the Ghilzye tribes, and the rest from the Abdalee, or as they are now called, the Douranee tribes. The gallantry and devotion of these troops were such, that Nadir Shah preferred them to those of his own nation, and thereby excited the jealousy and hatred of the Persians in his army. At the time of Nadir Shah's murder, this contingent, from various causes, numbered only 4000 men, chiefly Douranees. They made good their return to their own country in spite of the efforts of the Persian soldiery, who, with greatly superior numbers, strove to cut them to pieces. The officers of the contingent then held an assembly near the village of Candahar, where it was resolved to throw off the Persian yoke, elect a king from among themselves, and assist him in uniting the whole of Afghanistan under one rule. The result of these deliberations was that Ahmed Khan, Douranee of the Sudoozye division of the tribe of Populzye, was elected king. Douranee, Kuzzilbash, Belooche, and Hazara chiefs are said to have assisted at his coronation. The ceremony was a very simple one. A Moollah of the highest sanctity poured a measure of wheat on the head of the new monarch, declaring him at the same time to be the chosen of God and of the nation. The measure of wheat signified that abundance and prosperity would mark his reign. Ahmed Shah was crowned at Candahar in October, 1747. The task before him was a difficult one. He had to establish his authority over a wild and lawless people, never united under a single head, and from their assumption of equality among themselves, more likely to repudiate the commands of an Afghan than even those of a stranger. Ahmed Shah's first care was to secure the attachment of his own tribes. The Douranee chiefs were confirmed in possession of their lands and authority; all the great offices of the State were distributed among them and made hereditary in their families; they were allowed uncontrolled to manage the internal concerns of their tribes; and in return for these privileges were required to attend in person upon the sovereign with a fixed contingent of troops whenever military expeditions were undertaken. From the Ghilzyes, or the mountain tribes on the border, Ahmed Shah knew he could expect no recognition of his rights as sovereign; but he hoped to attach them to his standard by the expectation of plunder, and prepare them, by the habit of military discipline, for submission to a line of hereditary kings.

The circumstances of the time promised success. The Ghilzyes, however much they might resent his assumption of supremacy, were still too enfeebled by their recent losses in Persia actively to oppose him. India, Persia, Scinde, and the Usbek empires had fallen into a state of weakness and confusion which invited attack. The ceaseless enterprise and almost unchequered success which marked the subsequent career of Ahmed Shah are well known. He was the monarch of a vast empire when he died in 1773. He was succeeded by his son Timour Shah. This prince seems to us the most enlightened who has ever ruled in Afghanistan. His finances were well regulated; his strict economy enabled him to defray the expenses of his government without loading his subjects with imposts, or undertaking wars of conquest to replenish his treasuries; and his great object seems to have been to secure order and tranquillity, and obedience to the law, throughout his dominions. These peaceful aspirations excited the deep disgust of the Afghans. Their idea of a great king is a man who spreads devastation in every direction, who gorges his subjects with pillage, and puts vast numbers of people to death. Timour, however, did worse things than even to deprive the Afghan of his inalienable right to live at other people's expense. He saw that Ahmed Shah's arrangement, that the great offices of the State should be hereditary in certain families on the condition of military service, rendered them the monarchs of the country—that it was impossible for him to carry out his plans at Candahar surrounded by these turbulent chieftains, in whom the whole executive power was concentrated. Accordingly, he removed the seat of government to Caubul, organized a division of 12,000 horse for the protection of his person, and step by step, while leaving all the great hereditary titles in the possession of the Douranee families, by creating new posts and changing the duties of old ones, gradually transferred the duties of the executive into the hands of officials appointed by himself, and removable at pleasure. These changes were necessarily a work of time. The Douranee nobility from time to time murmured and threatened, with a vague feeling of apprehension and disquietude. But Timour Shah effected his purposes with so much tact and skill, that his reign of twenty years was almost wholly exempt from internal disorder, and the only wars which he undertook were forced upon him by the aggressions of his neighbours. He died in 1793, and with his death the spell was broken. The old turbulent and restless spirit broke out, and the kingdom of Ahmed Shah fell rapidly to pieces. Timour Shah's son and successor, Zemaun Shah, had a craze for making expeditions into Hindustan. Though his throne was assailed by one conspirator after another—though the Persians were attacking his dominions on

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. H H

the west, and the chiefs of Scinde in the south endeavouring to establish their independence—nothing diverted him from his insane desire to emulate the glory of his grandfather, and win a second battle of Paneeput on the soil of Hindustan. There can be no doubt that had Zemaun Shah ever penetrated so far, the monarch and his hordes of undisciplined barbarians would have been cut to pieces to a man by the English troops; but he never got farther than Lahore, and rarely beyond Peshawur. An insurrection in his rear invariably compelled him to hurry home at one or other of these places. The savage ferocity with which he punished even suspected malcontents increased the number of his enemies, his distant expeditions afforded opportunities for conspiracy, and in the year 1800 Shah Zemaun was driven out of Afghanistan, blinded and friendless, and his brother, Shah Mahmood, placed upon the throne in his stead. Great were the rejoicings among the Afghans when Shah Zemaun was finally expelled; but two years had barely elapsed, when, with characteristic fickleness, they rose against his successor, and dethroned him also.

It formed a part of Nadir Shah's policy to colonize conquered countries with Persians; and as soon as he had subdued Afghanistan, he held out strong inducements to his own countrymen to settle there. At his death, a large number of Persians had reached Meshed, on their road to Afghanistan. Ahmed Shah invited them into the country, and established them in the city of Caubul. They rapidly became an influential and wealthy portion of the community; but these Persians were of course Shias, and between them and the Afghans there was an inextinguishable rancour. It happened that some Kuzzilbashes had insulted an Afghan family of distinction. The aggrieved parties complained to Shah Mahmood, who not wishing to alienate the Persians by coming himself to a decision, referred the case to the religious tribunals. The result of this reference was a furious assault upon the Persian quarter. Syud Mir Wais, a person of extraordinary sanctity, but a bitter enemy of the king, was the chief instigator of the riot. The tidings spread rapidly over the adjacent country, and the rude hordes of Pughman, Koh Damaun, and Kohistan flocked to the capital, burning with a desire to destroy the obnoxious heretics, and also for plunder. For four days the contest continued with unabating fury; four hundred men on either side had been killed or disabled. At last Futteh Khan, the king's vizier, attacked the Afghan rioters at the head of some regular troops, and after a great deal of severe fighting, succeeded in suppressing the tumult. This event cost Mahmood his throne. Some discontented nobles took advantage of the angry spirit excited against him on account of his

apparent partiality for the Persians, to form a numerous party pledged to drive him from the throne, and place upon it his brother, Sooja ul Mulk. Sooja ul Mulk took advantage of the absence of Futteh Khan on a distant expedition to advance against the capital, the whole population of the city turned out to meet him with greetings and acclamations, and Shah Mahmood had barely time to escape, almost unattended. From this time until 1809, Afghanistan, from Peshawur to Herat, was the theatre of continual war, till Shah Sooja, utterly defeated at the battle of Neemla, fled the country, and his brother Mahmood again ascended the throne.

From the date of his restoration Mahmood sank into a life of indolence and debauchery, and the whole management of the country passed into the hands of his minister Futteh Khan. This man is perhaps the most remarkable who has risen in Afghanistan during the present century. It was to his fertility of resource, courage, and promptitude that Shah Mahmood was indebted, on both occasions, for his elevation to the throne; and so long as he held the helm, the vessel of the state was steered in safety through the waves which threatened to engulf it. The events which brought at once ruin upon him and upon the monarchy he upheld are now to be related. Since the year 1800, Ferooz Eddin, a brother of Shah Mahmood, had governed the city and province of Herat. His benevolent and equitable rule had won the attachment of the people, and for sixteen years—a length of time almost without precedent in Afghanistan—there had been no serious disturbances within the limits of his government. Expeditions were indeed almost annually sent against him by the Shah of Persia, but a judicious system of bribery had hitherto succeeded in averting the storm. Some assistance, however, which he imprudently gave to the rebellious chieftains of Khorassan, determined the Persian monarch to invade Herat in force. Hadj Ferooz Eddin had hitherto governed the province in complete independence of the King of Afghanistan; but feeling his inability to cope with the large army which was approaching the frontiers of Herat, he earnestly solicited aid from Shah Mahmood. The vizier at once started off to his relief, and traversing the country with the utmost celerity, brought his troops under the walls of Herat before the Persian army had reached the frontier. Hadji Ferooz was exceedingly reluctant to allow the powerful and unscrupulous minister to enter within the city gates. He knew that his own power would vanish the moment that he did so. But finally, after a great deal of negotiation, Futteh Khan was permitted to enter and take up his abode in the city, accompanied by fifty followers only. This, however, was quite sufficient to accomplish all he desired. He chose for his escort only

such men as had many and powerful connexions within the town. These speedily induced their friends to make common cause with them, and four days after his entrance the townspeople declared for Futteh Khan. Ferooz Eddin was arrested and sent off prisoner to Caubul, but he had no sooner left the city than there was a general pillage of his property. His very harem was invaded in the search for treasure. The ladies were stripped of their clothing, and Dost Mahommed himself—the vizier's youngest brother—tore off a sash ornamented with precious stones which supported the trousers of the daughter of Shah Mahmood, the wife of Ferooz Eddin's son. This gross outrage—the most atrocious almost which in Afghan estimation could be perpetrated—was speedily followed by the murder of Futteh Khan, the disruption of the Douranee kingdom into several small provinces, and the permanent annexation of the Trans-Indus frontier, first to the Punjab, and subsequently to the British Empire in the East.

Shah Mahmood had only one son, the Prince Kamran. This man was a monster of vice and ferocity. But the Afghans do not think very badly of vice and ferocity, and as Kamran combined these qualities with personal courage and a great deal of energy, he had a numerous and hearty circle of admirers. The remnant of the Douranee nobility, in particular, disgusted by the concentration of power in the hands of Futteh Khan and his family, were eager adherents of a prince as discontented as themselves. They entreated him to liberate his father from his degrading subjection to an unscrupulous and tyrannical minister. They promised him their warmest assistance whenever he deemed the moment for action to have come. Kamran needed no inducements to attempt the overthrow of the vizier. He hated him with all his heart, and spared no pains to ruin him in the opinion of his father. But Shah Mahmood was too fond of ease and pleasure to be easily moved by the representations of his son. He had no wish to assume the cares and labours of government. He preferred leisure and money, wine and women. A prime minister who secured him all these, who never troubled him with business, who was equally great in the council and in the field, who could trample down insurrection whenever it appeared, and as readily baffle the astutest masters of intrigue with their own weapons, was too rare a treasure to be lightly parted with. The outrage on the ladies of Ferooz Eddin's harem placed a powerful weapon in the hands of Prince Kamran. Here was an overt act which could not be explained away. The Douranee chiefs came to his support. They declared that there could be no security for the person of the king himself against a minister who could so grossly outrage that monarch's daughter. They protested that if this offence was overlooked, Futteh Khan's

next act would be to overthrow the Douranee monarchy and transfer the crown to his own head. Shah Mahmood was an indolent debauchee. He did not believe in the traitorous intentions of Futteh Khan; but he hated trouble, and it was an intolerable and grievous trouble to him to be thus continually pestered about this vizier. Futteh Khan was no doubt a very useful and valuable servant; without his assistance indeed he would never have been sovereign of Afghanistan. But there were limits to human endurance. If Futteh Khan was imprisoned and blinded, his revels, at any rate, would no longer be interrupted by these wearisome complaints, and very probably some one else would be found to manage the country with equal efficiency. The issue can be easily anticipated. Shah Mahmood gave his consent that Futteh Khan should be seized and blinded.

Kamran would allow no one but himself to execute the deed. He hurried off to Herat, keeping the purpose of his mission a profound secret. In the meanwhile Futteh Khan, after the expulsion of Ferooz Eddin, had conducted himself with his usual energy. He had defeated the Persian army advancing upon Herat in a great battle, set himself to work to place the revenue arrangements of the province upon a more satisfactory footing, and was rebuilding the dilapidated defences of the city. Notwithstanding the precautions of Prince Kamran, some rumours had reached Herat of the purpose of his coming, and the friends of Futteh Khan entreated him to be on his guard. But the vizier could not believe that Shah Mahmood, who owed everything to him, had secretly consented to his destruction. He received the prince with all the honours due to his position, and for some time the best understanding appeared to exist between them. But one day, as he paid his respects to the prince in the palace of the Bagh Shah; he was suddenly seized, thrown upon the ground, and blinded.

This act sealed the fate of Shah Mahmood. Futteh Khan was only one of a numerous family of brothers. It had been part of his policy to insure the stability of his power by placing them in all the influential posts of government. The news of his disgrace was no sooner known to them than they sprang to arms. Their tribe, the Barukzyes, eagerly seconded their efforts. The Shah and his son quailed before the storm they had aroused. The ex-minister was brought into their presence, and ordered to write to his brothers, commanding them to return to their allegiance. He refused, alleging that he was a poor blind captive; that his race was run, and he had no further concern with the affairs of this world. Enraged at his calm and resolute demeanour, Shah Mahmood called on his nobles to kill him.

They promptly answered to his call, and Futteh Khan was literally cut to pieces in the presence of the man he had placed upon the throne of Afghanistan.*

This atrocious act did not stay the ruin of the Douranee monarchy. The efforts of the king and Prince Kamran to make head against the family of Futteh Khan were fruitless. The province of Herat alone remained in their possession. A puppet, by name Shah Eyoob, was invested with the title of sovereign in Cabul; Mahommed Azem Khan, the eldest surviving brother of Futteh Khan, was nominated vizier, and wielded all the powers of the State; while the different districts of the country were portioned out among the younger branches of his family.

In the meanwhile a new and formidable power had risen in the Punjab. Taking advantage of the distractions in Afghanistan, Runjeet Sing had united the petty states of the Punjab under a single head. Through the treachery of a subordinate, he had made himself master of the important fortress of Attock. He had pounced upon the lovely valley of Cashmere; and that rich country, the very storehouse and granary of the Douranee kingdom, was torn away from Afghanistan for ever. His troops had even crossed the Indus, and though compelled for a time to retire, he had collected his resources, and was only

* There is a terrible account of this murder in Abbott's "Journey to Khiva," which he heard from a personal attendant on Prince Kamran, and which is worth quoting as an example of Afghan ferocity. "Futteh Khan was brought into a tent pitched between Herat and the river, in which sat a circle of his mortal foes. They commenced by each in turn accusing him of the injuries received at his hand, and heaping upon him the most opprobrious epithets. Utta Mahomed Khan then stepped up to him, and seizing one of his ears, cut it off with his knife, saying, This is for such and such an injury done to such an one of my relatives. Shahaghaussie Nawaub cut off the other ear. Each, as he wreaked this unmanly vengeance upon the victim whom he would have crouched to the day before, named the wrong of which it was the recompense; thus depriving him of the highest consolation the mind of man can possess under torment—the conscience void of offence. Another of the barbarians cut off his nose; Khana Moolla Khan severed his right hand; Khalook Dad Khan his left hand; the blood gushing copiously from each fresh wound. Summunden Khan cut off his beard, saying, This is for dishonouring my wife. Hitherto the high-spirited chief had borne his suffering without either weakness or any ebullition of his excitable temper. He had only once condescended, in a calm tone, to beg them to hasten his death. The mutilation of ears and nose, a punishment reserved for the meanest offences of slaves, had not been able to shake his fortitude; but the beard of a Mussulman is a member so sacred, that honour itself becomes confounded with it; and he who had borne with the constancy of a hero the taunts and tortures heaped upon him, seemed to lose his manhood with his beard, and burst into a passion of tears. His torments were now drawing to a close. Gool Mahomed Khan, with a blow of his sabre, cut off his right foot, and a man of the Populzye tribe severed the left. Utta Mahomed Khan finished his torments by cutting his throat."

waiting for a favourable opportunity to invade Peshawur in force, and annex that province to his dominions. The quarrels which broke out among the brothers of Futteh Khan soon reduced Afghanistan to a state of pitiable feebleness, and Runjeet Sing struck without delay.

On the 13th March, 1823, he conveyed his troops across the Indus. Azem Khan, despairing of other methods, proclaimed a religious war against the Sikh invaders, and his summons aroused the fierce fanaticism of the mountain tribes. From the rugged broken hills of the Khuttucks, and the grass-covered valleys of Swaut and Bonair, the followers of the prophet hurried into the open country to avenge the insulted honour of Islam. For days the Eusofzye valley was a moving mass of human beings; priests, men, and unveiled women streaming forth in ceaseless crowds from all the valleys opening upon the Sum. They converged at Noshehra, a town built on the left bank of the Caubul river; the Vizier, with the regular Afghan army, occupying a position somewhat higher up, but on the right bank. Runjeet Sing detached a portion of his troops to hold the Afghan vizier in check, and with the rest of his army, twenty-four thousand strong, fell upon the hill men. A wild Akhalee fanatic—Phoola Sing—headed the attack with all the fury of drunken fanaticism, but the Eusofzyes received the assault with impenetrable firmness. A Bonairee scrambled up the elephant on which Phoola Sing was seated, and cut him down with his long knife. His followers, leaving heaps of dead and wounded behind them, were compelled to recede. The Eusofzyes shouted for joy, and in their turn prepared to charge. The Bonairees, distinguished by their black turbans with a bright yellow border from the rest of the Eusofzyes, who are clothed in white, led the way. They came down with a rush, like the Highlanders at Culloden; and resolute and fearless as the Sikh is, Runjeet Sing's drilled infantry recoiled in momentary terror as the wild hurricane of waving scimitars and frantic faces, with hideous clamour whirled towards them. But the fire of the Sikh guns checked the mountaineers, and gave the regiments time to rally. The steady fire of the reunited line told with terrible effect upon the confused masses in front of them, but could not damp their ardour or their courage. Though their scanty stock of ammunition was soon expended, the Afghans fought madly on with arrows, spears, swords, and stones. Thrice were they driven back, and thrice rallied to the charge by the blows and imprecations of their women and the wild cries of "Allah ho Akbar!" from the crowds of Moollahs who prayed, cursed, and shouted in the rear of the battle. Runjeet Sing in person led repeated charges of cavalry against the hill men; but in spite of all his efforts, when night fell the battle

was undecided. But where, it will be asked, was Azem Khan during this frantic struggle? The Caubul river was fordable in front of his position, and there can be little doubt that, had he brought his men into the field, the Afghans must have won the day. His movements were fatally encumbered by the presence of his harem with the baggage of his army, and the custody of an immense quantity of treasure. Fearful lest one or other of these precious charges should fall into the hands of the Sikhs, he had retired in the midst of the battle towards Jellalabad. His army disbanded and dispersed as he retreated, and Azem Khan himself, devoured with shame and remorse, died shortly after. In the meanwhile night had closed upon the hard-fought field of Noshehra. The hill men still maintained their position upon an elevated piece of ground, but their numbers were sadly thinned; the masses of the Sikh army surrounded them on every side; the flame of religious zeal was quenched in blood. In truth, brave as is the Afghan personally, he lacks the steady persevering endurance of the Sikh. He is splendid when making a wild charge, but he cannot fight a losing battle. The Eusofzyes knew that they were beaten. In the middle of the night they mustered their remaining forces, and cutting their way through the Sikh troops, made good their retreat to the hills. The loss on both sides had been extremely heavy. Dead Bonairees lying on dead Sikhs, their teeth fixed convulsively in the throats of their adversaries, testified to the desperate character of the struggle. It was a memorable day in Sikh annals. Runjeet Sing's one eye brightened with unwonted lustre when he detailed, as he loved to do, the changing "currents of that heady fight." The Sikh soldier bore willing testimony to the courage of the vanquished. "The Eusofzyes laugh at death" was a saying among them. To the hill men, their defeat at Noshehra was a blow from which they never recovered. The whole land was thrown into mourning; and seventeen years after, an English traveller visiting the valley of Bonair, found the battle of Noshehra still the constant subject of conversation and the favourite theme of their songs. One in particular struck him on account of its peculiarly plaintive character, commencing—

"Ah! Mahommed Azeem, where is the blood of your children you sold at Noshehra!"

And when, in any of their village gatherings, unusual merriment prevailed, a white beard has been known to check them with, "Is this a time for laughing, when the bones of your brothers are whitening Noshehra?"

Noshehra, as we have said, stands on the left bank of the Caubul river; the banks, clothed with verdure and fringed with

trees, sloped down on either side of the stream ; and the horizon is bounded by the ranges of the hills enclosing the valley. When Englishmen first traversed these parts they found the plain destitute of cultivation, but covered with innumerable tombs.

"These," says one, "are constructed with much care, and particular attention seems to have been paid to preserve their individuality, each grave being marked out by a row of white pebbles, encircling the mound, and crossed in its breadth by two or three bands of the same ; beneath them lie the bodies of countless numbers who have fallen in battle, and the vastness of the collection displays the bold spirit with which the Afghans opposed the encroachments of the Sikhs."

His decisive victory at Noshehra opened the road to Peshawur ; and Runjeet Sing pushing on sacked the city and plundered the whole country as far as the mouth of the Khyber Pass. But the spirit of the people was still too high to enable him to remain permanently in the province. The Sikh camp was assaulted nightly by furious bands of "Ghazees," who only wished to die and go straight to Paradise after slaying as many infidels as their swords could reach ; and all stragglers and small detachments were cut off with unerring despatch. Runjeet Sing was glad to withdraw his troops and return to Lahore, after making over the province to four Afghan chiefs. These chiefs were brothers of the late vizier, and named Yar Mahommed Khan, Sultan Mahommed Khan, Sayad Mahommed Khan, and Pir Mohammed Khan. They consented to pay an annual tribute to the Sikh Maharajah ; and, if required, to send their sons to Lahore as hostages for their good conduct. A few years of unquiet peace followed, when the province made a desperate effort to shake itself free from its subjection to the infidel. One Ahmed Shah, a Syud, appeared among the Eusofzyes, and preached a religious war against the Sikhs. He gave out that he had a divine commission to take possession of the Punjab, Hindostan, and China, and swore that he would compel Runjeet Sing to turn Mussulman or cut off his head. His name is still a power in India. The fanatical leaven which he introduced among the hill tribes has been the occasion of more than one campaign since the annexation of the Punjab, and his followers form the most aggressive and turbulent portion of our Mussulman subjects in India. Their conspiracies to expel the English from India have of late years given much trouble and anxiety to the Government. These facts invest Ahmed Shah with an interest which will perhaps be considered sufficient justification for detailing at some length his life and doctrines. The latter throw considerable light on the present state of the Mussulman religion in India.

The doctrine, "There is no God but God ; and Mahomet is His

Prophet," transformed the rude tribes wandering over Arabian sands into a nation of irresistible warriors. They poured into Central Asia, and one people after another succumbed to the propagators of the new faith and adopted their tenets. But when the tide of conquest began to ebb—when men, no longer wholly absorbed in the work of proselytism, began to think, the old mysterious problems of existence rose up on every side of them, unsolved as before. The new formula could not be made to cover the ancient facts, any more than the old ones which had been so scornfully cast aside. And under the pressure of these difficulties began that great intellectual and spiritual movement known as Sufyism, which has exercised so potent a fascination over the greatest minds of Persia and Hindustan.

Sufyism, speaking generally, is a species of Pantheism. The whole visible creation, according to its votaries, is the outward manifestation of that invisible Being, whose spirit, diffused and interpenetrated through every part, preserves and renews its beauty and splendour from day to day. Man himself is an emanation from the Deity; and the unrest and discontent which he feels upon earth are the throes and agonies of the divine life within him, yearning to burst its prison-house of flesh, and return to "that imperial palace whence it came." Those who are ignorant of this truth vainly seek the satisfaction of these spiritual wants in the pursuit of fame, power, wealth, pleasure, as the case may be. In the search after these phantoms they fill the earth with mourning, bloodshed, and misery; they follow after a prize, tempting indeed to look at, but which turns to dust and ashes the moment they have grasped it. It is the duty of the wise man to disengage his affections from these shadows and concentrate them on the true realities—by the power of intense meditation to attain to the beatific vision of the Divine Being, and finally to become one with Him. For those who devote themselves to this end there is gradually created, to use the language of Scripture, a new heaven and a new earth. The "sorrowful things about them cease to give pain, but the beautiful become informed with a diviner beauty. "Night and day they are plunged in an ocean of ardent desire, till they are unable through astonishment to distinguish night from day. So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him who decorated the human form, that with the beauty of the form itself they have no concern, and if ever they behold a beautiful shape they see in it the mystery of God's work." Four stages have to be passed before the disciple of Sufyism can attain to the state of beatitude. The first of these is called Sheryát, which signifies the law. In this stage the disciple must practise a strict and scrupulous observance of

all the external rites and ceremonies of religion; for these, though indifferent to the spiritual man, are needful as a discipline to prepare the soul for the reception of that higher knowledge. The second stage is called Tareequt, from Tareeq, meaning a path, way, or direction. At this stage the disciple discards the outward forms of religion, and devotes himself to the mental worship of the Deity. The third stage is Huqueequt, or the state of Truth, from the word Huq—an epithet of the Almighty, and signifying Truth. This is the state of preternatural knowledge or inspiration. Long meditation upon God has given to the soul of the devotee a supernatural capacity. The muddy vesture of decay no longer grossly hems him in. He hears the harmony of the celestial spheres, and stands in the very presence of Deity. The fourth and last state is Mârifat—a term for knowledge, from the Arabic word *ârif*, “to know.” When this stage is reached the soul, absorbed into the Divine Essence, is again one with God. But the road thither is long and difficult. The devotee has to endure painful fasts. He must live in solitary deserts, seeing only the teacher to whom he is attached; for a chief merit of the Sufee is entire devotion to his spiritual master. Numbers, worn out by long austerities, have perished miserably while still far from the goal. Even among those who have passed through all the stages, there are different degrees of knowledge. The Sufee may partake of the nature of God, which is designated *Jâmâl*, and signifies that mild and gentle beauty which loves to do good and hurts not; or he may be intoxicated with the wine of the Divine Love—absorbed in the contemplation of the *Jâtâl*, or consuming glory of the Deity. In this state he is full of wrath with the iniquities of the world, and if provoked, his imprecations take immediate effect. Or lastly, he may pass from the highest to the lowest stage, and *vice versâ*, asserting at one time—after the manner of an eminent devotee—that God is in his sleeve, and then falling back into the condition of ordinary mortals, trusting that God will forgive him his sins, and make his latter days righteous.

Wild as all this sounds to us, there is much in Oriental history to account for the eager avidity with which the Asiatic has embraced these notions. Take Oriental history, for example, and what is the conviction which it would bring home most forcibly to the mind? Even here, in our Western world, there is much to render the thoughtful man hopeless and desperate of humanity—hardly ever, perhaps, more so than at present, when he weighs the motives which have led to legislative reforms, proclaimed by grand flourishes of trumpets and much self-laudation. But we have learned to accept Pro-

gress as the law which governs human affairs, because on the whole Europe has advanced and not receded during the last eighteen hundred years. But in the East there has been no progress, no diffusion of knowledge, no growth of liberty, no development of national life, anywhere. During all these centuries the history of Persia or India is a record of the exploits of a long series of adventurers, each rising into power on the dead body of his predecessor, and marking his career of conquest with ruined cities, wasted fields, and slaughtered people. The despot of to-day is a friendless fugitive on the morrow; the slave who a few years ago was sold as a chattel in the market-place, becomes the unquestioned lord of millions of human souls. But there runs a terrible family resemblance through them all. Dressed in a little brief authority, they all play the same fantastic tricks; they all manifest the same indifference for human life and human suffering; they all regard the world, and the human beings upon it, as given them in fee simple, to do with as they please.

It is not, however, the positive suffering inflicted by these despots upon their kind which renders the study of Oriental history so depressing. Dreadful as these often were, they were generally limited to a small area. The absence of the necessary executive machinery enabled large tracts of country to escape with comparative immunity from the reach of the most terrible destroyers. But it is the absence of all hope, of any widening purpose, of any lofty ideal, gradually becoming an accomplished fact, which makes the annals of the East so dreary and so hard to read. There seems no right and no wrong; only a mad expenditure of fruitless energy—a frantic struggle for power, where *chance* is the only law. To the thoughtful or imaginative mind, looking out upon these dismal scenes, it must have become a necessity to lighten somehow the burden and the mystery of such an unintelligible world as this. Unaided by those revelations of science which have made us believe that there is an order and a harmony deducible from that which looks most disorderly, which sounds most tuneless, the Asiatic boldly pronounced the whole wild chaos a delusion, and the solution has been greedily accepted by the best and greatest minds of Persia and Hindustan—a melancholy commentary on their history. There are in India three great schools of Sufyism, deriving their names from their founders—the Tareeq-i-Qadiria, the Tareeq-i-Chishtia, and the Tareeq-i-Nakshbandia; or in other words, the schools of Qadiria, Chishtia, and Nakshbandia. It is usual to give admission to one of these schools only, but it was one of the assumptions of Syud Ahmed that he was privileged to receive followers into any and all of them; and he also established a

school of his own, to which he gave the name of Tareeq-i-Muhammedia.*

Ahmed Shah belonged to a family of Syuds resident at Bareilly, and began life in a school certainly not favourable for the education of religious teachers and reformers. He was a trooper in the service of Ameer Khan, a noted freebooter, and friend and associate of that prince of plunderers, Jeswunt Rao Holkar.† At the close of the Mahratta war he went to Delhi, and became a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz, a very celebrated devotee of that city. From his teaching, according to the popular belief, Ahmed Shah imbibed those religious convictions which he afterwards promulgated with such fierce zeal. His first disciples, and his associates throughout his chequered and adventurous career, were two relatives of Abdul Aziz—one his nephew, Moulavi Mahomed Ismael; the other his son-in-law, Moulavi Abdul Hye. The extreme veneration with which these two persons regarded him made a deep impression upon the popular mind. Mahomed Ismael, who was distinguished by his learning and other acquirements, subsequently published a work written in Urdu, containing the tenets peculiar to the new faith. In the preface to this work there is a brief account of Ahmed Shah; and his rapid growth in spiritual knowledge and the Divine favour during his residence at Delhi, is related with considerable detail.

"Let it be known," says Mahommed Ismail, "that all the perfections of the Tarik-i-mibawat were implanted from his birth in this holy man, as evidenced by the delight which he took in the exercises of piety and practice of virtue from his childhood. At length, when he was admitted into the society of the venerated Shekh Abdul Aziz (who received him as a disciple into the Nakshbandia school), by the propitious effects and influence of the enlightened spirit of his instructor, the concealed excellences of his nature developed themselves in a rapid succession of wonders. Of these, the first was that he saw the Prophet himself in a dream, who fed him with three dates in succession, which circumstance he knew to be true by the effect which he found to be remaining when he awoke. This was the commencement of his progress in the Tarik-i-mibawat. A further eminent

* These few remarks on "Sufyism" have been introduced only to render the teaching of Ahmed Shah intelligible to English readers, to whom "Sufyism" would rarely be more than a word. They convey no notion whatever of the wealth of genius which has been expended in expounding and enforcing its doctrines. A great deal of information on the subject is contained in "Asiatic Researches," vols. ii., iii., xi., articles by Sir William Jones and Dr. Leyden; and "Bombay Literary Transactions," vol. i., article by Captain Graham.

† For some particulars regarding Jeswunt Rao Holkar, *vide Westminster Review*, January, 1869, article "Struggle for Empire with the Mahrattas."

advance in it was gained by him from the following event : In another dream he saw the sainted Ali and the holy daughter of the Prophet, Fatima, when the former bathed him with his own sacred hands, and washed him carefully, as parents wash their children, and the latter clothed him in garments of exceeding richness. On this, the favour and acceptance which had been set apart for him from eternity became directly visible, and he was taken under the immediate guidance and guardianship of God. One wonder followed upon another, till one day the Deity, taking his right hand with His own arm of power, and placing before him some of the rare treasures of heaven, said to him, 'This I have given to you, and I shall give you yet more.' About this time some one entreated urgently to be received by him as a religious disciple, when he put off giving a final answer for a few days, and in the interim applied with the eye of contemplation to God, saying, 'You have taken my hand, which whosoever in this world does, attends always to the obligations thereby imposed, and what relation can the virtues of mortals bear to the qualities of God? What course then is it your will that I should follow towards this man who desires to adopt me as his religious guide?' The reply from God to his application was, "Should thousands and thousands seek to be your followers, I shall provide for them all." And in this way event crowded upon event with him, and fresh miracle upon miracle, till he reached the ultimate perfection of the Tarik-i-mibawat, and attained to inspired knowledge.

"Next as to the Tarik-i-wilyat. Respecting this it is to be understood that the modes of exercise and contemplation followed in each of the separate schools lead to a certain peculiar capacity of connexion in the spirit of the devotee with the Deity, which ordinarily is not acquired till after all these preparations have been gone through. But occasionally, with some higher or more favoured spirits, this capacity precedes any use of preparatory discipline. So it was with Syud Ahmed. In the Kadiria and Nakshbandia schools it was gained in a few hours, and directly from communication by the spirits of the founders of those schools. In the Chishtia school its acquisition was commenced by communication from the spirit of the revered Kutbul Aktab Kwaja Bakhtiar Kaki, when Syud Ahmed was sitting in contemplation on the tomb of that saint, and it was afterwards perfected by communication from God himself. This happened to him in the Akberabad Musjid at Delhi, when he was engaged in devout contemplation with a number of his followers, among whom the writer, Mahommed Ismail himself, was. When the assembly had broken up, he told the writer what had occurred in the course of it—viz., that God had himself vouchsafed directly to complete what had remained imperfect in his knowledge in the Chishtia school."

Perfected in this manner by the direct interposition of the Deity for the work of a religious reformer, Syud Ahmed, attended by his two ardent disciples, started from Delhi to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. From the time of his leaving that city he assumed the character of a religious teacher, insisting upon

a return to the primitive simplicity and fervour of the Mahometan faith, and the utter repudiation of all idolatrous and superstitious practices. His preaching was eminently successful; crowds from all parts of India thronged to meet him during his journey, and at the close of the year 1821 he entered Calcutta, attended by a numerous retinue. His arrival caused a general sensation, and a large number of the Mussulmans resident in the city became his disciples. After performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, he went to Bombay, in which city a large number of converts were added to the new sect, and in December, 1823, he started for Upper India. He passed through the plain of the Indus, and Scinde, to Candahar, preaching a religious war. At Candahar he was mistrusted; but in the Derajat he was received with enthusiasm. From Candahar he passed into the Eusofzye country, and spent some time in teaching and inculcating his peculiar doctrines, and preparing the minds of the hill men for a war against the unbeliever. His chief strength consisted in a strong body of moulavis, and their followers, who had attended him from Hindustan. The Eusofzyes at this time were depressed with the memory of their recent defeat at Noshehra, and some time had to elapse before their fanaticism could be again roused to take the field.

The foundation of progress in the school of Syud Ahmed was substantially the same as that in other schools of Sufyism; but his teaching had also a practical side, whereby he appealed to the passions of the multitude. He denounced Sufyism whenever, in his judgment, it was contrary to the doctrines of the Koran. The re-establishment of the true faith, pure and unadulterated as it came from the lips of the Prophet, and the purging out of all idolatrous superstitions and deviations from that primitive simplicity, were the objects for which he claimed a Divine commission. To make these fully intelligible, it is necessary to say a few words on the state of the Mussulman religion in India.

Taken in their purity, no two religions could well be in more striking contrast than the Hindoo and Mussulman. The Hindoo multiplies deities in reckless profusion; the Mussulman has but one. The Hindoo delights in holy places and sacred relics without number; Mecca is the one spot upon earth which, according to the teaching of the Prophet, should have any spiritual value in the mind of a Mussulman. The Hindoo year is crowded with religious festivals, rites and ceremonies, of every description; the Mahometan year contains, properly speaking, but two—the feast at the close of the fast of Ramzaun, and the festival established in memory of Ishmael, the progenitor of the Mussulmans. The Hindoo delights in idols; the good Mussulman should hate them with his whole heart. But in India and Afghanistan these sharp

contrasts have been lost, and a number of Hindoo beliefs and practices have been incorporated with the Mussulman faith and ceremonial. Such, for example, are the veneration paid to saints, which serve among the Mussulmans of India for the minor deities of the Hindoo Pantheon, and the pilgrimages made to their tombs. These saints have multiplied with almost incredible rapidity. Almost every town and village in India, where Mussulmans are to be found, has its tutelary saint and protector; while there are six Mussulman saints, in honour of whom annual festivals are held every year. The ceremonies on these occasions are entirely taken from Hindoo ritual, and the shrines visited by an immense concourse of people, Hindoos as well as Mussulmans. Another noticeable thing in Indian Mahometanism—plainly borrowed from the Hindoos—is the adoration paid to various apocryphal monuments and relics. There are five places in India where the print of the Prophet's foot is an object of veneration to believing thousands; the tombs of the patriarchs Seth and Job, in the shape of two great tumuli, can be visited by the devout residents of Oude; at Cuddapah a beautiful monument was erected as a shrine in which to preserve a hair of the Prophet's beard. Mahomet, it appears, had a habit, when engaged in conversation, of drawing his hand through his beard. Whenever he detached a hair, some of the bystanders begged for it to preserve as a sacred relic. One of these, enshrined in a bottle, was deposited in the temple at Cuddapah. Once a year, with solemn ceremonies, a single drop of water was poured into the bottle, and at this auspicious moment pilgrims from all parts of India assembled to behold the precious deposit. When Hyder Ally took Cuddapah, he carried the hair to Seringapatam, and it was lost in the storm of that city by the English.

But the most remarkable example of the influence of the Hindoo on the Mussulman religion in India, is to be found in the festival of the month of Mohurram. This festival is an institution of Shyite origin, in remembrance of the murder of Housain, the grandson of Ali, on the plains of Kerbelah, and in any country but India would be regarded by the orthodox Mussulman as a heretical falling away from the true faith. But in India, with the more tolerant spirit of the Hindoo, not only do Sunnite and Shyite partake in the festival with thorough good will, but they have borrowed their ceremonial—or at least the most important part of it—from the *Doorga-pooja*, which the Hindoos celebrate in the month of *Katik* (October, November) in honour of *Doorga*, goddess of death, and wife of Siva. The ceremonies on both occasions extend over ten days. On the tenth day the Hindoos cast into the river the image of the goddess, in the presence of a great crowd, to the sound of thousands of instruments

of music; the Mussulmans do precisely the same with their Tazeeas. Among the lower classes, the Mussulmans not only pay honour to certain of the Hindoo saints, but they often take a part in the idolatrous rites of that religion, and bring offerings to Hindoo idols.

Against all these departures from the simplicity of the Mussulman faith, Ahmed Shah set his face like a flint. His prohibitions are arranged under three heads. 1st. The innovations which have sprung from association with heretics or infidels, and with those who sin against the unity and give companions to God. These include, excess of reverence, approaching to idolatry, paid to religious teachers, the ceremonies observed at tombs, and the making offerings in honour of saints. "The vulgar," writes Mahommed Ismail, "think it more of a sacred duty to make long and difficult pilgrimages from all quarters to the shrine of saints, than to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca." They ask their favour and assistance, with a belief in their independent power, which is flat blasphemy; they burn lamps on their tombs, actually believing that this practice, which has been forbidden upon traditions of unquestionable authority, will make their prayers acceptable. These, with a number of other practices, such as entire prostration before the saints, making the circuit of their tombs, praying to them for children, are peremptorily forbidden, as inconsistent with the omniscience and omnipotence of God. 2nd. The abuses which have sprung from association with Shias: such as holding Ali to be superior in dignity to the three first caliphs who were his predecessors; partaking with Shias in the feast of the Mohurram, and consenting to the idolatrous practices which accompany it. 3rd. The abuses which have sprung from bad and corrupt customs generally; such as the expensive ceremonies on occasions of mourning and festivity, and the prohibition of second marriages in the case of widows.

"If there be a widow among your relations" (is the injunction on this subject), "make her, if you can, marry a second time, whether she wishes it or not. Should she persist in refusing, relinquish all kindly intercourse with her. Shrink not, should you in this depart from the fixed custom of your ancestors; God has a higher claim upon you than they."

The other abuses included in this class are, vainglorious reliance on the good qualities of ancestors, which is noted as the special sin of Syuds; the having faith in soothsaying and astrology, the attending to lucky and unlucky days, the worshipping, like the Hindoos, the Goddess of Small Pox, and many more, too numerous to specify. In a word, the object of Ahmed Shah was to clear away the incrustations of time and superstition which concealed the splendour of the central doctrine of Islamism—the [Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. I I

Unity of the Deity. His followers regard themselves as the only true Mahomedans, and the faith and practices of their countrymen as little better than the idolatry of the Hindoo, which indeed they are not. They hold themselves apart from the contagion of heretics and false brethren; they form separate communities, refuse to join with their relatives in their most solemn and cherished ceremonies, and eagerly seize every opportunity to avow their contempt and hatred for prevalent customs and opinions.*

The efforts of Syud Ahmed and his followers soon kindled the religious fanaticism of the Eusofzyes.

Towards the close of 1826, a religious war was proclaimed against the Sikh. The mountaineers, throwing off their despondency, came in enthusiastic thousands at his call. From all parts of Afghanistan—even from the remotest regions of India,—the followers of the Prophet hastened to array themselves under the sacred banner of the Syud. According to the native accounts, he descended into the plain country at the head of one hundred thousand men. The Peshawur Sirdars, thinking all this enthusiasm admirably well timed to enable them to throw off the Sikh yoke, assembled their troops, and made common cause with Ahmed. All was hope and exultation. It seemed impossible that victory should not follow in the footsteps of a multitude so vast and devoted. Runjeet Sing, in their imaginations, had already paid the penalty of his iniquities by dying the death of an heretic, and an allotment of the Sikh lands and villages had been made before the army of the faithful had even begun their march of conquest. The heart of the Syud dilated with pride, and he let drop some expressions which seemed to intimate that he considered the Peshawur Sirdars as his vassals, and that province as his possession. This was sufficient to extinguish the religious zeal of Yar Mahomed and his brothers. With the utter disregard for every consideration but that of self which is the characteristic of the Afghan, they entered into a secret treaty with Runjeet Sing; and on the day of battle, basely abandoned their countrymen, who had begun the engagement relying upon their support. After a fierce struggle, Syud Ahmed and his tumultuous following gave way before the disciplined persistency of the Sikh infantry, and Runjeet Sing marched a second time to Peshawur. The citadel was destroyed, and a large portion of the town levelled with the ground. The beautiful groves and gardens which had given to the valley both beauty and salubrity, were cut down for firewood by the brutal

* For an account of Ahmed Shah and his doctrines, *vide Journal R. A. S.*, November, 1834.

Sikh soldiery. The mosques were desecrated, the houses of the great nobles laid in ruins, and the whole country mercilessly ravaged. The Sirdars were suffered to retain their territory, but the amount of their tribute was greatly increased; and from this time Runjeet Sing adopted his iniquitous system of sending annually huge armies into the province, which, under the pretence of collecting the revenue, spread misery and desolation on every side, and gradually extinguished the active spirit of the people.

Syud Ahmed, however, though defeated for the moment, was far from being subdued. In 1828 he issued again from the recesses of the mountains, and made a dash at Hushtnuggur, defeated Sirdar Sayad Mahommed Khan, and captured the fortress. Yar Mahommed then marched against him, but his troops were routed, and himself killed, and the Syud entered Peshawur in triumph. He was not, however, strong enough to maintain his conquests; troops were rapidly pushed up from the Punjab; and after maintaining for some time an heroic but unequal contest, the Syud was defeated and slain at a place called Balakot. This event occurred in 1831, but it was not until three years after that Runjeet Sing sent an overwhelming force into the valley, and finally annexed it to his dominions.

From that time began the iniquitous régime known as Sikh rule in Peshawur. Hurree Sing—Runjeet Sing's favourite and most distinguished general, but a man of merciless severity—was appointed governor. He was killed shortly after at the battle of Jumrood, and his place was taken by General Avitabile, an Italian in the service of Runjeet Sing. There was no attempt made by either at any kind of civil administration. The city and surrounding country were converted into a vast standing camp; the few groves which still remained were cut down, the gardens trodden under foot; the turbulent spirit of the people held in check by the solid weight of forty thousand men and an unsparing use of the gallows. But in the hill countries, the Khans of the various tribes were complete despots, levying fines and even inflicting capital punishment without reference to any superior authority. The whole population was armed, and sanguinary feuds were prosecuted between tribe and tribe, and village and village. Even in the Sum the brave Puthans maintained a savage independence. A leader of distinguished courage had appeared among them, who held the whole power of the Sikhs at bay. This man—whose name was Futteh Khan—had his head-quarters at Punjtar, a cluster of five villages situated at the upper extremity of a valley which opened into the plains. It was a place of no strength, not even surrounded by a wall, and the road to it practicable for guns; but such was the terror

which Futteh Khan had inspired among the Sikhs, that for years they did not dare to attack him.

At last a force 15,000 strong, with guns and an European officer, ascended the valley. The villagers were amused with proposals for an accommodation, and during the night guns were secretly conveyed to the summit of a hill which commanded the place. In the morning a heavy fire was opened upon the defenceless villages, under cover of which the Sikh troops pushed forward to the attack. Those of the villagers who had wives and children hastened to remove them, but some 2000 or 3000, with Futteh Khan and their priests at their head, boldly faced the Sikh army. Futteh Khan swore he would fight till he perished on the field; an indecisive battle raged for hours round the villages, and only when their women and children were in safety, did the intrepid mountaineers give way. They seized Futteh Khan, and bore him off the field by main force; the Sikhs destroyed the principal village and mosque, but retreated precipitately on the day after the battle. Futteh Khan vowed revenge. He took an oath to pray only in the open air until he had burned some house of images; and shortly afterwards, attended by a few followers, he attacked a Sikh town, and levelled the Dhurmsala to the ground. Runjeet Sing tried hard to conciliate this indomitable enemy. He offered him a jagheer of three lacs, and to support him as Khan of all the Eusofzyes, if Futteh Khan would only nominally acknowledge his supremacy by sending him a hawk or two, or a horse, as a tribute. The Khan was inflexible. "Horses and hawks," he wrote back, "are to be found with rich nobles, at the courts of kings; I, a poor Zemindar, have nothing of the kind, but I can send you a fat cow, if you please."

General Avitabile left Peshawur in 1843, and with the cessation of his strong stern rule, anarchy reigned supreme throughout the whole country. Hardly a day passed without murder being openly committed in the immediate neighbourhood of Peshawur. The wives and children of revenue defaulters were publicly sold in the bazaar for the benefit of Government. Young girls were knocked down at eight or ten rupees a head. All crimes were compounded for by cash payments; and rarely did a squabble occur in any of the villages, which was not followed by the shedding of blood. The only trace of Government influence in the country was a claim against the village khans for ten thousand rupees per annum. If this was paid, the Khan and his people were not interfered with in any other way. If the Government in Peshawur appeared weak, the khans repudiated these claims altogether. A brigade of troops would then be despatched to bring them to reason. If the command-

ing officer was a man of spirit, he attacked and defeated the refractory khans, and destroyed their villages. If he was not, he encamped for some months in the country, and did as much damage as he could, until the khans were tired of skulking among the hills. An arrangement would then be entered into, by which the arrears due to the Government were wiped off in return for a handsome offering to the Governor of Peshawur, and presents to the officers of the invading force.

Kohat.—South of Peshawur, and connected with it by two dangerous and difficult passes which run through the hills of the Afreedees, is Kohat, a valley thirty-five miles long and averaging four miles broad, and to the westward opening out into the plain of Miranzaie. Miranzaie is divided into upper and lower. Upper Miranzaie is a waste tract of country, covered with brushwood, and broken up into numerous ravines, but varied here and there by grassy tracts, which are wandered over during the summer months by hordes from the Wuzereeh hills. Lower Miranzaie consists of a number of small but beautiful valleys, encircled on every side by hills, in which the plane, poplar, fig, mulberry, together with the apple, the apricot, and other orchard trees, flourish abundantly. The tribe possessing these lands is that of the Bungashes. Kohat is well cultivated by means of artificial irrigation from the brook Toe; but in Miranzaie, owing to internal feuds, and the marauding attacks of the Zaimusht and Turi tribes, immediately beyond the British frontier, agriculture is little attended to, and the wealth of the people consists principally of cattle, goats, and sheep. The country of the Zaimusht Afghans is a tract about twenty-five miles long, lying between two ranges of mountains. The country is mostly waste, or covered with jungle, not from the natural sterility of the soil, but owing to the feuds among the people, which render the work of cultivation impossible, except immediately in the neighbourhood of the villages. The Zaimushts are a handsome tall race of men, but numerically weak. They could not bring more than five thousand men into the field.

The Turis dwell in the beautiful valley of Kurram. The mountains of "Sufed Koh" bound it on the north and west, and divide it from the valley of Jellalabad. Descending from the southern slopes of these hills, a clear rapid river rushes over a rocky bed through the centre of the valley. A rich and broad fringe of cultivation extends from either side of the river, and numerous villages, beautified with clumps of magnificent plane trees, are scattered along the banks. Rice is the principal crop, but wheat, cotton, and barley are also cultivated. Water is everywhere abundant, both from the central river and from the drainage of the encircling hills. Heavy rains, or the melting of the snow

after a very severe winter, sometimes swell the river so much as to sweep away a portion of the cultivated land on the banks. The people have an ingenious method of making good this loss of soil. They plant rows of willows as thickly as they will stand, and keep them cut down to two or three feet in height for some years; these spreading, form a very complete barrier, which in ordinary floods catches and retains a rich deposit of alluvial soil; as soon as it is dry a crop is sown on it, while each succeeding flood only adds to the depth of the deposit; the cultivator loses but one crop, and in a very few years regains a fine field, supported on a living willow wall.*

Formerly, the Kurram valley was possessed by the Bungashes, and divided into Upper and Lower Bungash, the latter including all the Bungash lands of Kohat. The Turis at that time were a wandering tribe, having their chief seat at Nilab, on the Indus, but roaming with their flocks over all the country between that place and Caubul. According to the Bungash accounts, the Turis established themselves in Kurram about four generations ago. The Bungashes had rebelled against the king of Caubul; a force was sent against them, and a fine imposed as a penalty for their misconduct. This fine the Turis engaged to pay if the Bungashes would cede certain lands to them. In an evil hour the Bungashes consented; and from that time, by one pretext or another, the Turis have obtained complete ascendancy in the valley, and reduced the Bungashes to the condition of Fakeers.

The Turis are small men, but strong, hardy, and courageous. They could muster some three thousand footmen and five hundred horse. They are, according to Sir Herbert Edwardes, the very perfection of moss-troopers. The horses they ride are small, active, and enduring; the trooper carries his clothing under the saddle, and at the saddle-bow, in leathern wallets, hang food for man and horse, spare shoes, nails, and a hammer in case of accidents, and an iron peg and rope to picket the horse anywhere in a moment. The object of horsemanship is to commit distant and daring raids; and any distinguished highwayman earns the honourable title of "Cluck," or crack man. When a young Turi is born, he is at once taken from his mother, and passed several times through a hole in the wall, whilst a salute of nine shots is fired over him, that from his earliest days he may be accustomed to stand fire without flinching. At the same time he is exhorted to follow in the footsteps of his father, and with heart and hand to be a thief.†

* Lumsden's "*Mission to Candahar*," p. 62.

† "Having arrived at the head-quarters of the local government, I proceeded

The Turi never moves out without being armed to the teeth; when one man labours in the field, three or four have to maintain a sharp look-out to preserve him from assassination. They are Shias, and living among Sunnites, the religious difference infuses an added bitterness into their hostile relations with their neighbours.*

The other tribe whose lands form a part of the district of Kohat, is that of the Khuttuks. They are divided into Eastern and Southern Khuttuks. The lands of the Eastern Khuttuks extend from Khairabad on the right bank of the Indus, oppo-

to the business of the expedition. We heard openly before the assembly every claim which our subjects had to bring against the men of Khorrum, to which the accused party was called on to reply. Sometimes the Toorees totally or partially denied the claim but in general the accusations were acknowledged, not only without shame, but with obvious relish and enjoyment; and as a plaintiff called over the list of his lost property, the Tooree robbers nodded assent to article after article, and grinned at the recollection of its capture. Occasionally, when an old cloak or turban, or weapon of any kind, was overvalued, the thief would turn up his eyes with submission, and exclaim, 'Tobah! Tobah! O! shameful! shameful! that worth two rupees! Hazarbar Tobah! a thousand shames! Is this justice? The thing was absolutely worthless.' Lastly, the doubtful cases were submitted to the ordeal of the oath; and I am afraid the Toorees were not over particular in reducing their bill by this process. The most notorious perjury was, however, received with profound gravity. It would have been scandalous to the whole assembly to suppose that a Mahomedan could put his hand on the Koran and lie. The utmost that any plaintiff ventured on when sworn out of the field, was a pinch of snuff and a sigh."—*Lieut.-Col. H. B. Edwardes' Report on the Military Expedition into Upper Meeránzye and Kurram.*

* This essay is already overloaded with notes, but we think the reader will pardon us for bringing to his notice Dr. Bellew's description of the manner in which these wild tribes prepare themselves for a fight. "During the march, we were passed by several bands of men armed with Afghan knives, jazail, &c., who as they passed us indulged in many menacing actions, and afterwards collected round our camp to upwards of a thousand men, and till evening treated us to a variety of hostile demonstrations, and with jeering yells, war-songs, and dances, accompanied by the native fife and drum, worked themselves up to a degree of excitement barely restrainable. The heights around camp were crowned by large bands (from 200 to 300 men in each), who, stamping round and round in a circle, gesticulated and flourished their great knives in harmony with the pathos of some exciting war-song, at the conclusion of which, giving a shrill and prolonged yell that reverberated from hill to hill, they ranged themselves in column, two or three abreast, and proceeded slowly round our camp, chanting an impressive and passionate war-song, varied at regular intervals by a chorus, '*look hah ah hah*,' repeated in different keys by several voices in a peculiar hollow bass tone. At the last syllable of the chorus each man sprang up on one leg, and flourished his knife overhead, skipped a step forwards, whilst the numerous powder-flasks and other paraphernalia of his jazail suspended around his waist dangling in the air, and his long loose hair blown about in confusion, added greater wildness to his features and actions. In the evening the crowds dispersed, and left us on the look-out for a night attack, which did not, however, occur."—*Lumsden's Mission to Candahar*, p. 177.

site to Attock, for a distance of fifty miles down the river, and westward, twenty-five miles, to the confines of the Afreedee country. The country is wild, broken, and rugged. The Indus—

“Gushes down a valley varying from one hundred to four hundred yards wide, between precipitous banks from seventy to seven hundred feet high. Its character, however, is not that of a brawling stream, or a swollen mountain torrent, but, as if conscious of its own magnitude and strength, the noble river pursues its course in silence, except where chafed by obstructions which itself has caused The banks of the river are formed of hills that rise immediately from its waters in bold bluffs or steep weather-worn slopes. At some places rising in mural precipices, at others rugged and broken, the blackened sides of the impending cliffs cast their dark shadows across the leaden surface of the narrow river, and tinge its waters still deeper with their gloom. Compressed by rocky banks several hundred feet high, the sullen stream, where not opposed, glides smoothly onwards It is where the surface of the stream is ruffled and broken by opposing rocks that the angry spirit of the river is roused and the turmoil is dreadful.

“The enormous body of water is crushed against the obstruction and becomes white with spray and foam. If it be a rocky ledge in mid river, the water, after rising up its face, rolls off in huge waves that extend across both channels, forming dangerous eddies; and to keep clear from their whirling and tumultuous vortex requires both nerve and skill; whilst at the lower side of the ledge the river keeps dashing on, roaring among its jagged points, and cresting them with foam.”

The villages of the Khuttuks stand on the bare rock, looking down upon the majestic stream beneath. Inland, their country consists of a valley seven miles wide and fifteen miles long, gashed and rent into countless ravines, deep and precipitous, and choked and overgrown with an almost impenetrable thorn underwood. The sides of this savage valley are formed by a maze of bare and barren hills, split and rent into a thousand fantastic shapes, with narrow gorges covered with jungle intersecting them in every direction. This valley is called the Kurra jungle. The lands of the Southern Khuttuks extend from Shadeepore, fifty miles below Attock southward, to the northern limits of the tribe of Esaukheyli, in the district of Dera Ishmael Khan; and westward include Kalabagh and the Salt Range, which form the southern boundary of the district of Kohat. This country is less wild and barren than that of the Eastern Khuttuks, spreading out here and there in soft grassy valleys, and cultivated, wherever possible, with the greatest care and industry. Its most remarkable feature is the

* Wood's "Journey to the Source of the River Oxus."

Salt Range. These famous hills commence near the river Jhelum, and run due west, right across the Sind Sagur Doab, until they reach the Indus at Kalabagh. There leaving a narrow gorge, through which the Indus rushes over a bed of salt into the plain, they cross the Trans-Indus region, and meet at right angles the Suleimane range, running from north to south.* The Khuttuks could bring 12,000 fighting men into the field, are good agriculturists, and the best-conducted and most respectable tribe on the whole frontier. A few words will suffice for the history of Kohat before annexation. Until the year 1848 the lands of the Bungash were held by Sultan Mahommed Khan, as a chief from the Caubul Government, and his administration is still spoken of among the people as the "robber rule." The Khuttuks were conquered by the Sikhs, not without a gallant resistance; during which numerous Sikh detachments, entangled in their difficult country, were cut off to a man.

Dera Ishmael Khan.—The Derajat, as the plain of the Indus was termed by the Sikhs—is a long tract of country, bounded on the north by the Salt Range, on the west by the Suleimane mountains, the east by the Indus, and the south by Scinde. Before the introduction of British rule, the centre or plain of the Derajat was an open uncultivated waste, from ten to twenty miles broad, covered towards the south with brushwood, but elsewhere bare, sterile, and desolate. The villages adjoining this barren tract along the foot of the mountains were few and far apart, the cultivation scattered, and dependent for water on the mountain torrents. Single embanked dams, thirty miles in length, skirted the base of the mountains, and received their drainage, in order to redistribute it over the fields; but after long-continued rain these embankments not unfrequently gave way, and the pent-up water flooded the plain, rushing down with a strength and velocity which carried away everything before it. The Derajat, from north to south, extends for about three

* "This range in its outward surface is bleak, barren, and inhospitable, not crowned with forests, nor adorned with verdure and agriculture; yet beneath its surface is rich in mineral resources, in hidden treasures of iron ore, slate, coal, gypsum, limestone, and rock-salt. But it is from the saline mineral that the range has derived both its title and celebrity. The salt is either found cropping out in all directions, or else lies in strata, commencing near the surface and extending downwards in deep veins of inexhaustible fecundity. . . . For consumption it requires no preparatory process except pounding. It is of excellent flavour and purity, of transparent brilliance and solid consistency; but it assumes a reddish hue, when; as is sometimes the case, veins of iron lie adjacent to the saline strata. It is in this latter respect that the salt of the Cis-Indus portion of the range may be distinguished from that of the Trans-Indus. The latter species of salt has a darkish tinge, and is generally of inferior quality to the former."—*Report of the Administration of the Punjab, 1849-50 and 1850-51.*

hundred miles, and is divided into two districts, Dera Ishmael Khan, and Dera Ghazee Khan; of these, the last is peopled chiefly by Belooche tribes, with whom we have at present no concern. Dera Ishmael Khan, the town which gives its name to the district, is situated on the right bank of the Indus. The present town was built so late as the year 1825, the old one having been washed away by a sudden inundation of the river.* On the dissolution of the Durranee kingdom the Nawaub of this district developed into a small independent Prince, and began at once to prey upon his weaker neighbours about him, so far as his limited abilities enabled him to do so. His reign, however, was a very brief one. In 1821 or 1822, Nao Nihal Sing, the grandson of Runjeet Sing, invaded the Derajât; the Nawaub was compelled to submit; a large pension was settled upon him, and Dera Ishmael Khan, with all its dependent districts, was annexed to the Sikh dominions. Although Sikh rule, in quieter districts, was not marked with the savage and lawless ferocity which prevailed in the province of Peshawur, a people would have to be very much oppressed before they could consider its introduction among them as anything but a grievous calamity. Runjeet Sing never had any organized system of administration; to the day of his death he was plundering rather than governing all his possessions north of the Jhelum. Every species of oppression was openly practised by the functionaries of the state, from the greatest to the smallest. Law was a rare and costly luxury,

* The appearance of the Indus, as it flows through the Derajat, is thus described by Lieutenant Wood:—"At some places so diffused was the stream, that from a boat in its centre no land could be discovered save the islands upon its surface and the mountains on its western shore. From Dhera Ishmael Khan to Kalabagh, the east bank was not once seen from the opposite side of the river, being either obscured by distance or hidden by islands, which at this season thickly speckle over its channel. Some are level with the water's edge, while others, below it, are only known by their sedgy covering. In other months they are the resort of the inhabitants from both shores, many of whom, delighted with their fine pasturage, prolong their stay till dislodged by the rising river. . . . But in this month (July) the islands are abandoned, and as the boat swiftly glides amidst the mazy channels that intersect them, no village cheers the sight, no human voice is heard; the only sound is the plover's moaning call as it hovers above the falling bank, and dexterously seizes its prey while yet in the air, or skims it off the water. Here and there a boiling eddy rises to the surface, and even the wild swirl of its gushing, turbid current is grateful to the ear amidst the profound stillness. . . . Out of sight of land the voyager may for hours be floating amid a wilderness of green island fields, and when he supposes himself far from man, is sometimes startled at hearing a human voice from amid the expanse of rushes which surround him. It is the solitary bulrush-gatherer, who, with only his mussak for support, braves all the dangers of the stream to procure the roots of the bulrush for food for himself and his little ones."—*Journey to the Sources of the River Oxus*, pp. 199-102.

the enjoyment of which was confined to the rich and powerful; the poor settled their disputes in their own way: if peaceably inclined, by means of village boards of arbitration; if pugnaciously disposed, they turned out *en masse*, and fought their way to an arrangement with swords and cudgels. The only officers having judicial powers were those from whom the people most required protection—the collectors of revenue. The auditing of accounts was never attempted at the court of Lahore; the Maharaja could neither read nor write, and trusted entirely to a tenacious memory and a notched stick. So long as the collectors transmitted the proper amounts from their different districts, they were never troubled with disagreeable investigations into their modes of collection. There was a tacit understanding among all parties, that the revenue collector must live by the revenue; and he devoted himself in consequence to the work of plundering and harrying his district as a part of his regular business.

"In extreme cases," writes Sir Henry Lawrence, "some desperate men, oppressed beyond endurance, would betake themselves to Lahore to seek revenge rather than redress, and either bribe or force their way to the presence. A hearing might then possibly be secured, and a favourable order be passed; but as a general rule, no punishment seems to have been inflicted upon Kardars (*i.e.*, revenue officers), unless when defaulters to the State; and they had therefore nothing to do but squeeze out of the Ryots all that was to be squeezed above the government revenue. In this manner for years and years the State did not receive from some of the richest tracts of the Punjab one half or one fourth of what they actually yielded."

Runjeet Sing could never have obtained a footing on the further bank of the Indus, if the hatred which the Mussulman felt for the Hindoo had been supplemented by the power of combination. But as a general rule, the Afghan hates no one so intensely as his nearest neighbour, and there is nothing that he will not sacrifice for the gratification of personal hate and revenge. Each tribe in consequence represented a distinct nationality, which neither hoped nor asked for the aid of any other; and thus they fell an easy prey to the invader. Runjeet Sing, on his part, had only one object in pushing his conquests—increase of revenue. His method of assuming possession of a new district was to build a small fort in it, strong enough to hold out against a sudden rising of the population. The large detachments were withdrawn to a distance, whence they could be easily pushed up to the relief of any of the beleaguered garrisons. The conquered territory was made over to a collector of revenue, armed with unlimited authority; the amount of money specified he was expected to transmit annually to Lahore;

and he was then left alone to do just as he pleased. The limits of the present paper forbid us to enter into the history of the tribes in the Dera Ishmael Khan district under Sikh rule ; but the reader curious to learn cannot do better than refer to Major Edwardes' book, entitled "*A Year on the Punjab Frontier.*"* We must confine ourselves to an account of the valleys of Bunnoo and Murwut, which lie immediately beneath the Suleimane range, and form, strictly speaking, the frontier of the district.

Bunnoo is closed in upon three sides by ranges of hills. The Suleimane range marks its western limits ; the Salt Range its north and eastern ; and towards the south the country is open, and runs without any interposing barrier into the country of the Murwutees. The two districts form together a valley, which is separated from the plain of the Indus by the lower ranges of the Bhutunnee hills. Bunnoo is a lovely little valley. Two streams, the Korrum and the Tochee, fertilize the soil ; every field is encircled by a rivulet, cut out from these two rivers, and the crops are never known to fail. Along the streams and round the villages are groves of mulberry trees, festooned with the wild vine ; roses blossom at the close of spring in fragrant abundance, and all the fruits of Caubul grow wild in lavish profusion. The inhabitants of this Paradise are a very vile people. The Bunnoochee Puthan is sprung from a mongrel race, and the mixture of blood has eradicated almost all the nobler elements of the Afghan character, leaving fully developed his proneness to disgusting vices, his addiction to treachery and assassination. From a remote period the inaccessible situation of the valley obtained for Bunnoo the privilege of affording shelter to every criminal or rebel against the authority of the ruling power in Afghanistan. Refugees from the Punjab fled thither for safety. Money-loving Hindoos penetrated even here, in the hope of making money. From the combination of all these elements the valley of Bunnoo was gradually peopled. They were never tributary to the kings of Caubul ; they would never

* The literary abilities of the late Sir Herbert Edwardes, are, we fancy, little known out of India, but they are of a high order. He was endowed (we speak only from such of his writings as we have seen) with a quick sympathy and a keen insight of character, as well as powers of description which gave a freshness and living interest to any subject he touched upon. With all its merits, the "*Year on the Punjab Frontier*" does not give an adequate idea either of his talents or his character. It is injured by a dash of egotism,—the result of temporary influences, but, as we believe, quite foreign to the real disposition of its distinguished author. He possessed an unequalled knowledge of our Indian Frontier, and if his Reports and Memoranda are ever collected and given to the world, they will form a work as interesting as a romance to the general reader, and invaluable to the Frontier officer and the student of Oriental history.

agree to elect a ruler from among themselves, they could not refrain from molesting each other, and so the people of every village surrounded themselves with a high wall, and carried on unceasing war with all their neighbours. The valley was the very home and abiding-place of murder and anarchy. Village against village—chief against chief: the blood feuds were handed on from generation to generation, spreading in wider circles over the valley, until every living soul in Bunnoo went in fear of his life. Fighting in the open field there was little or none. The Bunnoochee has small liking for that. His idea of a successful field, according to the statement of an officer who knew him well, is, or rather was—Time midnight, and his enemy asleep under his vine; no witness but the moon, and leisure given for three well planted blows of a small broad-backed knife which makes a wound like that of the bayonet. To such an extent was this broad-backed dagger brought into use, that when the Punjab was annexed, it was no uncommon thing to see a Bunnoochee well stricken in years, who had never in all his life been two miles beyond the mud fortification which encircled his village. Behind those huge walls, shut out from the free air of heaven, surrounded by dirt, squalor, and vice of every description, the Bunnoochee grew up to manhood treacherous, cruel, and revengeful. The Afghan is always a liar, but our officers were startled when first brought into contact with the mendacity of the Bunnoochee. From private spite, for some petty object of his own, and frequently only to oblige a friend, the Bunnoochee would commit perjury which might consign to the gallows one or more men—the number was a matter of indifference—with a callousness positively appalling.

"Before I close this," writes the late General Nicholson to Sir Herbert Edwards, "I must tell you of the last Bunnoochee murder, it is so horribly characteristic of the bloodthirstiness and bigotry of their dispositions. The murderer killed his brother near Gurwalla, and was brought in to me, on a frightfully hot evening, looking dreadfully parched and exhausted. 'Why,' said I, 'is it possible you have walked in, fasting, on a day like this?' 'Thank God,' said he, 'I am a regular faster.' 'Why have you killed your brother?' 'I saw a fowl killed last night, and the sight of blood put the devil into me.' He had chopped up his brother, stood a long chase, and been marched in here; but he was keeping the fast."

This anecdote brings before us the superstitious side of the Bunnoochee character. The Priest, the Syud, the Hajee who has visited Mecca, are powerful people all over Afghanistan, but in Bunnoo they are well nigh omnipotent. A Bunnoochee has no weapons which avail against them. If a holy man has cursed him, or his wife, or his children, or anything else that is

his, it profits nothing to put the holy man to death. The curse will execute itself just the same, and the holy man will be turned into an avenging spirit to harass the Bunnoochee with his anger for the rest of his days. Holy men had a good time of it in Bunnoo. Out of 278 villages registered in the richest parts of the valley, Major Edwardes found forty-four the property of priests and other sacred characters, while indirectly their property was much larger. Their lands were never taxed. No chief dared to demand tribute from them. The land of the Moollah was sacred; he contributed nothing either towards the expenses of the general community, or the satisfaction of the Sikh invader.

The remaining element in the population of Bunnoo was the Hindoo. The Mussulman hates and despises the Hindoo more thoroughly than any other creature under the sun; he strives to make life burdensome to him by indignity and oppression, but in the long run the Hindoo is avenged of his enemy. The prospect of gain to the heart of a Hindoo of the Banya class is a delicious Ariel-like music, which leads him with an irresistible fascination whithersoever it pleases. He labours after it as some good men have laboured after virtue; it is the sole avowed end and aim of his existence; and his quiet persevering pertinacity—the long-enduring passiveness of his nature—his subtle insinuating acuteness, his marvellous understanding of character—not only obtain for the Hindoo a recognised footing in the most hostile countries, but in the end have almost invariably made him a power in the State. Such was the case in Bunnoo. He had to preserve an appearance of ostentatious poverty; he had to perform the rites of his religion in the strictest privacy; he was never permitted to wear a turban—that being too sacred a symbol of Mahomedanism; when opportunity offered, the three thrusts of the broad-backed dagger were practised upon him with as little compunction as if he had been a veritable dog, instead of simply stigmatized as one. But nevertheless the Hindoo was a man of consideration in Bunnoo. He kept the accounts of the great men; he lent money to the distressed landowner; he carried on all the trades which the Afghan considers it derogatory to practise. His Mussulman master was in his power, and could not have dispensed with his assistance when he treated him most contumeliously. This the Hindoo knew, and knowing it he was content. He has always been willing to relinquish the trappings of power when he had a firm grasp on the substance. About twenty-five years before the annexation of the Punjab Runjeet Sing effected the conquest of Bunnoo—that is, he despatched an army into the country, which established the precedent of collecting revenue in the name of the Sikh Maharajah.

This operation, from that time, was periodically repeated. But the collection of revenue in Bunnoo was a very arduous undertaking. We have already mentioned that every Bunnoochee village was surrounded with high walls. This habit of walling themselves in was strengthened and confirmed by the tenacious character of Bunnoo mud. To breach these walls was almost impossible with any guns which the Sikhs could bring against them; to reduce the villages one by one, by means of regular blockades, would have been an interminable service. Added to this was the hatred of the Bunnoochee Mussulman for the Sikh infidel. The Moollahs put forth all their powers in preaching war and massacre. The Sikh armies, ignorant of the country, were led by treacherous guides into quicksands and marshes; night after night thousands of fanatical Bunnoochees, mad with bhang and enthusiasm, would fling themselves on the panic-stricken sentries, and, bursting into the camp, spread dismay and death in every direction. Major Edwardes, in his "*Year on the Punjab Frontier*," has translated a native account of these expeditions, the quaintness of which renders it worth quoting:

"When the late Maharaja Runjeet Sing went to take a view of that country with his victorious army, he received from the inhabitants a small sum of money, of Mahmoud of Ghuznee's coin; and twenty horses. After two years, Maharaja Khurruck Sing Bahadoor, with the chiefs and sirdars, and twenty thousand men, went to that country; and the Zemindars, through their ignorance and ferocity, made hostile attacks. They were soon put down, but owing to the country being laid waste, nothing was realized. After five or six years, Maharaja Khurruck Sing visited that part of the country again, with immense regiments of infantry and artillery. He succeeded in realizing 60,000 rupees, but no horses. The expenses of the march were defrayed by the revenue of that land, but I cannot say what amount was placed in the royal treasury. The Zemindars of that frontier were in the habit of plundering the sirkaree (royal) horses, mules, and camels; the consequence was continued firing upon both sides.

"After two years Dewan Tara Chund, with an army of eight thousand men and twelve guns, marched off to that country. On his first arrival he collected the revenue, amounting to forty thousand rupees; but in doing so, the whole of the tribes of that part united together and fought desperately. Sirdar Jai Sing Atareenallah, with two hundred infantry, was killed on the field, and five hundred persons were wounded, which caused the Dewan to fly.

"After two years, the late Prince Nao Nehal Sing, with an army of fifty thousand men, besides artillery, marched, &c. . . . They had occasion to fight with one village, and a few men of the Maharajah's were killed; but the rebellious were routed with great slaughter, the inhabitants were put to the sword, and their dwellings set on fire, which entirely destroyed the village."

"And so," adds Major Edwardes, "the narrative goes on, with

great armies every two or three years, small collections, risings of the Bunnoochees, and frightful inflictions of vengeance by the Sikhs."

Immediately to the south of Bunnoo is the country of Murwut; the two together forming a single valley, which is separated from the plain of the Indus by the lower ranges of the Bhutunnee hills. But while a number of streams, natural and artificial, traverse the valley of Bunnoo, "making the ground one emerald," the productive portion of Murwut has been truly described as simply a large mound of sand. There were not even wells in Murwut. The water lay so far below the surface that the villagers could not or would not dig down to it. Tanks were scooped out outside of each village to catch the rain water; and when this supply was exhausted, mules and bullocks were employed to fetch water from the distant mountain springs. Major Edwardes mentions one village, the people of which had to obtain their supplies of water from a spot fourteen miles distant. The only agricultural operation requisite, or even possible in Murwut, was to sow the seed upon the sandy mound. If the periodical rains were withheld, the seed perished where it was sown; if the fall was timely and abundant, the waste was covered with the finest harvest to be seen in the whole country. The Murwutees are a tall handsome race of men, fair and often rosy cheeked, proud of the purity of their Puthan blood, and distinguished from other Afghans by a liberal and less jealous treatment of their women. The sand of their country being unsuited for the erection of fortifications, as in Bunnoo, Murwut has always been a subject province. The Douranee kings levied a tribute on them, which was gradually increased to the sum of twelve thousand rupees annually. During the brief pre-eminence of the Nawaub of Dera Ishmael Khan, sometimes thirty thousand and sometimes forty thousand rupees were extorted from them. On the arrival of the Sikhs a fort was erected near their principal town, Lukkhee, and the wretched people were held in check by a strong garrison, and weighted with additional imposts. They rose in rebellion, but were defeated; fresh extortions were practised by way of punishment, and the old story of tyranny and oppression which we have recounted more than once in this paper, was repeated in the valley of Murwut.

The hills which form the western boundary of Murwut and Bunnoo are inhabited by the great tribe of the Wuzerees. They are distinguished from all other tribes along this frontier by the absence of any internal feuds or dissensions. At war with all the world beside, a Wuzerees never lifts his hand against a Wuzerees; and this trait, added to their numbers, and the inaccessible character of their native hills, has secured for them an

independence which they have preserved intact among all the changes of Oriental history. They are divided into three great branches—the Ahmedzye, Ootmanzye, and Muhsood, and these again are divided into numerous smaller sections which it is unneedful to mention by name.

The two first mentioned branches are a wild wandering race of people, living in small black tents, and possessing large herds of camels, goats, and sheep. Every winter they were used to drive down their flocks to the plains of Bunnoo, to pasture on a dreary and inhospitable waste known as “the Thull.”* There the spectacle of the verdant valley of Bunnoo—perhaps the struggle for existence, which must have grown continually harder and harder as the numbers of the tribe increased, among their stony hills—induced some of the Wuzerees to commence cultivating patches of land adjacent to the “Thull.” Troubled with not scruples as to rights of property, for convenience sake he seized those which lay nearest to his grazing-grounds, and when the Bunnoochee came to look after his fields, the whistle of a bullet warned him off as a trespasser. This was a terrible period in the history of the valley. In the vicious and depraved nature of the Bunnoo, there is a passionate love of his native fields.

* Major Edwardes thus describes it:—“It is not exactly a desert, because it furnishes vast herds with pasture every winter, but it is a wilderness to any but the savage taught by long experience to direct his path over it by the peaks of the surrounding mountains. Towards Bunnoo it is all sand, which nearer the hills gets hardened by a layer of gravel and loose stones washed down by the annual floods. Both the sand and the stony ground only require rain to make them yield abundant crops; but rain seldom visits either, and the tract consequently is in general only dotted over with scrubby vegetation and the prickly bushes of the camel thorn. Even this is a Paradise to the Wuzeree tribes, who, expelled from their own stony and pine-clad mountains by the snow, yearly set before them their flocks of broad-tailed sheep and goats, and strings of woolly camels and curve-eared horses, and migrate to the sheltered plains of Bunnoo. Here they stretch their black blankets or reed mats on the bare earth, over two sticks set up like the letter T, the four sides dragging on the ground, or fastened with a stone if the wind gets high. Under this miserable shelter huddle men, women, and children, afraid neither of the rain's cold nor of the sun's hot beams, and in happy ignorance of better things. From the corner of the tent the shaggy muzzle of a hill sheepdog peeps out, and watches over the tethered donkey and sick goat left at home with the women while the flocks are out at graze. Tall and stately as a pine the daughter of the mountains stands, at the tent door in her indigo-dyed petticoat and hood, smiling on the gambols of her naked brats, or else sits down and rubs out corn for her lord who is afield. The men, stout, fierce, and fearless of man or beast, and clad in shaggy cloaks of brown camel's hair, drive out the herds to field, and with long jazail in hand and burning match, lie full length along the ground, and listen for strange footfalls on the horizon. Should an enemy appear, the discharge of a single matchlock would be heard over the whole plain, and summon thousands of the tribe to the point where danger threatened or plunder allured.”—*Fear on the Punjab Frontier*. vol. i. pp. 53, 54.

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—New Series, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. K K

"My own dear Bunnoo" is an exclamation which rises frequently to the lips of the poorest cultivator of the soil; and now here was a race of hardy unscrupulous mountaineers quietly assuming possession of their land as a matter of right. Strenuous efforts were made to expel the intruders. Internal feuds were put into abeyance, and the entire population of the valley assailed the Wuzerees settlers. Fierce and bloody collisions took place; but the mountaineers, their courage and their limbs braced and strengthened by the pure air and vigorous climate of their mountain homes, were more than a match for their vicious and dissolute opponents. Worst of in the field, the Bunnoochees resolved upon peace, "tempered with assassination."* The results, however, did not answer to their expectations. The Wuzerees is a savage, and like all savages, prone to plunder and careless about bloodshedding. But he has too the nobler traits of the savage character. He is bold, plainspoken, and true to his friends. A pledge given by a chief is held sacred by the whole tribe. Their most inveterate enemy could live among them unharmed under cover of this shield. A Wuzerees would scorn to entice an enemy into his power and then treacherously murder him, or plunder the caravan which he had undertaken to protect. The treachery of the Bunnoochee roused to madness a nature like this. For every man murdered the flames of a whole hamlet lighted up the midnight sky. The Bunnoochee shrank appalled at the tempest he had kindled; and murder having failed to be of any service, he was fain to allow the intruders to remain where they were. As time passed by, the Wuzerees were recognised as the rightful possessors of the fields they had seized. But they never mingled with the older inhabitants of the valley. They kept proudly aloof, neither intermarrying with the Bunnoochees, nor taking any part in their civil dissensions.

The Muhsood branch of the Wuzerees tribe live in houses, and never leave the hill country. Their fastnesses lie to the south of the other branches, and extend from the sources of the Goombela river to the mountains of the Sheeraunees. Their villages consist in small thatched cottages; but in some places, as in the neighbourhood of their capital, Khanigorum, they live in caves cut out in the sides of the rock. Some of these rise above each other in stories, and others are sufficiently large to admit a camel. The Muhsoods are a tall, muscular race of men, fair-complexioned and high-featured; and such, according to Mr. Elphinstone, is their veracity, that if there is a dispute about a stray goat, and one party will say it is his, and confirm the assertion by stroking his beard, the other instantly gives it up without suspicion of

* "Year on the Punjab Frontier."

fraud. Another remarkable custom is mentioned by the same writer. If a Wuzereee lady sees a warrior whose fame or whose appearance has fascinated her, she commissions the drummer of the camp to pin a handkerchief on the cap of the fortunate man with the pin with which she fastens her hair. The drummer watches his opportunity, plunges upon his unsuspecting victim in some public place, and as he fastens on the handkerchief, proclaims the name of the lady. The man is then bound to marry her if he can pay her price to her father.

But that which may be regarded as the business—the final cause—of the Muhsood Wuzereee, is to harass and obstruct the trading caravans which pass to and fro between Afghanistan and Hindustan through the passes of his native hills. There are among the Afghans certain tribes who, having been expelled or outgrown their original habitations, have become wholly or in part nomadic. These *Powindahs*, as they are called, spend their lives in caravan journeys, carrying on the traffic between Hindustan, Khorassan, and Bokhara, by means of their immense herds of camels and ponies. They combine the perseverance and astuteness of the trader with the fearlessness and bodily vigour of the practised soldier. Leaving their families to graze the spare cattle in the Derajat, a portion of the tribes goes on with goods to Delhi, and Cawnpore, and other places, even as far as Calcutta, returning to the Upper Provinces about the commencement of March. They then pick up their families and worldly goods, and move through the Wuzereee Hills to the Ghazni and Khelat-i-Ghilzie districts, sending on caravans to Caubul, Bokhara, Candahar, and Herat. This move is effected in three divisions, proceeding at stated intervals, and the respective migrations bear the names of Meankhey, Nassur, and Kharoti, from the tribes composing them.

The strife between them and the Muhsoods is bitter and incessant. "Our war," said a Powindah, "is not for power, nor for glory, but for blood." As soon as the caravan enters the hills, the intervals are all closed up, and the long procession of men and beasts moves with the compactness and regularity of an army in an enemy's country. Regular commandants lead the different divisions, every man is armed to the teeth, while advanced guards and flanking parties *feel* the country in every direction. No quarter is either asked or given. The Wuzerees would kill even a child if it strayed into their hands. Hardly a day passes without a skirmish, and not unfrequently those lonely defiles echo with the tumult of pitched battles of the utmost ferocity and obstinacy. The mounds which mark the graves of those who have fallen in these wars rise along the entire line of march through the Gwaleree Pass, and a Powindah

whose body is not scored with half a dozen sword-cuts is a rarity hardly to be found among them. Their women only are safe. The Wuzereee, having a touch of knightly chivalry about him, scorns to injure a woman; and if by chance one strays into their villages, she is treated with respect and courtesy, and restored to her friends. So possessed, too, are they by the instinct of hospitality, that if a Powindah had lost his companions, and could make his way to a Wuzereee hut, he would be sure of the protection and hospitality due to a guest.



ART. VI.—THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MORALS.

1. *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne.* By W. E. H. LECKY, M.A. London: Longmans. 1869.
2. *Macmillan's Magazine*, July, 1869. "A Questionable Parentage for Morals." By RICHARD HOLT HUTTON.

MR. LECKY has produced, in a marvellously short space of time, another of those works which, to borrow George Eliot's estimate of his "*History of Rationalism*," are eminently acceptable to the general reader. He displays as before a conspicuous industry, a praiseworthy erudition and a lively and attractive style. Had his industry been a little more patient, his learning more carefully digested, and his style somewhat more sober and chastened, we venture to think that he would have achieved a fame more solid and lasting. As it is, he seems to prefer the general reader to the learned student, and to write for a public which demands something more substantial than the popular novel and more attractive than the scientific history. For such a public works like Mr. Lecky's are admirably adapted. To combine the facile philosophy of a Hepworth Dixon with the judicial solemnity of a Hallam, in a style which naturally results from such a fusion, is a feat which, it may be, few would care to accomplish, but few, if they had the will, would accomplish so well. Mr. Lecky has, it seems, chosen his course in literature and is pursuing it steadily and successfully; we yield him the homage which is due to success, but we cannot refrain from expressing our sincere regret that a man with such eminent powers should have chosen a course which is so distinctly beneath him, and preferred the fame of a popular *littérateur* to that of a diligent student and profound historian. In his graceful *Stoge* of Dean Milman, in the preface to his present work, Mr. Lecky

shows that his ideal of historical composition is a high one; it is the more to be regretted that he has allowed himself to fall short of it. We venture to predict that the works of Milman will be studied long after those of Mr. Lecky have been laid for ever on the bookshelves; and this notwithstanding the conspicuous merits which will gain for them a noisier and more immediate fame than works of far greater sterling worth are ever likely to achieve. Historical work, if not of the first order, either for genius or for learning or for both, is sure to pass ere long into well-merited oblivion. Not every historian can be a Gibbon; but every historian can at least determine that he will not consciously fall short of the standard of excellence which Gibbon's work exhibits. It is our deliberate and well-sustained conviction that Mr. Lecky is not a Gibbon.

We do not, however, propose on the present occasion to deal with Mr. Lecky's work as a whole. It is only the introductory chapter, occupying nearly one third of the first volume, which is to engage our immediate attention. The chapter is entitled, "*The Natural History of Morals*," and professes to be an introductory survey of the different theories of morals, as they are to be found in the writings of the leading moral philosophers of modern times. We are at a loss to understand the necessity of such a discussion as this in a work like Mr. Lecky's; the subject is a vast one, and needs, as it deserves, attentive study and undivided attention. It can make little difference to Mr. Lecky's subsequent investigations whether he believes that moral sentiments are intuitive or derivative, so long as he believes, as most sane men do, that moral sentiments exist. At least such would be the impression of most students of moral philosophy before they had studied Mr. Lecky's chapter; but when they find that he is under the strange delusion that all derivative moralists deny the existence of those moral sentiments which they have devoted all their energies to explain, their vague wonder at his entering on the discussion at all will be lost in astonishment at his audacity in entering on it so insufficiently prepared. It was in Mr. Lecky's power to have avoided this controversy altogether; but having engaged in it, it was his duty to have prepared himself for it by at least ordinary study of his subject: whereas, notwithstanding his parade of authorities, we cannot discover that he has ever distinctly grasped the nature of the problem which he sets himself to solve.

In the first place we must enter our protest against this semi-popular style of discussing moral questions. Moral philosophy, or what is conceived as such, is just one of those subjects which is especially attractive to the general reader, but which the general reader is eminently unfitted to discuss. It uses terms

which are in everybody's mouth, it appeals to experience with which we are all familiar, it deals with feelings and actions which every one of us recognise as our own, and we therefore are naturally apt to think that we may claim to have a share in its discussions without any previous study or training. There can be no greater or more fatal mistake: it is precisely because the subject-matter of moral philosophy is so familiar to us all that the general reader is disqualified for its discussion. All philosophical discussion needs calmness, a judicial insight, a trained habit of analysis, and a sustained power of abstraction; but when such discussion uses words of every-day import, and deals with feelings and acts of universal experience, as moral philosophy does, these special philosophic faculties are of more than ordinary necessity; and these are the faculties which the general reader is almost certain to lack. Such an one takes no interest and claims no voice in a discussion whose phraseology is unfamiliar to him and whose subject-matter lies beyond his experience; but let him hear the word "conscience," or "duty," or some other watchword of moral philosophy, and his attention is at once on the alert, and he claims to be heard with the wisest. Every word that a moral philosopher uses in his speculations is a household word with all; it carries associations which it requires the most careful analysis to remove, it is linked with feelings which it may need the utmost effort to repress, and yet this analysis and this effort are necessary before we can hope to make the slightest advance in speculation on the subject with which we are dealing. In other subjects no such effort is called for. We do not feel about "genus" and "species" as we do about "conscience" and "duty," and we can therefore reason about them better. There is no weapon more effective in the armoury of philosophic controversy than the device of enlisting the feelings of your supporters against the opinions of your adversary; and to this device the subject-matter of morals lends itself most easily. When this object is accomplished the battle is more than half won. It is not the least item in our indictment against Mr. Lecky that he has chosen an audience and a mode of controversy which renders this sort of attack easy and certain of success. We are not concerned to defend what is generally called the 'utilitarian theory;' it may be true or it may be false; but we are certain that it is not overthrown by Mr. Lecky's arguments, while he has done his best to discredit it with persons who have no sort of claim to be judges of the controversy.

It would matter little, however, that Mr. Lecky has chosen to plead before a tribunal which is wholly incompetent to hear the case, if the arguments which he has used were sound, and if the indictment which he prefers against his antagonist were a just

one. Our chief complaint is, that while pleading before this incompetent tribunal, Mr. Lecky condescends to arguments which elsewhere would be wholly without weight, and are only of importance because they enlist the feelings of an audience already predisposed in his favour. The advocates of a derivative theory of morals must ever be at a disadvantage in the popular estimation : to propose to analyse a feeling is, in the public mind, equivalent to denying its existence, and it is easy to raise an outcry against men who can be represented as denying the existence of feelings which are within the experience of all. To persons unversed in analysis, to explain the source and origin of feelings is very like explaining them away ; and in moral speculation especially, it is ever thought something profane to lay bare the roots of conscience and the moral nature. With the skill of a practised pleader, Mr. Lecky begins his discussion by enlisting the sympathies of his audience on his own side. "The intuitive moralist, for reasons I shall hereafter explain," he says, "believes that the Utilitarian theory is profoundly immoral." This, if it means anything, must mean that all utilitarians are either knaves or fools : Mr. Lecky seems to be unaware that the alternative is capable of retort. His dilemma is that utilitarians either do not understand their own theory, or that while proclaiming it to be true, they know it to be not only false, but pernicious. It would perhaps have been more modest and becoming in one who was about to enter on a great controversy, if, before offering such an alternative to opponents of acknowledged integrity and unquestioned renown, he had accepted it for himself so far as to give a little more patience and study to the comprehension of his antagonists. As it is, whatever may be thought of Mr. Lecky's success as a pleader, no one with even a moderate knowledge of the questions at issue, will allow that he has made a contribution of the smallest value to the history of Moral Philosophy, or that he has advanced the discussion of the question at issue by a single step. We shall give in the sequel, if space allows, our reasons for believing that Mr. Lecky, despite his unquestioned powers, is somewhat deficient in those special qualities of mind which are indispensable to speculative discussion : for the present it behoves us, having first briefly stated the problem to be solved, to examine the manner in which Mr. Lecky has approached it, and the success with which he has handled it.

"The two rival theories of morals are known by many names, and are subdivided into many groups. One of them is generally described as the stoical, the intuitive, the independent or the sentimental ; the other as the epicurean, the inductive, the utilitarian, or the selfish." Such is Mr. Lecky's introductory statement as to the subject matter of his chapter. Mr. Lecky despises

Bentham, or he might perhaps have benefited by his warning against the use of what he aptly called "question-begging appellatives." It is to beg the question at once to describe your opponent's theory as "selfish." Students of morals know that such language means no more than that you dislike the theory in question; but the public at large believe that you start with a moral superiority over your adversaries: the superiority, however, consists in this, that you deliberately use language which cannot mislead the wise, and cannot instruct the foolish, which we venture to think is a superiority the reverse of moral. We cannot accept even Mr. Lecky's preliminary statement; we yield him the title of "intuitive" for his friends, but we claim for his opponents that of "derivative," a phrase unobjectionable in itself, unassociated with any particular school or thinker, and expressing with sufficient distinctness the main point at issue.

Now, what is meant by saying that while one school of moral philosophers may be described as intuitive, their opponents claim the title of derivative? Simply this, that the former maintain that the moral sentiment, the moral sense, the conscience, or the moral faculty is immediate, intuitive, innate, inscrutable, incapable of analysis; while the latter hold that it is the product of simpler elements, derived from certain primordial facts of human nature by processes which psychology acknowledges in cases which are less open to dispute. Conscience is as real and as distinct a faculty to the derivative moralist as to the intuitive; but to the one it is a highly organized product whose growth it is possible to trace, to the other it is a primary element of human nature whose origin it is as mischievous as it is hopeless to seek.

It would seem, therefore, that the controversy between the rival schools is exclusively concerned with what in ordinary ethical speculation is called the Analysis of the Moral Sentiment. The intuitive moralist denies that such analysis is possible, and if he can make his denial good, all further questions fall to the ground. But from the derivative point of view another and not less important question arises. If moral sentiments are capable of analysis at all, if they can be shown to be derived, by whatsoever process, from some simple elements of human nature, a test of their validity may be found in a consideration of the sources whence they spring, and, in a comparison of the circumstances of their birth with those of their continued existence. Thus arises the question of the Standard or Criterion—a question distinct from though intimately connected with the former: it is a question which is more practical and legal than speculative and ethical, and one the proper discussion of which belongs to the philosophy of law rather than to that of morals. To analyse the moral senti-

ment is to go back to the past ; to apply the criterion which such analysis furnishes is to look forward to the future. It is true that the solution of the problem of analysis contains implicitly the solution of the problem of the criterion, but the two questions must always be kept distinct, and have generally been considered apart in the writings of derivative moralists. We give in a subsequent page the emphatic declaration of Bentham on this point. Bentham was one who, from the impatience engendered by an ardent philanthropy and the burning indignation roused in a generous mind by blatant and triumphant wrong, might have been tempted in the pursuit of his practical ends to ignore or forget a distinction which is mainly of speculative importance : it is possible that he occasionally did so : still, the passage to which we refer shows that he distinctly recognised that in purely moral speculation the question of the origin of the moral sentiment may and can be distinguished from that of its criterion. It will probably surprise our readers, as it did us, to find that this distinction, which is perfectly familiar to all students of morals, is one of which either Mr. Lecky has never heard, or which he finds it convenient to forget. No doubt under certain circumstances, and from certain points of view, these two questions or problems coincide, and the answer and solution of the one furnishes or contains the answer and solution of the other. An intuitive theory of morals, from the nature of the case, discards the distinction ; but every theory, which, on whatsoever ground, maintains the derivative character of moral sentiments does and must recognise that the sentiments themselves are distinct, and in many cases utterly removed from the circumstances and relations out of which they arise, or in which they continue to exist. Mr. Lecky, as the advocate of an intuitive theory, may consistently refuse to recognise the distinction ; but for him, as the impugner of a derivative theory, to ignore it is to argue beside the point. Mr. Lecky reasons as if all derivative moralists deny the existence of the sentiments whose origin they endeavour to explain ; whereas, when the controversy is regarded in its true light, the question at issue is, whether the sentiments of mankind on moral subjects are immediate and intuitive, or derivative and secondary : one side no less than the other recognises the existence of these sentiments ; were it not so, there could be no controversy at all. The utilitarian, like the advocate of a moral sense, acknowledges a conscience, and would strengthen its authority ; nor would he in cases of immediate and individual action substitute considerations of utility for the promptings of the moral sentiment. On the side of action, at least, both parties to the controversy are agreed : it is only when we approach the speculative side that their divergence becomes manifest. A man

does such and such an act: when asked why he does so, he answers without hesitation, Because my conscience bids me; and both utilitarian and intuitionist accept the answer: their difference arises when they come to consider what the conscience is, and whence it springs, and while the one maintains that it is something primordial and inexplicable, the other endeavours to analyse it, to discover its constituents, and to exhibit its sources: at this point then controversy begins. Intuitionists may struggle as they please to shift the ground; they have done so over and over again, not without considerable temporary success: but misrepresentation has its limits, and even misunderstanding may in time be corrected; it is however, no slight argument in favour of the intuitional theory that frequently as this particular misrepresentation has been exposed, and this misunderstanding corrected, it is revived again and again by each fresh assailant of the utilitarian theory, and arguments are brought forward that have been so often refuted and exposed, that, if reason and argument had anything to do with conscience, they would long ago have been abandoned for very shame. Argument is useless now on such a matter; it would long ago have been superfluous had it ever been of any avail: it is sufficient to say with Austin "It was never contended or conceited by a sound, orthodox utilitarian, that the lover should kiss his mistress with an eye to the common-weal."*

This fundamental distinction then being premised, we are in a position to examine the relation in which the leading derivative moralists stand to the fundamental problems of their science.

Ethical speculation may be said to have commenced in England with Hobbes. He was one of the first among English writers who treated the moral sentiment as derivative. His analysis was possibly crude and premature; but the question was in modern times first raised by him, and the discussions to which his writings gave rise were more instrumental than anything else in keeping the controversy alive. Ethical speculation, more perhaps than any other branch of philosophy, is stimulated and advanced by continual controversy: we probably have to thank the crude sagacity of Hobbes for the position which the derivative theory of morals holds in the present day. For Hobbes it was sufficient to point out that the conscience is not final and inscrutable; time and discussion were sufficient for the rest, and time and discussion have added much to the original suggestions of Hobbes. Moral sentiment is in some way or other derivative, said he; and he added that it was largely derived from our feelings of pleasure and utility. But the process of derivation of the moral sentiment,

* Austin on "Jurisprudence," vol. i. p. 101.

and the mode of its growth were never completely investigated by Hobbes, or his immediate followers. They seem to have confounded the developed conscience with the sources from which they conceived it to be derived, and it needed the emphatic declarations of Shaftesbury, Butler, and their school, that the moral faculty is independent and distinct, to redress the balance and to give their due weight to the inquiries of the intuitive school. The problem, as it presents itself for solution in this early stage of the controversy, is widely different from that which forms the battle-ground of utilitarians and intuitionists in the present day. From Hobbes to Herbert Spencer many stages have to be passed, each one of which has to be carefully discriminated from the rest, while the right appreciation of their various relations is essential to a due understanding of the questions at issue. The fundamental principles on which the so-called utilitarian theory is based have been exhibited in various forms at different stages of the controversy. We have, at first, the crude doctrine, that duty may be resolved into pleasure, that all our actions are based on calculations, immediate or remote, of personal, or else of general utility, without any attempt to face the real problem—namely, how it is that our moral sentiments arise, whence we derive those feelings and judgments which in their mature form are as remote from all consideration of utility as a scarlet colour is from the sound of a trumpet. It is first in the pages of Hartley that such an attempt as this is systematically made. The doctrine of association of ideas is in its simplest form, as Mr. Lecky observes, at least as old as Aristotle; but for its application to the analysis of the moral sentiment Hartley, notwithstanding that, as he himself candidly admits, the germs of his speculations are to be found in the dissertation of Gay, is entitled to the chief credit. A revolution was thenceforth effected in ethical inquiry; the question now was not, as it had been previously, Are all our actions selfish? Is duty pleasure? but, Are the moral sentiments which all men profess, and some men at least endeavour to act upon, capable of analysis? Can any process be suggested whereby they may be supposed to have arisen, any source be indicated from which they may be conceived to have sprung? The term ‘utilitarian’ is itself of later date; it sprang from the impulse given to inquiry on these subjects by the writings of Bentham, and was adopted by Mr. J. S. Mill, to express a general adhesion, not without important modifications, to the doctrines which Bentham had enunciated. It is now perhaps time that this term also should be discarded, and that the controversy should be placed in its true light, by setting the opponents face to face with one another as advocates respectively of the derivative and intuitive theories of morals. The word ‘utility,’ together with others connected with

it, is now encumbered with associations which are misleading ; and like many other terms employed in ethical inquiry, it tends to obscure the main point at issue. A man may fairly avow himself a derivative moralist, and may even call himself an utilitarian, without in the least degree committing himself to that view of utility as expounded by Bentham, which is now inevitably associated with the name. Let us, then, discarding the term utilitarian and the theories of which it is the badge, examine what is the present state of the controversy, and investigate its main issues ; we shall then be in a better position for appreciating Mr. Lecky's performance, both as regards his exposition of his opponent's views, and the arguments with which he endeavours to combat them.

It is obvious from what has already been said that the two problems presented for solution must be carefully distinguished. In the first place, we have to inquire whether the moral sentiments, the conscience, or the moral sense admit of analysis at all ; and if this question is answered in the affirmative, the further question arises, What are the conditions whereon they depend, what is the criterion whereby they are to be distinguished ? It is not necessary to go beyond these questions ; the question whether moral sentiments exist is at an end ; all moralists acknowledge them, for to deny them would be to fly in the face of the most obvious facts : it may be doubted, indeed, whether their existence was ever seriously denied, save in the writings of those intuitive moralists who, in order to make their own case stronger and their task easier, have not scrupled to ascribe the denial to their opponents. But at this stage of the controversy the existence of moral sentiments is admitted by both sides, the question at issue being as to their origin.

First, then, let us inquire whether there is any possible way whereby we can explain the growth of moral sentiments. This problem, like all questions of origin, is one of amazing complexity, and the solution of it, if it can be solved at all, will necessarily only be partial and approximate. We cannot isolate a man, or a society, and examine the characters they exhibit in their isolation ; we cannot turn to records of men in their earliest state, for there must always have been a state earlier than the records. All we can do is to appeal to obvious phenomena of psychology, and to analogous mental processes, and to show, if we can, that if the moral sentiment be not innate, the recognised principles of human nature are sufficient to account for its growth, and thus, by an appeal to the law of parcimony, to throw the burden of proof on our opponents. Now it is maintained by Hartley and his followers that we have in the ordinary process of association of

ideas a clue to the mystery of moral sentiment. It is of course a well-known psychological fact that ideas which at any time enter the mind together tend subsequently to recall each other, and that the association between them is strong in proportion to the frequency of their simultaneous repetition: by ideas must, of course, in this case be understood all operations of consciousness, sensations, thoughts, feelings, sentiments, whatever can enter the mind through the medium of the senses, or be formed therein by the operation of the laws of intelligence. It is almost superfluous to give illustrations of this well-known fact; it is familiar to all, and the operation of the law, either consciously or unconsciously, is a part of our daily and hourly experience: we give in a note the homely but apt illustration of Hobbes.*

Now when we come to apply this principle to the investigation of moral phenomena, a new phase of association presents itself. Along with the ordinary association of ideas which we have briefly described above, we observe in certain cases a corresponding and simultaneous dissociation, or as Tucker called it, 'translation'; and this especially in cases where ideas or feelings are accompanied or followed by acts which in some way or other depend upon them. Thus an idea may give rise to a desire or other feeling which becomes the spring or motive of an act to gratify that feeling; the act of course primarily depends on the idea which was its original source, but being likewise associated with the feeling which prompted it, and with other feelings which surround it or which spring up when it is done, it becomes severed from its original source, and associated with the feelings which form its immediate environment. This process may be illustrated by cases beyond the region of dispute, and is familiar to all who have made human nature in any degree their study: the illustration given by Hartley is that of the passion of avarice; the greed whose primary source is the desire for the enjoyment which wealth can purchase becomes dissociated from its origin, and transferred to the passion for hoarding which shrinks from every expense. This is not the only case which might be brought forward to illustrate the theory, though it is such a striking one

* "For in a discourse of our present civil war, what could seem more impertinent, than to ask, as one did, what was the value of a Roman penny? Yet the coherence to me was manifest enough. For the thought of the war introduced the thought of the delivering up the king to his enemies; the thought of that, brought in the thought of the delivering up of Christ; and that again the thought of the thirty pence, which was the price of that treason; and thence easily followed that malicious question, and all this in a moment of time; for thought is quick."—*Hobbes' Works*, vol. iii. p. 12, ed. Molesworth.

that it has been used, perhaps too freely, by nearly all the followers of Hartley. We are probably most of us familiar with classes of actions, in themselves indifferent, which have been condemned by individuals or by society, because they have been surrounded, owing to circumstances, by vicious associations; and there are perhaps few who do not reckon among their acquaintance certain amiable and well-disposed persons, who, while they would not admit a pack of ordinary playing cards into their houses, would readily sit down to a game framed on precisely the same principles as those played with ordinary cards, but which they play, for the soothing of their conscience, with cards of their own construction purposely made as unlike the ordinary cards as possible in everything, except the only thing which is essential—namely, the method of play.

Now it is possible that this process of translation and metamorphosis may take place in the case of the moral sentiments, or rather may have taken place in those remote ages of society when the more prominent moral sentiments were, on this hypothesis, formed. These sentiments we may suppose to have arisen out of very various conditions, and to rest on very various considerations, some of utility, some of affection, some of resentment, some of desire; they sprang up unconsciously, with no direct reference to the basis on which they rest, and they are now so transformed that all connexion with their origin is obliterated. We are not concerned to discriminate in each particular case the foundations whereon each of the moral sentiments which constitute the mature conscience rests; it is sufficient to suggest that these sentiments are derived, indirectly it may be, and certainly unconsciously, from the ordinary relations in which a man stands either to himself or to his fellow-creatures. Moral action, according to this view, rests primarily and in its origin on some one or other of the sanctions, physical or social, wherewith neglect of the rule is visited; but the sentiment which arises out of the sanction becomes by translation entirely severed from its source and indissolubly attached to the course of action which it enjoins. I must do this because if I refrain I shall suffer for it, may be the primary form of the moral law; but the Categorical Imperative is its mature expression. The transition from the one to the other is doubtless difficult and obscure, but this characteristic it only shares with many other of the less obvious phenomena of human nature. It rests with the opponents of the theory of Hartley to show that no such transition could take place. That the mature conscience is widely different from the crude promptings of interest, or of affection, is only what is to be expected when the strange effects of the process of

translation are fully realized. The theory would lack its chief recommendation if it did not recognise this difference and at least endeavour to account for it; but it is mere idle metaphor to talk, as Mr. Lecky does, of "the moral chemistry of Hartley" (p. 66), or to speak of evolving "by a strange process of philosophic alchemy, the most heroic and the most sensitive virtue out of this original selfishness" (p. 26); and it is metaphor worse than idle to say, "the virtue of Hartley is, in its last analysis, but a disease of the imagination. It may be more advantageous to society than avarice, but it is formed in the same manner, and has exactly the same degree of binding force" (p. 68). Mr. Lecky seems to think that the theory is refuted by calling it moral chemistry or philosophic alchemy—the latter phrase we presume is not meant for more than a rhetorical synonym for the former. But can he be unaware that chemistry deals with innumerable compounds wholly unlike the elements of which they are formed, or did he ever hear of a chemist who denied that water was composed of oxygen and hydrogen because it was so exceedingly unlike them? Again, Mr. Lecky argues that because avarice is a disease therefore virtue is. What would be thought of a physiologist who should argue that all growth of tissue is a disease because of the analogy which subsists between the normal growth of tissue and the morbid growth of a tumour? "With self-interest," says Hartley, in a sentence which cannot be too often quoted nor too steadily borne in mind, "a man must begin; he may end in self-annihilation." The end is as unlike the beginning as it can be, but we need not be deterred by the unlikeness if it can be shown that the two are connected by a process of continuous growth. The whole process of organic growth consists in the transformation of dead matter into living tissue; shall we at once reject a theory which applies this analogy to the growth of moral feelings merely because we can trace no resemblance between the mature feeling and the materials out of which it is constructed? We may with truth apply to the theory of Hartley Dumont's application of the parable of Samson: "*C'est le doux qui sort du terrible. C'est le miel recueilli dans la gueule du lion.*"†

The question, however, of the analysis of the moral sentiment covers only one half of the controversy between derivative and intuitive moralists, and, belonging as it does as much to the sphere

* We adopt the term 'translation,' suggested by Tucker, in preference to the more usual term 'association,' because it seems more distinctly to express the double process of association and dissociation which takes place in the formation of moral sentiments.

† Quoted by Mr. Lecky, p. 42, note.

of psychology as to that of ethics, it has been debated with less keenness than the other question which we have now to investigate. It remains to ask, What is the criterion or standard to which all moral sentiments, supposing them to be derivative, are or may be referred? This question, closely connected as it clearly is with the question of analysis, nevertheless is one which can be distinguished from it. It is a more practical question, for if a standard or criterion exist it may be appealed to as against sentiments which have outlasted the conditions out of which they sprang or in any other way have become obsolete. At the same time it is a question involving no less difficulty and perplexity than the former one; but holding as we do that moral sentiments are derivative and not intuitive, it is necessary for us boldly to face the difficulty, and to declare as distinctly as we can the sources from which these sentiments, in our judgment, spring. In the most general sense then, while still disclaiming the title utilitarian, we do not hesitate to declare that we believe that moral sentiments have their root in a general desire to promote human happiness. We do not in the least mean that a conscious regard for the general welfare is the motive whereon people act, or ever have acted; all we mean is that primary moral sentiments spring unconsciously from some such considerations, dimly and obscurely felt but never clearly and intelligently realized until men have reached that stage, far in advance of the period when moral sentiments arise, when they begin to reflect on their actions and to investigate their consciousness. The utility felt and acted upon may be, and probably is, in the early stage of man's moral progress, of a very low character and of a very limited scope, just as the first principles of many of the sciences are recognised in a restricted form long before their wide-spread or universal application is perceived; but the sense of utility either expands with the extension of human society and the growth of human relations, or else subsides when the conditions and relations out of which it originally sprang no longer exist. Thus, utility (we use the word under protest in a sense widely different, as we shall hereafter show, from that of Bentham) being the original source from which moral sentiments flow, properly becomes the criterion whereby they are to be judged, though not the motive nor spring of human action. This distinction, though one of vital importance, is one that is constantly and most persistently ignored by the opponents of utilitarian ethics. It was perfectly familiar to Bentham as the extract we give in the note will show.* It may perhaps surprise

* "But is it never, then, from any other considerations than those of utility, that we derive our notions of right and wrong? I do not know, I do not

Mr. Lecky to find that even the despised Bentham has not overlooked this cardinal point. It certainly has surprised us that one whose contempt for Bentham ought at least to be justified by familiarity with his writings should have ignored a distinction so clearly laid down by Bentham and recognised by all utilitarian writers.

While, however, thus declaring our general adhesion to the fundamental doctrine of utilitarianism, we must at once disclaim any sympathy with the form that that doctrine assumed in the hands of Bentham. The great work that Bentham set himself to perform, and which in a great measure he did perform, of letting the light of common sense and common justice into the most barbarous system of jurisprudence in Europe, is one that entitles him to the gratitude and respect of all who hold the cause of human advancement dear, and there is nothing more ungenerous in Mr. Lecky's chapter than the words in which he characterizes Bentham (p. 25 n.). It is far otherwise that a real master of the subject speaks of his revered teacher and friend, and we quote Mr. Mill's words with greater pleasure, because while we dissent from many of Bentham's doctrines, and shall have occasion to express our dissent, we cannot better exhibit our respect for his name and our admiration for the work he achieved :—

"There are two men, recently deceased, to whom their country is indebted, not only for the greater part of the important ideas which have been thrown into circulation among its thinking men in their time, but for a revolution in its general modes of thought and investigation. . . . These men are, Jeremy Bentham and Samuel Taylor Coleridge—the two great seminal minds of England in their age."*

Nevertheless, great as were Bentham's achievements, they were not in the region of pure philosophy. The criterion of morality, which he proposed, fertile as it was in the domain of jurisprudence, is one that will not bear the test of sound criticism. Bentham seemed to imagine that he had discovered a moral standard, independent of individual caprice, and capable of universal application. The greatest happiness of the greatest number, though in the majority of cases, a sound test of legislative

care. Whether a moral sentiment can be originally conceived from any other source than a view of utility, is one question: whether, upon examination and reflection, it can, in point of fact, be actually persisted in and justified on any other ground by a person reflecting within himself, is another: whether, in point of right, it can properly be justified on any other ground, by a person addressing himself to the community, is a third. The two first are questions of speculation: it matters not, comparatively speaking, how they are decided. The last is a question of practice: the decision of it is of as much importance as that of any can be."—*Principles of Morals and Legislation*, p. 33, ed. 1823.

* "Dissertations and Discussions," vol. i. p. 330.

prudence, is not, as was fondly imagined by Bentham, a universal criterion of moral sentiment : and it is fairly open to the criticism of Mr Lecky, a criticism, be it observed, anticipated and enforced by the great modern champions of utilitarianism, Mr. Mill and John Austin :—"Notwithstanding the claim of great precision which utilitarian writers so boastfully make, the standard by which they profess to measure morals is itself absolutely incapable of definition or accurate explanation. Happiness is one of the most indeterminate and undefinable words in the language, and what are the conditions of 'the greatest possible happiness' no one can precisely say. No two nations, perhaps, no two individuals, would find them the same" (p. 40). Utilitarian moralists, as a rule, make no greater claim to precision than their subject matter admits of : it is true that Bentham opposes the principle of utility to what he calls the "principle of sympathy and antipathy" whereby each man proclaims that to be right or wrong which happens to harmonize with his sentiment on the subject, but this is precisely the part of Bentham's doctrine in which he has not been followed by those who may especially be called his disciples. If we may take Mr. Mill as the exponent of the fundamental canon of utilitarianism, we find him distinctly maintaining that the pleasures from which, as their source, all moral sentiments ultimately spring, unquestionably differ in kind, and that the true criterion is not the verdict of the greatest number, but the opinion of those who have the greatest amount of experience on the subject. This view in no way conflicts with the general theory of those who maintain that moral sentiments are derivative, though it is of course widely distinct from the special doctrine of Bentham. Utilitarians can no longer say that their theory makes the moral judgment as clear as a mathematical axiom, but they can at least claim that it is not at variance with obvious experience. It is true no doubt that no two nations, or even no two individuals would find the conditions of happiness the same ; but the discovery is not Mr. Lecky's, it is at least as old as Aristotle, and utilitarians would have made but little advance if they could not make their theory square with this very obvious fact. It is admitted on all hands, by intuitive and derivative moralists alike, that morality advances with the advance of human nature and the growth of human society ; and it is one of the greatest claims of the derivative theory to respect that it recognises this fact, and at least endeavours to account for it : the straits in which the intuitive theory finds itself when it is brought face to face with this fact, are exhibited in the impotent distinction which it is forced to draw between "innate moral faculties and innate moral ideas" (Lecky, p. 23) : it must be admitted by candid observers that when the controversy is narrowed to this

very minute issue, there is very little left on either side to fight about.

This distinction, to which Mr. Lecky attaches great weight, brings us naturally to the latest and, in our judgment, the least controvertible form which the derivative theory of morals has assumed. We refer to the theory of Mr. Herbert Spencer as to the origin of moral ideas. The work of Mr. Spencer on "*Social Statics*," which is unfortunately out of print, we have not immediately at hand, and the great *System of Philosophy* by the same author has not yet advanced as far as the section which is to treat of moral philosophy: we are therefore obliged to content ourselves for the present purpose with a very succinct exposition of his fundamental principles, given by Mr. Herbert Spencer in a letter to Mr. Mill, lately reprinted by Professor Bain, in his handbook of "*Mental and Moral Science*." In expanding, as we shall have to do, the theory there laid down, we run the risk of introducing ideas which Mr. Spencer might repudiate, and of attributing to him theories for which he cannot be held responsible. Before entering on the discussion of his views, we cannot refrain from offering our tribute of respect to one who, whether for the extent of his positive knowledge, or for the profundity of his speculative insight, has already achieved a name second to none in the whole range of English philosophy, and whose works will worthily sustain the credit of English thought in the present generation.

Mr. Herbert Spencer is well known as the author of a system of philosophy based on the general conception of Evolution; the form in which this theory is applied to the explanation of moral phenomena, is in his own words as follows:—

"To make my position fully understood, it seems needful to add that, corresponding to the fundamental propositions of a developed moral science, there have been, and still are, developing in the race certain fundamental moral intuitions; and that though these moral intuitions are the result of accumulated experiences of utility gradually organized and inherited, they have come to be quite independent of conscious experience. Just in the same way that I believe the intuition of space possessed by any living individual to have arisen from organized and consolidated experiences of all antecedent individuals, who bequeathed to him their slowly developed nervous organizations;—just as I believe that this intuition, requiring only to be made definite and complete by personal experiences, has practically become a form of thought, apparently quite independent of experience; so do I believe that the experiences of utility, organized and consolidated through all past generations of the human race, have been producing corresponding nervous modifications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition—certain emotions responding to right and wrong conduct, which have no apparent basis in the individual experiences of utility. I also hold

that, just as the space intuition responds to the exact demonstrations of geometry, and has its rough conclusions interpreted and verified by them; so will moral intuitions respond to the demonstrations of moral science, and will have their rough conclusions interpreted and verified by them.*

This doctrine, as those who are acquainted with Mr. Spencer's work on Psychology know, is an application of his general psychological theory to the elucidation of moral phenomena; it may be added, as was said above, that the psychological theory itself is but a branch of the general theory of evolution, which forms the basis of his System of Philosophy. If it be possible to express the fundamental conception of this profound and elaborate system in a few words, we should say that Mr. Spencer's general theory is, that the various phenomena of the universe are the successive modifications of a single primordial and inscrutable force, tending gradually through all its phases of evolution towards equilibrium, and thence to subsequent dissolution. The special application of this general formula to the interpretation of psychological phenomena will be seen when it is stated that, in Mr. Spencer's view all psychological phenomena are successive terms in the gradually increasing correspondence between an organism and its environment. Reflex action accumulating its residua within the organism develops a rudimentary sense of touch; the sense of touch, by an increasing complexity, differentiates into the other senses; the accumulated responses to the impressions of sense engender a nascent habit; habit become hereditary exhibits itself as instinct; instinct brought to bear on an ever-varying environment loses its fixity of action, and grows into intelligence; intelligence, the response of a highly organized individual to an infinitely complex environment, exhibits a fixity in its fundamental principles corresponding to the uniformity of the environment, and a variety in its special responses not less analogous to the variety of phenomena, but gradually tends to complete equilibrium, and to a uniformity as mechanical and as constant as that of instinct.

It will be seen that a theory such as we have here roughly and imperfectly sketched holds a position midway between the ordinary philosophy of experience and its *à priori* opponents. All our knowledge comes directly or indirectly from experience, Mr. Spencer would say without hesitation; but to this he would add a rider, that the experience is not the experience of the individual—not perhaps in all cases the experience of the species,—but experience organized and embedded in the nervous system, some, 'when wild in woods, the noble savage ran,' some, it may be,

* Bain, "Mental and Moral Science," p. 722. The preceding paragraphs quoted by Mr. Bain deserve the most careful attention.

long ere the noble savage or his more immediate ancestors had made their appearance on the earth. We are the heirs of all the ages, according to this theory, in a strictly literal sense, and our knowledge and intuition of space may be the lineal descendant of the dull and feeble irritability of a "structureless speck of jelly," in the depths of a motionless and sunless ocean.*

There is perhaps no more striking portion of Mr. Spencer's work on psychology than the chapter wherein he points to the reconciliation of the extreme experimental and intuitive schools of philosophy as one of the consequences of the theory which he expounds: we quote a passage from this chapter which expresses with greater precision than we can hope to do the view which we have indicated.

"Such, as it seems to me, is the only possible reconciliation between the experience-hypothesis and the hypothesis of the transcendentalists: neither of which is tenable by itself. Various insurmountable difficulties presented by the Kantian doctrine have already been pointed out, and the antagonist doctrine, taken alone, presents difficulties that I conceive to be equally insurmountable. To rest with the unqualified assertion that, antecedent to experience, the mind is a blank, is to ignore the all-essential questions,—whence comes the power of organizing experiences? whence arise the different degrees of that power possessed by different races of organisms, and different individuals of the same race? If at birth there exists nothing but a passive receptivity of impressions, why should not a horse be as educable as a man? or, should it be said that language makes the difference, then why should not the cat and dog, out of the same household experiences, arrive at equal degrees and kinds of intelligence? Understood in its current form the experience-hypothesis implies that the presence of a definitely organized nervous system is a circumstance of no moment—a fact not needing to be taken into account! Yet it is the all-important fact—the fact to which, in one sense, the criticisms of Leibnitz and others pointed—the fact without which an assimilation of experiences is utterly inexplicable. The physiologist very well knows that throughout the animal kingdom in general the actions are dependent on the nervous structure. He knows that each reflex movement implies the agency of certain nerves and ganglia; that a development of complicated instincts is accompanied by a complication of the nervous centres and their commissural connexions; that in the same creature in different stages, as larva and imago for example, the instincts change as the nervous structure changes; and that as we advance to creatures of high intelligence, a vast increase in the size and complexity of the nervous system takes place. What is the obvious inference? Is it not that the ability to co-ordinate impressions and to perform the appropriate actions in all cases implies the pre-existence of certain nerves arranged in a certain way? What is the meaning of the human brain? Is it not that its immensely numerous and involved re-

* See the chapter on *The Correspondence as extending in Space*, pp. 394-412, in "*The Principles of Psychology*," 1st ed.

lations of parts stand for so many *established* relations among the psychical changes? Every one of the countless connexions among the fibres of the cerebral masses, answers to some permanent connexion of phenomena in the experiences of the race. Just as the organized arrangement subsisting between the sensory nerves of the nostrils and the motor nerves of the respiratory muscles not only makes possible a sneeze, but also, in the newly-born infant, implies sneezings to be hereafter performed; so, all the organized arrangements subsisting among the nerves of the cerebrum in the newly-born infant, not only make possible certain combinations of impressions into compound ideas, but also imply that such combinations will hereafter be made—imply that there are answering combinations in the outer world—imply a preparedness to cognize these combinations—imply faculties of comprehending them. It is true that the resulting combinations of psychical changes do not take place with the same readiness and automatic precision as the simple reflex action instanced—it is true that a certain amount of individual experience seems required to establish them. But while this is partly due to the fact that these combinations are highly involved, extremely varied in their modes of occurrence, made up therefore of psychical relations less completely coherent, and so need some further repetitions to perfect them; it is in a much greater degree due to the fact, that at birth the organization of the brain is incomplete, and does not cease its spontaneous progress for twenty or thirty years afterwards. The defenders of the hypothesis that knowledge wholly results from the experiences of the individual, ignoring as they do that mental evolution which is due to the autogenous development of the nervous system, fall into an error as great as if they were to ascribe all bodily growth to exercise, and none to the innate tendency to assume the adult form. Were the infant born with a mature sized and completely-constructed brain, their arguments would have some validity. But as it is, the gradually-increasing-intelligence displayed throughout childhood and youth is in a much greater degree due to the completion of the cerebral organization than to the individual experiences—a truth clearly proved by the fact that in adult life there is often found to exist a high endowment of some faculty which, during education, was never brought into play. Doubtless the individual experiences furnish the concrete materials for all thought; doubtless the organized and semi-organized arrangements existing among the cerebral nerves, can give no knowledge until there has been a presentation of the external relations to which they correspond; and doubtless the child's daily observations and reasonings have the effect of facilitating and strengthening those involved nervous connexions that are in process of spontaneous evolution; just as its daily gambols aid the growth of its limbs. But this is quite a different thing from saying that its intelligence is wholly *produced* by its experiences. That is an utterly inadmissible doctrine—a doctrine which makes the presence of a brain meaningless—a doctrine which makes idiocy unaccountable.*

* "Principles of Psychology," p. 580.

We are now in a position to understand more completely the doctrine as to the origin of our moral ideas, set forth in the passage quoted from Mr. Bain some pages back, and criticised by Mr. R. H. Hutton, in the article in the July number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, whose title we have placed at the head of this essay. Mr. Spencer, it would seem, proposes to take up the controversy at the point where the ordinary utilitarian and association theories leave it, to concede somewhat to the intuitionist school, but to concede nothing of which they can make such use as to establish their own theory. This innate feeling of right and wrong which the intuitionists insist on is admitted by Mr. Spencer ; it is now, he says, innate, but it is the heritage of the race, acquired, in some cases easily enough from the simplicity of the conditions involved, but in many cases laboriously, and with difficulty ; now however registered in the general conscience of mankind, and endowed with the greater authority that its origin is involved in a mystery well-nigh impenetrable.

It will probably not be denied that the theory which we have thus endeavoured to lay before our readers, is a most important contribution to the philosophy of morals ; it must, however, be at the same time admitted that it is at present only a hypothesis and as such stands in need of such verification as is, from the nature of the case, attainable. The hereditary transmission of intellectual qualities is, we are aware, an open question with the best physiologists, though it would seem that the tendency of speculation on the subject is towards an affirmative answer ; indeed the arguments of Mr. Spencer in the chapter from which we have largely quoted, seem to us very nearly to decide the point. But if the question be left open, it is only one of the issues of the hypothesis which, we acknowledge, stands in need of verification : to those who wish to see how far the verification has at present been carried in the direction of what may be called comparative psychology, we commend the attentive perusal of the later chapters of Mr. Spencer's "Principles of Psychology." It appears to us that, even in its present stage, this theory of the progressive development of moral sentiments in the hereditary conscience of the race is the greatest advance that has been made in ethical speculation since the time of Hartley. It strengthens the derivative theory at the point where it was avowedly weakest, and supplies a basis for association, which it has long been felt to want ; and, whether ultimately verified or not, it deserves the most careful attention, and the most patient scrutiny, for it can scarcely fail to leave its mark on the history of moral philosophy.

If we have conceived this theory aright, we should say that while recognising and maintaining the theory of Hartley on the

part that association or translation plays in the growth of moral ideas, it carries the analysis further and throws the formation of these ideas back to a point far transcending conscious experience. It thus goes far to explain the real mystery which surrounds moral phenomena viewed as the product of association, for it shows distinctly why it is impossible within the limits of a single life, or even within the conscious experience of the human race, to trace the complete growth of the fundamental provisions of the moral law. These have been determined once for all long ago: it may be that they rested originally on grounds insufficient and incomplete, but as all experience tends to confirm them, and all moral action is—at least indirectly—based on them, their sanction is for ever renewed, and they become invested in the mature conscience with a mysterious sanctity and an overwhelming force. “We never can in practice repeat,” says Mackintosh, in his remarks on Hartley, “though we may in theory perceive, the process whereby the moral sentiments were formed.” It is idle to say that experience, by which is meant the direct observation of a single thinker, furnishes no evidence of the process; a limited experience, such as this, gives but little evidence of geological formations; but if the observation be extended throughout the range of time, the evidence becomes tolerably complete. So, in morals, although the fundamental distinctions must have been drawn at the very origin of human society, yet history is not without examples of ideals of conduct which arose out of the conditions of the time, and which afterwards perished although, with the vitality peculiar to the products of association, they may for a long time have survived their origin. So, on the other hand there have been many practices which a low moral standard has sanctioned, or a perverted one enjoined, which have afterwards been unanimously condemned by the awakening conscience of mankind.

Mr. Hutton, in the article in *Macmillan's Magazine*, to which we have referred, discusses at some length this theory of Mr. Spencer's: but we venture to think that he has scarcely given to the subject the attention which it deserves: at any rate he discusses the moral theory shadowed forth in Mr. Spencer's letter to Mr. Mill almost without reference to the other works of the author. For instance, he commences *in limine* with the objection that the growth of moral ideas cannot be illustrated by the growth of intuitions of space, inasmuch as the development-theory fails to account for the growth of these intuitions:—

“I can quite understand how our ancestors' experiences of space might very much shorten the necessary apprenticeship for us in attaining the same experience of space—but I cannot understand how we could inherit from them any mental habit which they had not

themselves acquired—and I do not see how they could acquire that which seems to me to be peculiar to the intuition of space, the character of absolute *necessity*, as distinguished from mere empirical certainty, belonging to our judgments on it.”—p. 268.

It would carry us too far from our immediate subject to pursue the discussion which this objection opens up. We can only say that absolute necessity is, according to Mr. Spencer, begotten by empirical certainty and indissoluble association; that the uniformity of response in the organism is the reflex of a corresponding uniformity in the environment; thus so long as space relations in the external world remain uniform, their correlatives in the human mind remain uniform also, and this uniformity is strengthened and enforced by continuous and hereditary association. We are here merely stating the theory advanced and developed by Mr. Spencer in his work on Psychology; and to that we must refer Mr. Hutton for a detailed discussion of the question raised by him.

When the arguments of Mr. Hutton more immediately directed to the ethical application of Mr. Spencer's theory are examined, it will be found that they are based on the supposition that the theory is intended as a complete solution of the problem of the Analysis of the Moral Sentiment. As we have shown, however, this is not the case. Mr. Spencer's purpose is to take up the question where Hartley left it, and while maintaining the theory of Hartley as to the growth of the moral sentiment, to suggest a further explanation of its origin. Mr. Hutton directs against Mr. Spencer's theory arguments which are answered by that of Hartley, and while neglecting to show that Mr. Spencer does not account for the origin of our ideas of right and wrong, he challenges him to account for their growth and development.

“The theory that a moral intuition is nothing but the final equivalent of a number of experiences of utility accumulated through many generations, with the predicate of their ‘utility’ forgotten or obscured, seems to me to be a thing which reduces a ‘moral’ intuition to a dry habit or tendency, which it is *uncomfortable* to resist; which if we do resist we feel put out as we do by a disturbance of the regular order of our meals, or the routine of our daily occupations, but which has either no reason or sacredness at all, or if it has any, just that which led us to approve it at first, and no other. If then, we inherit a dislike to certain actions, and a liking for certain others, apart from any inheritance of our ancestors' reasons for disliking and liking them, and apart also from any experience of our own as to their consequences, that dislike and liking seem to me not to resemble a sense of absolute right and wrong *more*, but *less*, than the original utilitarian experience which according to Mr. Spencer, probably gave rise originally to that dislike and liking.”—pp. 269-70.

Mr. Hutton here writes as if it were maintained that the original perception of utility—dim, partial, and imperfect—were to be taken as all that is contained in a mature moral sentiment : whereas we conceive Mr. Spencer's theory to be that, given the original perception, association, education, and the gradual extension of the sphere of positive duty with that of human relations are sufficient to do the rest. The sacredness which attaches to moral sentiments of the higher kind, is the product of innumerable associations which in the course of ages have overgrown the rule. We find in our conscience a sentiment urging us to a particular course of action : in children, or in persons of a low moral type, Mr. Hutton will hardly maintain that this sentiment amounts to much more than a feeble liking or dislike which untoward circumstances may easily stifle or suppress ; but if once acted on, the sentiment is strengthened by the action, and the growth of a nascent habit is commenced : the sentiment grows in sanctity the longer it is obeyed ; if it is reflected on and analysed, the perceived utility which is its source lends it a fresh authority, and clothes it with renewed sacredness : thus from a dim, half-conscious feeling a full-grown conscience is produced, which, as Butler says, "if it had strength as it has right, would rule the world."

We have little space left to deal with Mr. Hutton's remaining objections, which we give in his own words :—

"That Mr. Spencer's theory could not account for the intuitional sacredness now attached to *individual* moral rules and principles, without accounting *à fortiori*, and still more triumphantly, for the general claim of the 'greatest happiness' principle over us as the most final of all moral intuitions—which is conspicuously contrary to the fact, as not even the utilitarians themselves plead any instinctive or intuitive sanction for their great principle : and lastly, that there is no trace of positive evidence for any single instance of the transformation of a utilitarian rule of right into an intuition, since we can find no utilitarian principle of the most ancient times which is now an accepted moral intuition, nor any moral intuition, however sacred, which has not been promulgated thousands of years ago, and which has not constantly had to stem the tide of utilitarian *objections* to its authority,—and this age after age, in our own day quite as much as in days gone by."—p. 268.

In the first place we have to reply that the dim perceptions of utility which, according to Mr. Spencer, are the primordial basis of the human conscience, are of a character widely distinct from the mature and reasoned judgment called the "greatest happiness principle."*. A man may well be supposed to have

* We adopt this term because Mr. Hutton has used it, but we have no desire to attach ourselves to it in the signification given to it by Bentham.

an intuitive perception that two and two make four, or that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, without his intuitive knowledge extending throughout the domain of geometry or the calculus. Perfect knowledge would no doubt include the whole region of the knowable, and a perfect conscience would be coextensive with the whole sphere of duty; but it is not maintained that this absolute equilibrium between the mind and its environment has yet been reached, we are at present at a very backward stage of the correspondence, to use the phrases sanctioned by Mr. Spencer: it is no objection to the theory in question that it cannot be shown to hold good on ground which it was never intended to occupy. The subsidence of the final canon of duty into an universal intuition is a consummation which hope may aspire to, but which imagination itself almost fails to foresee.

Lastly, Mr. Hutton, in his final objection, seems to confound the dim perception, which is all that Mr. Spencer contends for, with the conscious calculation of utility which may take place at a subsequent stage of moral growth. In tracing back the intuition of space to the listless response of the *Amœba* to an external stimulus, we do not credit the *Amœba* with a knowledge of even the first elements of geometry; it is only maintained that here at any rate is the germ from which such knowledge may after countless ages spring. So in the moral sphere, actions spring, it may be, from a mere feeling of uneasiness, their consequences are noted almost without a thought, and thus unconsciously sentiments may arise which it is the business of future generations to analyse and explain. Many sentiments may thus have arisen and again subsided in competition with others of greater perceived utility; those which survived in this struggle for existence were those which the general conscience of humanity pronounced on experience to be most worthy of life. For historical evidence of such a process we necessarily look in vain. History can never furnish direct evidence on a question of origin, for all conscious observation, on which history rests, belongs to a period far later than the origin of any of the primary elements of human nature. But history can at least point to analogous processes, and thus indirectly strengthen a theory which it cannot directly prove.

"Mr. Spencer," says Mr. Hutton, "would scarcely refer to instances like the sanitary laws of the Jews which prohibited the eating of pork; and other well-known and peculiar physical rules to which great sacredness was attached. For not only would it be impossible to show that, in any of these cases, the utilitarian benefit derived from the observance had led to the rule; but obviously, had that been so, the rule would, by Mr. Spencer's own canon, have grown in authority from

generation to generation, instead of having speedily become obsolete."—p. 272.

Now if, as can scarcely be doubted, the Mosaic laws are, to a very great extent, the codification of a mass of pre-existing customs, we certainly find an extremely probable basis for the prohibition of pork in the fact that pork is to this day unwholesome food in the East. What then more natural than that a perception of this fact gave rise to the custom which, once established, soon acquired a sacredness not intrinsically its own, and found a place in the laws which moulded the polity of the Jewish race? So long as the conditions remained the same the rule did "grow in authority from generation to generation," and its universal observance by the Jews, now that its original sanction has disappeared, seems to us no slight corroboration of the general theory which we have put forward. Here is a rule based on obvious utility when first established, but retained with obstinate tenacity long after its origin is forgotten and its utility has ceased to exist. This is but one instance out of many that might be brought forward of rules that have survived the circumstances which originally gave them birth. Does not the revolt of St. Paul against "the law" show vividly how moral sentiments may survive their origin, and become a stumbling-block rather than a guide to a healthy and vigorous conscience? Does not the whole history of human progress teach that the chief note of moral and spiritual regeneration is a death to the letter of the law and a new life in its spirit?

We return to Mr. Lecky; but we cannot part from Mr. Hutton without thanking him for calling attention to the very remarkable theory of Mr. Spencer and giving an impulse to its discussion. It will readily be seen that if the derivative theory of moral sentiments be set forth in anything like the aspect in which we have endeavoured to exhibit it, the great majority of Mr. Lecky's criticisms fall wide of the mark. As soon as it is perceived that the so-called theory of utility does not propose to substitute calculations of utility, of happiness, or of pleasure, or indeed calculations of any sort whatever for the spontaneous and immediate promptings of the conscience or the moral sense, the controversy passes out of the region of practice, wherein it has been assailed with so much passion, and repudiated with so much prejudice, into that of speculation, where we may be permitted to breathe a purer atmosphere and to reason with greater calmness. It will be admitted by all candid opponents that if the derivative moralists are at one with them in their recognition of the existence of moral sentiments, and in their anxiety to strengthen and refine them, no assumption of moral superiority is possible. It is scarcely necessary to observe, were it not that the contrary

belief is so persistently held and so industriously propagated by the opponents of utilitarianism, that no utilitarian ever wished to weaken the sanctions of morality or to relax the bonds of duty. A chivalrous and almost Quixotic allegiance to the moral standard has ever been characteristic of the utilitarian school. Bentham was sneered at (Mr. Lecky repeats the sneer) for upholding the duty of humanity to animals ; Mr. Mill was thought too clever and too good for the House of Commons because he ventured to apply the highest standard of morality to questions of public policy. Let all to whom utilitarianism is at first sight repugnant consider the character of its leading advocates, and diligently apply themselves to a patient understanding of the theory. We venture to assert with confidence that if this be conscientiously done, we shall hear no more of the moral superiority of the intuitive theory, or of the dangerous tendency of utilitarian doctrines.

This notion of dangerous tendency deserves, perhaps, a few moments' attention. We venture to submit that in cases of speculative enquiry the only question to be asked is, Is such and such an opinion true ? If it is true it cannot be dangerous except to such things as depend on the assumption of its falsehood ; and such things being based on a lie may be allowed to perish without regret. So with utilitarianism ; if it be true it cannot be dangerous, save to those who misunderstand it. All weapons are dangerous in the hands of those who know not how to use them, but this is no reason why the State should absolutely prohibit the manufacture and sale of dangerous weapons. If then utilitarianism be true, we must meet the danger, if danger there be, as best we may ; if it be false, it can be proved to be so without any reference to its danger. In any case, therefore, the plea of dangerous tendency is wholly out of place. It is true that every advance in speculation is dangerous to some pre-existing beliefs ; but the warrant for such beliefs must be absolute before we can assume that the new opinion is false because it clashes with them. The danger of utilitarianism cannot be that it tends to weaken or obliterate moral distinctions ; we have shown that its leading advocates yield an allegiance to virtue which their fellow-men regard with wonder and almost with contempt, and we should be sorry to credit them with a moral sense of so little delicacy as that which Mr. Lecky displays in one or two passages to which we shall presently refer ; but besides this, the existence of moral distinctions is the one fact on which utilitarianism and all other theories of morality are based, so that to deny their existence would be equivalent to founding a system of geometry on the assumption that space does not exist. These considerations are so elementary that we feel that an apology is due to our readers for bringing them forward ; our excuse must

be that Mr. Lecky has overlooked them. It would be superfluous to dwell further on the inadequacy of his treatment of the subject.

The true explanation of the supposed dangerous tendency of utilitarianism would seem to be this: it is believed by many excellent and well-meaning persons that men's minds are unsettled, and, it may be, their consciences weakened, by learning that the sense of duty which they have looked on as something absolute and inscrutable is a thing of definite growth, and capable of complete analysis. This may be so; in fact, it must be so; but we are not all children for whom an absolute rule and an unquestioning faith are necessary. Save on the assumption that the philosophy of human life is irrevocably fixed and determined we must speculate, and our speculation must to a certain extent be unsettling; the consequences may in isolated cases be disastrous, but the disaster is the price at which human progress is purchased. If mankind is to advance at all this danger, such as it is, must be faced; Ultramontanism itself scarcely ventures openly to take the other alternative.

It remains for us, finally, to examine more minutely the way in which Mr. Lecky has discharged the task which he has undertaken. His discussion of the rival theories of morals may conveniently be divided into two parts; in the first, consisting of thirty-three pages, he professes to give, "a brief but, he trusts, a clear and faithful account of the inductive theory," while in the second part, to which the remainder of the chapter is devoted, he "proceeds to state some of the principal objections that have been and may be brought against it . . . and then endeavours to define and defend the opinions of those who believe that our moral feelings are an essential part of our constitution, developed by, but not derived from, education."* The first impression which a perusal of the chapter creates is that while the statement of the derivative view is in the main fair and accurate, and more than ordinarily free from the misrepresentation which, in this particular controversy, the advocates of the intuitive theory think it not inconsistent with their moral sense to indulge in, the refutation of it is a most unfortunate misunderstanding of

* It is necessary to state that the phrase 'inductive theory of morals' is, in our view, erroneous and misleading: it is essential to clearness of thought and to accuracy of expression that the term 'induction' should be limited to its strict scientific signification, and of course no utilitarian moralist of the present day dreams of maintaining that our moral sentiments are reached by a strictly inductive process. The terms 'derivative' and 'intuitive,' which we have generally adopted in this essay, appear to express without ambiguity the essential distinction between the rival schools. We may add, that few utilitarians would deny that "our moral feelings are an essential part of our constitution."

the greater part of those arguments which the author has set himself to examine, and which in an earlier page he had at least appeared to understand. On a closer examination, however, this paradox explains itself; for when the earlier portion is examined closely it is found that the misrepresentation is not more complete, than, in the latter portion, the misunderstanding is profound. It is painful to us to have to deal so severely with an author whose amiability is no less conspicuous than his candour, and whose industry and erudition adorn a genius which is incontestable; but Mr. Lecky has, of his own accord, engaged in a contest for which he is apparently unfitted, and certainly unprepared, and we are bound in the interests of truth and justice to deal no less severely with him than he has dealt with those whose theories we have, in some sense, undertaken to defend.

The charge of misrepresentation is easily established. Mr. Lecky is apparently perfectly familiar with the different stages which the utilitarian theory has passed through, and in more than one passage (pp. 24, 29, 30, 33) recognises, that as he is good enough to express it, "there is a broad difference between the refined sensuality of the utilitarians we have last noticed" (to wit the Mills, father and son, Tucker, and Austin), "and the writings of Hobbes, of Mandeville, or of Paley." Without staying to comment on the grotesqueness of describing the ex-member for Westminster as a refined sensualist, we would ask why, if this distinction is occasionally recognised, it should be deliberately ignored and even obliterated in pp. 6-10, where Bentham, Mill, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Paley, and Helvetius are credited without distinction with the whole canon of utilitarian doctrine, and all rendered responsible for the extravagances of each? Mr. Lecky must know by this time that this is not the way that history of any kind should be written; still less history of an important branch of speculation, requiring pre-eminently a nice discrimination, a *sentiment de la nuance*, no less than a profound and accurate knowledge of the writers and theories under examination. It is true that Mr. Lecky notes and gives some, but not, we think, sufficient weight to the revolution effected in ethical thought by the pregnant theory of Hartley; but can he be considered to have studied his authorities at all, still less to have digested them, when the distinction between the form of the utilitarian theory prior to Hartley, and that which it has subsequently assumed, is scarcely so much as recognised and never clearly enforced?*

* We are not forgetting the remarks on p. 23, which in our judgment only show the haste with which Mr. Lecky has compiled this portion of his work;

To descend more into details, we were astonished on reading p. 4, to find Hume enrolled among the intuitive moralists on the strength of two passages quoted, one from the *Enquiry Concerning Morals*, and another from the *Appendix* to the same. Willing to be taught, for we were not yet aware of the extent to which Mr. Lecky could mislead us, we turned to the passages referred to, and found that Mr. Lecky's momentous discovery, that Hume was "far from denying the existence of a moral sense," amounted simply to this, that Hume's strong sense and patient analysis had led him to recognise the distinction which more impetuous reasoners, like Bentham, seem occasionally to have missed, the distinction, namely, to which we have already several times referred, between the moral sentiment itself and the sources whence it springs, a distinction which no derivative moralist of the present day ever dreams of denying or disregarding. Hume can only be claimed for the intuitive school, if it can be shown that this moral sense which he recognises, which we recognise, which all sound moralists, of whatever school, recognise, was in his judgment immediate and inexplicable, and not, as his views on the subject of the criterion show, derived from our perception of the utility, or the reverse, of the several classes of actions. We thought Aristotle had long ago shown that reason is not virtue, and alone without feeling never can be virtue; but to acknowledge this is not to be an intuitive moralist, unless all moralists who have so far studied human nature as to perceive the existence of feelings and sentiments which reason can sustain and control, but which it cannot alone create, are intuitive. It would seem that Mr. Lecky is determined to misunderstand the opponents with whom he is dealing. If a derivative moralist maintains the existence and independence of moral sentiments, Mr. Lecky replies, "This is sheer fallacy and transparent sophistry; you have no right to believe in moral sentiments at all, your moral sentiments are nothing but calculations of utility,* your sense of duty is a sense of pleasure, your virtue is a disease, your analysis is alchemy; away with you, sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded, pollute not the presence of an intuitive moralist whose superiority is so obvious that he can

the distinction in question is a cardinal one, and we can only account for Mr. Lecky's practically missing it, as he does in passages too numerous for reference and in the whole tenour and spirit of his argument, by supposing that he has not given to the subject on which he has written so dogmatically the attention which it both requires and deserves.

* "The habit of in all cases regulating actions by a precise and minute calculation of their utility, is the very ideal of utilitarian virtue."—p. 45. Who told Mr. Lecky this?

afford to believe that selfishness is practically better than virtue,* that harlots are a necessary part of the world's order,† and that superstition is a blessing.‡ And if the spiritless outcast ventures to rejoin that he has a conscience and a moral faculty, which he would fain cultivate and sustain, Mr. Lecky replies, with crushing effect, "Go to, I have long known you to be a knave, I now see that you are a fool; your principles are vicious, as all the world knows, and as your conduct shows or would show if you were not a hypocrite. *If you have not the wit to see it, so much the worse for you; I will take care, however, that the British public shall know it, and you must take the consequences as best you may." We do not fear that any competent student of morals will say that we have here caricatured Mr. Lecky's method of controversy. The cases where he summarily puts his opponents out of court, or steadily attributes to them opinions for which they are in no degree responsible, are too numerous for detailed reference. We give a few examples of a style of argument which prevails throughout the chapter.

"Circumstances and disposition," we read in p. 63, "will make one man find his highest happiness in the happiness, and another man in the misery, of his kind; and if the second man acts according to his interest, the utilitarian, however much he may deplore the result, has no right to blame or condemn the agent. For that agent is acting according to his interest, and this, in the eyes of utilitarians, in one form or another, is the highest, or to speak more accurately, the only motive by which human nature can be actuated." Such a sentence as this must for ever deprive its writer of a voice in speculative controversy. It is impossible to reach a greater height of blunder and confusion. We have read the words over several times, and each time they become more obscure than before. If interest is the only motive, how can happiness be distinguished therefrom, as it is in the preceding words? Does utilitarianism in its modern form proclaim that the individual's own conception of his interest is the sole motive

* "The whole tendency of political economy and philosophical history which reveal the physiology of societies, is to show that the happiness and welfare of mankind are evolved much more from our selfish than from what are termed our virtuous acts."—p. 38. We forbear to comment on this astounding sentence: we content ourselves with asking what is likely to be the fate of philosophy or of history in the hands of its writer?

† "If utility is the sole measure of virtue, it is difficult to understand how we could look with moral disapprobation on any class who prevent greater evils than they cause. But with such a principle we might find strange priestesses at the utilitarian shrine. 'Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis,' said St. Augustine, 'turbaveris omnia libidinibus.'"—p. 43.

‡ See pages 52-54 on the beneficial effects of superstition.

of action? Mr. Lecky must be sent back to the very rudiments of the subject he professes to discuss with the authority of a master, if he honestly believes this to be a true representation of the utilitarian view; and if he does not believe it, what shall we say of his moral sense? We must again distinctly and emphatically assert that no utilitarian denies the existence of moral distinctions, and if the opponents of the theory cannot see this they put themselves out of court. It is tedious to have so constantly to repeat a proposition so elementary as this; but we have seen no attack on utilitarianism which does not directly or indirectly ignore it, and there is perhaps no more flagrant and persistent offender in this respect than Mr. Lecky himself. He even refuses to concede to utilitarians the right to amend their theory and to defend it from legitimate attack. "You must either," he says, "accept your theory in its crudest and most assailable form, or you must consent to be called intuitive moralists after all."* Considering that Mr. Lecky reckons Hume an intuitive moralist, and that he speaks (p. 93) of "reason revealing to us intuitively" certain truths, it must be admitted that the consequences of the alternative are not so appalling as Mr. Lecky would have us believe. If words are to be used in this loose manner, it can matter little how they are applied; but it occurs to us to remark, that the subject is scarcely worth discussing at all if it cannot be discussed with greater precision.

We have said enough, we think, to show that neither Mr. Lecky's statement of the leading points of the derivative theory, nor his criticisms of them, are in any degree adequate to the importance of the questions he has presumed to raise. That we have not said more is not for lack of material, for we can scarcely open the chapter at random without alighting on some passage which calls for comment and criticism; but we should only weary our readers if we were to pursue the argument in detail. As a contribution to the philosophy of morals, the whole chapter is scarcely worthy of notice; and we confidently assert that should it arrest the attention of competent judges of either school, such will be their unanimous verdict. Ethical speculation needs, perhaps, more than any other branch of philosophy the special characteristics of the philosophic intellect for its successful pursuit. Calm and patient reflection, diligent precision of language, cautious but searching analysis, firm impartiality, and refined delicacy of perception, are more than ever indispensable in speculations where every word is a snare, every theory a battle-ground,

* See the note on page 92, where the difference between Mr. Mill and intuitive moralists is described as "not very much more than verbal."

and every opinion a flag of defiance. We regret that, notwithstanding his unquestioned powers, we cannot credit Mr. Lecky with these special characteristics of mind. What can be thought of the powers of precise language of a philosopher who speaks of the "intuitive revelations of reason"? He might as well have spoken of probable axioms. We once heard of a candidate for a degree at Oxford, who, on issuing from the schools, assured his friends that he had made several propositions of Euclid extremely probable; but we are not aware that he claimed to be an authority on geometrical questions, nor are we quite sure that he satisfied the examiners on that occasion. We fear that if he had to face a similar tribunal, Mr. Lecky might meet with a fate not wholly dissimilar. He may well talk of "unstudied language" as he does in the same paragraph: had his language as well as his subject been a little less unstudied his attack might have been more successful.

We take another passage:—"If the excellence of virtue consists solely in its utility or tendency to promote the happiness of men, a machine, a fertile field, or a navigable river, would all possess in a very high degree the element of virtue. If we restrict the term to human actions which are useful to society, we should still be compelled to canonise a crowd of acts which are utterly remote from all our ordinary notions of morality:"—then follows the remarkable sentence on the superiority of selfishness to virtue which we have already quoted. The first sentence of this passage is scarcely less remarkable than the last: it proves nothing whatsoever save the convenience of restricting the use of the term virtue to excellence in human action. This will be admitted by moralists of every school. Such a restriction, however, is not necessary; in the earlier stages of moral speculation it was not adhered to at all. The Greek word ordinarily translated "virtue" was used by Aristotle to signify excellence of any kind, and it would not have startled him to speak of the virtue of a fertile field. Be the restriction, then, admitted or not, it makes no difference either way: while, as to the alternative presented by Mr. Lecky, we challenge him to produce a single instance from the whole range of history of a selfish action, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, which can be shown to have produced greater happiness than would have been produced by the corresponding act of virtue. It is not enough to show that many selfish actions have been in some degree or other beneficial to the world at large: private vices may be public benefits in a restricted and wholly secondary sense; but that the world's happiness is advanced by virtue and impaired by vice, is a proposition which has never yet been questioned by any moral philosopher worthy of the name. If Mr. Lecky is prepared seriously to

impugn it, he will find himself involved in controversy with friends and foes alike.

Again, students of morals are aware of the baffling ambiguity which, owing to carelessness of thought and intricacy of association, attaches in popular language to the word "pleasure;" they are aware, too, of the patience and care that the best moralists have ever devoted to the task of clearing this perplexing word of its ambiguity. Even so early as Aristotle (whose theory of moral distinctions, we may remark in passing, though incomplete is unquestionably derivative), the main ambiguities were traced, and the subject was so far cleared of obscurity, that, if misunderstanding had any limits at all, the question might have been speedily and for ever set at rest. There is no sounder test of the qualifications of those who undertake the discussion of ethical questions than the precision of thought and language which they bring to the investigation of this branch of their subject; but when tried by this test, Mr. Lecky will be found grievously wanting. The confusion to be found in the five pages (87 to 92) wherein Mr. Lecky deals with the subject of pleasure, is unsurpassed by that of any other part of his work. We pass by his statement that the distinction in kind between pleasures "has been neglected or denied by most utilitarian writers," a statement of which the point is perhaps weakened by its being more than half retracted in a note; for we have already seen that misrepresentation or misunderstanding or both are only what his opponents have to expect from Mr. Lecky. We prefer to dwell on the peculiarity of his own views of the subject. Mr. Lecky is, perhaps, the only English writer of distinction, since the death of Macaulay, who could have written the following sentence:—"It is probable that the American inventor of the first anæsthetic has done more for the real happiness of mankind than all the moral philosophers from Socrates to Mill." We do not think so; but it is perhaps fortunate that Mr. Lecky has so little claim to the title of moral philosopher, or his inclusion in the list might have gone far to redress the balance. Mr. Lecky seems here to ignore the generic distinction of pleasures on which he lays so much stress in the next page: it may be that he is only doing so as a concession to his opponents; if so they have little to thank him for; for it is a poor style of argument to attribute odious opinions to your adversaries in order to gain the cheap credit of having refuted them. But we would further ask Mr. Lecky whether, in his opinion, an intense pleasure is the same thing as a violent one, or whether he imagines that this is an opinion that utilitarians hold, or ought to hold? If not, what is the meaning of the following paragraph:—

"It is probable that a more intense pleasure is usually obtained

from the grotesque and the eccentric than from the perceptions of beauty. The pleasure derived from beauty is not violent in its nature, and it is in most cases peculiarly mixed with melancholy. The feelings of the man who is deeply moved by a lovely landscape are rarely those of extreme elation. A shade of melancholy steals over his mind. His eyes fill with tears. A vague and unsatisfied longing fills his soul. Yet, troubled and broken as is this form of enjoyment, few persons would hesitate to pronounce it of a higher kind than any that can be derived from the exhibitions of oddity."—p. 87.

This passage conveys, in very inaccurate language, a statement which no serious moralist ever dreamt of denying. Has Mr. Lecky never read Shelley? Does he not remember the lovely lines—

“ We look before and after,
And pine for what is not ;
Our sincerest laughter
With some pain is fraught ;
Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought ?”

We do not forget that Bentham declared in a passage that, of course, Mr. Lecky does not omit to quote, that “quantity of pleasure being equal, push-pin is as good as poetry ;” but then Bentham never proposed a standard whereby quantity of pleasure could be estimated. If pleasure is to be measured by its violence, or by the amount of laughter that accompanies it, no doubt a farce excites more pleasure than a tragedy ; but no moralist, save Mr. Lecky, has ever ventured to propose so ridiculous a standard. In a similar strain Mr. Lecky says—

“ If, as is not improbable, the lower animals are happier than man,” —note the conception of happiness here implied—“ and semibarbarians than civilized men, still it is better to be a man than a brute, better to be born amid the fierce struggle of civilization than in some stranded nation, apart from all the flow of enterprise and knowledge. Even in that material civilization which utilitarianism delights to glorify, there is an element which the philosophy of mere enjoyment cannot explain.”—p. 89.

What, then, is the philosophy of mere enjoyment? Is it the utilitarianism which delights to glorify material civilization? And if so, where is it to be found? Mr. Lecky creates a monster which he calls utilitarianism and would fain have us believe that it has an existence outside his own morbid imagination. Let us see what are the sentiments of the “refined sensualist,” who must be acknowledged as the foremost champion of the utilitarian school :—

“ It is indisputable that the being whose capacities of enjoyment are low, has the greatest chance of having them fully satisfied ; and a highly endowed being will always feel that any happiness which he

can look for, as the world is constituted, is imperfect. But he can learn to bear its imperfections, if they are at all bearable; and they will not make him envy the being who is indeed unconscious of the imperfections, but only because he feels not the good which those imperfections qualify. It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. And if the fool, or the pig, is of a different opinion, it is because they only know their own side of the question. The other party to the comparison knows both sides.*

Mr. Lecky would have us believe that Mr. Mill is in this and similar passages (which abound in his book) inconsistent with his general theory; but on this point we venture to think Mr. Mill is a better judge than Mr. Lecky. We confess that for ourselves, without any extravagant reverence for Mr. Mill, we would rather be wrong in his company and Mr. Spencer's, than right in that of Mr. Lecky.

We have now examined at sufficient length both Mr. Lecky's statement of his opponents' views, and his criticisms on the views as so stated; and we think our readers will agree with us that whatever the value of Mr. Lecky's criticisms as against a system which he himself constructs with a view to its speedy demolition, they are of little weight against that theory of derivative morality which is held by the leaders of the utilitarian school. It only remains for us briefly to notice the theory which Mr. Lecky himself seems to prefer. It is not particularly easy to discover what that theory is: Mr. Lecky speaks much of a moral faculty, of a moral sense, of moral ideas; and to some of these phrases the term 'innate' is applied, while to others it is denied: we have, too, a great parade of names—Hutcheson, Clarke, Lord Kames, Dugald Stewart, Hume, and others, though without that minuteness of reference which characterized the statement of the utilitarian view. Still there is a vagueness and indecision which after all leaves us in a very perplexed state of mind; indeed, from a writer who talks of our "reason revealing to us intuitively the hierarchy of our being," it is perhaps hopeless to expect precision. The following passage expresses, perhaps, as distinctly as any the view which Mr. Lecky intends to put forth as his own:—

"Those who maintain the existence of a moral faculty, do not, as is sometimes said, assume this as a first principle of their arguments, but they arrive at it as their conclusion by a process of induction quite as severe as any that can be employed by their opponents. They examine, analyse, and classify their existing moral feelings, ascertain in what respects those feelings agree with or differ from others, trace them through their various phases, and only assign them to a special faculty when they think they have shown them to be incapable of resolution, and generically distinct from all others."—p. 75.

* Mill's "Utilitarianism," p. 14.

It appears, then, that induction informs us of the existence of an inscrutable moral faculty generically distinct from all others. But Mr. Lecky is candid enough to admit that this primary faculty is subject to almost indefinite modification by the agency of surrounding circumstances. Indeed so strongly does he insist on this argument, which is usually one of the strongholds of the derivative theory, that were we to open the book at random and light on the following passages, we should suppose that Mr. Lecky was arguing strenuously for the utilitarian view. Indeed it is rather difficult to deny what some of his admirers have already begun to suspect,* that Mr. Lecky is after all but a derivative moralist without knowing it, and a utilitarian in disguise:—

“If we examine the undoubted diversities that exist in judgments of virtue and of beauty, we soon discover that in each case a large proportion of them are to be ascribed to the different degrees of civilization. The moral standard changes within certain limits, and according to a regular process, with the evolutions of society. There are virtues very highly estimated in a rude civilization which sink into comparative insignificance in an organized society, while, conversely, virtues that were deemed secondary in the first become primary in the other. There are even virtues that it is impossible for any but highly cultivated minds to recognise. Questions of virtue and vice, such as the difference between humanity and barbarity, or between temperance and intemperance, are sometimes merely questions of degree, and the standard at one stage of civilization may be much higher than at another.”—p. 80.

“If any accidental circumstance has elevated an indifferent action to peculiar honour, if a religious system enforces it as a virtue or brands it as a vice, the consciences of men will after a time accommodate themselves to the sentence, and an appeal to a wider than a local tribunal is necessary to correct the error. Every nation, again, from its peculiar circumstances and position, tends to some particular type, both of beauty and of virtue, and it naturally extols its national type beyond all others.”—p. 81.

What derivative moralist can seek for wider concessions than this? The moral sense of individuals and of actions, says Mr. Lecky, is the product, nay, the sport of surrounding circumstances. What then is the moral sense of mankind? If, as we maintain, it is the result of determinate conditions, then, all that is permanent in it corresponds to conditions that are permanent, while its fluctuations will be due, as Mr. Lecky admits, to the variety of surrounding circumstances. This is all that utilitarians and derivative moralists contend for, and by far the most important point in the dispute is freely conceded by Mr.

* See the article on Mr. Lecky's work in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*.

Lecky. It will be seen at once how slight, when narrowed to this issue, is the controversy between Mr. Lecky and his opponents. The fluctuations of the moral faculty are admitted on both sides, and referred by both disputants to the same source. The existence of a permanent element is likewise agreed upon; but while the utilitarian would apply to this the analysis which is admitted to be applicable to the remainder, Mr. Lecky refuses to subject it to analysis at all. We leave our readers to determine which course is the more philosophical.

It may not perhaps be amiss to recapitulate briefly, in conclusion, the theory we have endeavoured to explain in the foregoing pages, and to state how far and in what sense it can be fairly described as utilitarian. We hold then that moral distinctions are the product of the relations in which the human spirit finds itself towards its environing circumstances and conditions, uniformity of environment resulting in uniformity of sentiment, and fluctuation of environment producing that part of the conscience which is acknowledged to be variable and temporary. The conscience thus being organized in the moral nature of mankind, is to a certain extent transmitted from one generation to another, so that what was immediately derivative in one age may almost be described as intuitive in another. The extent of this hereditary transmission has of course never yet been clearly defined, and even the fact itself is so obscure that it can only at present be considered as an hypothesis in great need of verification; but while direct evidence is wanting, and must to a certain extent be wanting, indirect evidence and very powerful analogy point, not obscurely, towards its truth.

We have no objection to calling this theory 'utilitarian,' for we most unhesitatingly believe that utility dimly perceived is the primary source of the rudimentary conscience. But the word 'utilitarian' is so closely associated with the special theory of Bentham, and the world is so persistently determined to refuse to the word 'utility' any but an ignoble meaning, that we much prefer the neutral title of 'derivative,' which expresses clearly enough the fundamental contrast between this view and that of Mr. Lecky and his friends. On the other hand, we are ready to accept the title of 'intuitive,' if it be only meant thereby, that the more permanent part of the conscience is so imbedded and ingrained in the moral nature of mankind that its origin and growth is now well-nigh inconceivable. This is an inevitable consequence of the conditions of the case; immutability of the environment necessarily produces immutability in the conscience which is its product; and the primary relations of a man, both to the different parts of his own nature and to his fellow-creatures, are so constant that the sentiments springing from such relations cannot but be constant also. Dull, feeble, and sluggish in its

origin, the conscience expands with its growing relations, justifies and fulfils itself in strange innumerable ways, and grows at last into that perfect moral law which, according to Kant, is the supremest work of God and the noblest heritage of man.

Lastly, if any one should urge that this theory, because it assigns to the conscience a definite origin and growth, tends to obliterate moral distinctions and to relax the bonds of duty, let him consider that what is permanent in the conscience owes its permanence to the constancy of the relations whereon it rests, that these relations have in the main continued constant throughout the recorded history of mankind, and that they are morally certain to remain so for the future. No change in the sentiments dependent on them can take place unless it is preceded by a change in the relations themselves, and our sure warrant for their permanence in the future is their uniformity in the past. We have no stronger warrant for the belief that the sun will rise to-morrow morning, but we make all our dispositions and arrangements on the assumption of that belief, and we find that practically our assumption is justified. So long as conscience is held to depend on the fundamental conditions of human nature, it cannot be truly maintained that its dictates are uncertain or its sanctions weak. To ask what would happen if the fundamental conditions were to change is equivalent to asking what would happen if the sun were to stand still in his course or the moon to drop out of the sky.

We venture to hope that Mr. Lecky will pardon us for the severity with which we have spoken of his performance. We have done so not in the interests of controversy, but in those of pure philosophy and sound speculation. We have no wish that the utilitarian or derivative theory should turn out to be true; our only wish is that the truth, on whichever side it may happen to lie, may speedily be discovered. It is our profound conviction that the style of controversy adopted by Mr. Lecky is little calculated to lead to such discovery, that has induced us to enter the lists with him and to strike as hardly and as straightforwardly as we could. We have cheerfully and candidly expressed our respect for Mr. Lecky's unquestioned powers; but we must no less candidly avow our conviction that the strength of those powers does not lie in the direction of pure philosophy. By a style notable for its ease and grace, though not for its over-refinement, by learning which is unquestionable if not quite complete, by a picturesque grouping of materials, by a general liberality of judgment, and especially by a savour of heterodoxy of that particular shade which rather attracts than repels, Mr. Lecky has succeeded, as he deserved, in attracting a large circle of readers: we wish we could add that he had likewise succeeded in establishing his claim to be esteemed a philosophic historian.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of the Westminster Review is occasionally set apart for the reception of able articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the work, contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it may advocate. The object of the Editor, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]

ART. VII.—THE ALBERT LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

THE frequent loss of friends and acquaintances in youth, middle life, and age, continually reminds us of the uncertainty of life in the individual, however fair the outward appearance, or however sound the bodily organs. Even apart from railway collisions and shipwrecks, and all other cases of what are commonly-called accidental deaths, we find men from various causes falling rapidly from health into disease and disappearing from our midst, until the very commonness of the occurrence ceases to excite more than a momentary surprise. Nevertheless the average duration of life is well known, and this knowledge has been utilized in various forms for many years past.

Benefit Societies to provide by subscriptions during health against times of sickness, and for death, have long been known amongst working men. They have been very defective in construction, and have for the most part had but short leases of life, because of the want of conformity in the premiums charged to the requirements of the laws of mortality. In many cases they have been constituted of young men, who finding an accumulation of funds at the end of the year, have either divided and appropriated those funds, or feasted them away. Then, as the first members advanced in age and became more subject to sickness, they have sought actively for young recruits, whose subscriptions would aid them in keeping up the funds of the society. But by and by the young men who are canvassed learn that they are wanted only to pay for the old, and they avoid the trap set for them, and leave the old members to reap the consequences of their youthful folly, in the dissolution of their society.

precisely when it is most needed. In the great majority of these societies the subscriptions charged are even now wholly inadequate to provide the promised benefits. Yet they continue to be established and certified as legal, at the rate of a thousand a year; and we fear that this certification is, amongst ignorant working men, looked upon as a proof of their safety; even though they do not adopt the tables which the Registrar is always ready to supply. Surely men should either be taught that a society is not safe simply because it does not break the law, or else the law should require all who procure its aegis to adopt the requisite means of safety, and so reduce the chances of failure to the effects of mismanagement and dishonesty.

In the case of Life Assurance offices, supported principally by the middle classes, insuring in the aggregate some four hundred millions sterling, and receiving some seven or eight millions sterling per annum in premiums, the tabular rates are all understood to have the approval of the most eminent mathematicians, and to have stood the test of five generations of experience.

There is hardly a necessity in middle-class life which Life Assurance offices are not capable of supplying or assisting in. When a young man of moderate income marries, he can assure his life and make a marriage settlement of the policy. If he wishes to go into business, and is short of capital, he can assure his life and borrow money on the policy. If he wishes to provide for an infant on its arriving at twenty-one years of age, he can do it by small annual payments on an endowment policy. If a capitalist wishes to provide for an old dependent, he can purchase an annuity. If it be a young dependent for whose future he wishes to make provision at a moderate present cost, he can purchase a deferred annuity. If a man has money coming to him at the end of a given term, or at the death of another person, and is in want of means at present, he can go to a Life Office and sell, or borrow money upon his reversionary interest. It is not wonderful that so powerful an instrument should have been popularized during the last quarter of a century; nor is it wonderful that this same instrument should, in the hands of selfish men, have been grossly abused.

If it were possible to do the whole Life Assurance business of the nation in one company, and to secure such management as we have in the General Post-office, the working expenses would be an almost nominal percentage; indeed the old and well-established companies prove by their large bonuses, which are from time to time added to the sums assured, or used to lessen future premiums, or are paid out in cash, that much less than the 30 per cent. with which life premiums are usually loaded, suffices them for the purpose.

Life companies are of two kinds, mutual and proprietary—that is to say, they consist either wholly of the persons assured, called policy-holders, or of shareholders and policy-holders. In the first class, the whole accumulated funds belong to the policy-holders; whilst in the second they are usually divided into two portions, one of which is reserved for the shareholders, and the other for the policy-holders. But even in mutual companies it is not usual to divide the surplus accumulations amongst all the policy-holders; for there are generally two scales of premium, one of which covers only the nett sum assured, whilst the higher one is paid with a view to a share in the profits. “The Scottish Provident” is we believe the only exception, and in that office it is thought sufficient to pay to the representatives of those who die early the nett assurance, reserving the surplus for division amongst such persons as have paid into the society the whole sum for which they are assured.

The justification of the erection of shareholding offices is in the fact that a mutual office is like a tradesman who commences business without capital; it is difficult to struggle into existence at all, and the progress is often so slow as to make it doubtful if an amount of business will ever be achieved sufficient to secure success. In societies where shares are subscribed, capital is invested in the employment of agents and all the necessary machinery of a propaganda, and the Assurance extension agent takes the road like any other commercial traveller, and establishes representatives of his company in every town and village, so as to publish the peculiar excellences of his office throughout the land. And so long as this expenditure is kept within reasonable bounds, no exception can be taken to it; for instance, if shareholders' money only be so used, none but the shareholders will have any reason to complain about the result, even if it be unfavourable. The shareholders go in for profits, and must be prepared to experience losses, or at least to take the chances thereof. But if in this extension process the premiums of the policy-holders be speculated with, beyond the amount with which each life is loaded for working expenses, such speculation ought to be treated as a misdemeanour, and be made punishable at law. For the exact amount of life risk is known beforehand, and policy-holders do not pay premiums for speculative purposes, but for the *assurance* which can only be got by the combination of numbers and the accumulation of funds properly invested.

It is a laudable effort for a man to promote prudential investment, and if a new and useful feature of insurance be struck out, which existing institutions do not look favourably upon, it is quite justifiable to set up a new establishment in order to popularize the project; and even if a few enthusiasts think that they

can, by a new combination, so promote the adoption of the general plans of assurance as to serve the public whilst also serving themselves, no fair objection can be taken to their proceedings, so long as their representations are honest, and their conduct straightforward.

And if the conductors of a Life Office find in the course of a few years that their share capital is gone, and that there is no chance of business enough to enable them to live upon the loading which is charged on the premiums, then the most prudent course is to seek union or amalgamation with another office, and thus save the bulk of the working expenses.

And the mode by which this union or amalgamation may be accomplished is perfectly easy. A purchasing office would, in case of receiving such an offer, send first its medical examiner, who would go to the pigeon-holes where the proposals and relative papers are stored away, and would take out from each hole a few bundles of papers, and carefully examine the evidence upon which the lives were accepted. A few days spent at this work would enable him to report whether the business was good or bad, and his opinion would probably receive confirmation from an examination of the cases which had already become claims.

If the medical man reported in favour of the business, then all the existing policies would be tabulated for the actuary, the tables showing the date of each assurance and the age of the life assured, together with the premium payable in each case. From these data, the actuary, knowing the average expectation of life at each age, would be able to tell approximately the amount of profit or loss to be expected from the working out of the business. It will easily be seen that in a case where the actuary showed an expectation of a sufficient amount of profit to pay for working, the purchasing office would be strengthened by securing on the part of the policy-holders of the defunct company an interest in the progress of the absorbing office, and also by stimulating the agents, who would be glad to be connected with a stronger company.

This is the simple theory of amalgamation, and if all the unions which have taken place amongst Life Assurance Companies had been thus fairly and simply conducted, the saving to policy-holders and shareholders would have amounted to some millions sterling; whilst if all failing companies had adopted this course whenever their share capital was exhausted, every penny ever assured would still have been safe, instead of, as is currently believed to be now the case, a hundred millions sterling being worth less than five shillings in the pound.

Up to the end of 1868, no less than 366 Life Companies had been established; of these 177 had been transferred to other

offices ; some of them by the voluntary acts of their shareholders without any other public intervention, others, to the number of 50 or 60, through the process of winding up in the Court of Chancery ; whilst 76 have either never got actively to work, or have dropt out of existence without leaving any record.

Of all the companies established therefore, only 113, or less than one-third of the whole, remained in existence at the end of 1868, and several of these have succumbed during the present year. Of the 113 above named, 28 vary in age from 1 to 7 years, so that the great mortality of offices in the past does not seem to prevent the creation of new ones ; indeed it is well known that many of the new offices are not intended to be permanent, but are got up on purpose to be sold or amalgamated. Of the offices which have been absorbed, some have passed through one, some two, some three, and some through even four other offices before they have found resting places ; that is to say, the absorbing offices have themselves been absorbed once, twice, or three times ; and some of the chief absorbing offices have had most voracious appetites, and have been difficult to satisfy.

Thus the Liverpool and London has absorbed 8 other offices, the Sovereign 8, the Standard 9, the Briton 11, the Eagle 20, the Albert 22, and the European 33.

If all these amalgamations had been entered into in proper time, and had been honestly conducted, the absorbing offices would have been very rich, and might have been safely calculated upon as permanent and useful institutions. But whilst a few strong offices have transferred their life risks, and divided their surplus funds amongst their shareholders, the great bulk of these transferred offices have struggled on, not only until their paid-up capital has been exhausted, but until the current premiums would no longer suffice to meet the incoming claims. Thus it may happen, as indeed in the case of the Albert it has happened, that the absorbing offices, instead of adding to their strength with each amalgamation, may really be weaker after each addition to their annual income.

A weak office is naturally hungry for business, and calculating upon the accumulations to be derived from the thirty per cent. loading throughout life, will give heavy commissions for the procuration of assurances. In old and well-established offices, the usual commission is 10 per cent. on the first, and 5 per cent. on future premiums. But in late years some weak and pretentious offices have paid from 50 to 75 per cent. on first year's premiums.

If agents were all full of moral sentiment and strict loyalty to their offices, even this immense commission might be allowed with impunity, as 60 per cent. spread over an average life would only be about an additional two per cent. per annum ; but agents

are only human, and of course look to their own interests ; and these interests tell them that it is most profitable to assure a good life and get the commission upon a year's premium, and then let it lapse, and in six or twelve months' time to assure the same life again, and thus secure a renewal of the large commission.

The same hunger for business makes directors less careful in their selection of lives than they would otherwise be, and more open to the advocacy of the agent, whose desire to get a life passed is no doubt affected by the amount of his commission. It often happens also that managers are paid by a commission on the whole premium income of an office, and are, therefore, directly interested in a rapid increase ; whilst directors frequently hold a bare qualification in shares, and look upon their situations as life sinecures, worth from fifty to three hundred pounds per annum, but know at the same time quite well that the displeasure of the manager will send them about their business at their first expiry of office.

It is commonly thought that shareholders are quite capable of taking care of themselves ; but this is a popular delusion, for the shares of a Life Office are usually held in small numbers throughout the country, and by people who know nothing of assurance business, and to whom a journey to London would be a serious inconvenience and loss ; whilst the London shareholders consist for the most part of officials from other offices, who belong to the freemasonry of Life Assurance managers, or of tradesmen who derive profit from the office, and are, like the directors, dependent on the good-will of the manager. The balance of a London meeting is mostly made of country agents who are small shareholders, whose expenses to and from the meeting are paid by the company ; who are feasted by the manager at the expense of the company whilst in town, but are as far as possible kept in entire ignorance of the internal condition of the office, and whose situations depend for the most part upon the pleasure of the manager. The reporters for the class of newspapers which devote themselves to assurance and finance business are generally present at the feast, and also commonly turn up next morning to submit their proofs to the manager for correction, and get his orders for advertisements and for papers.

For the last twenty-five years there has been in London a class of men who have made a trade of getting up Fire and Life Assurance Offices. A "promoter" consults a solicitor, the solicitor finds a client who in order to become a director will induce some of his friends to take shares ; and then if a titled president can be got to lend his name in exchange for a qualification in free shares, the Board is made up of dummies, the promoter becomes

secretary or manager, and the company is floated. During almost the same space of time other men have made a trade of buying and selling Life Assurance Companies. It is familiarly said that no Life Assurance secret will keep for twenty-four hours in London, and therefore within the charmed circle the condition of every office is approximately known and talked about, even though no accounts be published.

When a company is in difficulties a "negociator" walks into the office, and after a chat with the manager, asks, "Had not you better amalgamate?" The manager naturally inquires "What is to become of me?" "Oh," replies the negociator, "I'll take care of you; come and dine!" And over the wine after dinner the first secret bargain is struck, and the question as to which of the directors can be "worked" is discussed. Then the workable directors are brought to dine with the negociator, who has meanwhile sought out a purchasing office, and bargained with a committee of the directors (subject to approval by the Board) to bring them a business of a certain number of thousands per annum of income for a consideration; either unencumbered or loggared only with two or three directors and other officials, and with a good staff of agents.

The purchasing office, if short of cash, agrees to pay the negociator in bonds at short dates, or by annuity policy, a sum which may vary from one thousand to twenty thousand pounds, and which is sometimes made payable not to the negociator himself but to his nominees, whose names in case of publicity would screen their principal. The purchasing company also generally debits itself with part or the whole of the paid-up capital of the absorbed company, and sometimes even adds a bonus thereto, and pays dividends thereon just as upon its own paid-up capital. Thus it is very probable that a company which appears to have a paid-up capital of two hundred thousand pounds may never have really received so much as fifty thousand pounds. Some of the directors and principal officials in the defunct company are commonly paid or pensioned off, and if an obstructive shareholder becomes troublesome and talks of going to the Court of Chancery to prevent the proposed amalgamation, he is also usually choked with gold.

By such means is the anticipated profit of an amalgamation generally dissipated. And it sometimes happens that even worse means than any of these are resorted to, and that the negociators get paid by both sides.

We have heard of a case where the purchasing company agreed to debit itself with the paid-up capital of the company to be absorbed, and to pay in cash a given sum to cover negociators' work, compensations, and all other expenses. These

terms were mutually agreed to, and if properly carried out would have involved the purchasing company in an ultimate loss of a few thousands only, according to the actuarial report on which the agreement was founded. But the directors of the absorbed company had no sooner secured the agreement than they immediately entered into obligations for their own benefit, and that of the negociators and their nominees, by the issue of bonds and policies without any pecuniary consideration, which more than doubled the price which the purchasers had agreed to pay; and this gross fraud was only discovered by the directors of the purchasing company as the bonds fell due and turned up for payment, and when according to legal advice it would have been difficult to obtain redress without great danger of ruin to the joint company. The consequence was that those of the directors who were most shocked at the grossness of the fraud, actuated by a mistaken view of kindness to the shareholders and assurers, left the company instead of boldly dragging the perpetrators into a criminal court.

A deed of settlement is generally so drawn as to give to directors ample power to acquire business by purchase, and neither the shareholders nor the policy-holders of a purchasing company are consulted as to their willingness to assume the responsibilities of failing societies; nor are the policy-holders of the absorbed companies ever consulted as to their willingness to be transferred, indeed they never hear of a transfer until it is accomplished; then the same post usually presents them with a circular from the manager of each company announcing the fact, and offering either to endorse or exchange their policies. If a policy-holder be dissatisfied he can cease to pay, and thus lose all interest in what he has already paid, but he has no *locus standi* in court. The law, however, obliges a little more consideration to be shown to the shareholders in the dying company. Two meetings for dissolution must be held, but these meetings are certain to be packed by the friends of the managers who have been made right by the negociators; and sometimes a good rattling speaker (if a clergyman so much the better) is made a shareholder in order that he may be able to advocate the amalgamation, whilst even dissatisfied shareholders who reside in the country will not "throw good money after bad," in order to raise an ineffectual protest in a London meeting.

The failure of the Albert, with an income of 300,000*l.* per annum, may well cause surprise and alarm amongst shareholders and policy-holders throughout the world, and shake confidence in life assurance in general; but to the assurance world the chief wonder has been that the Albert has lasted so long. The prices [Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. N N

at which its various purchases have been made, indicated either internal weakness or a great preference of selfish interests to the good of the company. We are credibly informed that "The Medical Invalid" office was purchased by the Albert at a much higher price than it had previously been offered at to another company, and which company declined to purchase; and it has been shown that many thousands sterling disappeared in the mutual transfer of the Western Life to the Albert and the Albert Fire to the Western. Mr. Price, the liquidator, tells us that, according to the books, 270,000*l.* has been paid to negociators out of the Albert funds; but unless all the discharged policies and bonds have been examined, and the books referred to for the pecuniary equivalent received by the Company in each case, neither Mr. Price nor any other man can say what has been really paid. Mr. Sheridan tells us, in his defence, that in exchange for 40,000*l.* he took to the Albert assets and premiums, which he estimates at one and a half millions sterling. This is Mr. Sheridan's *estimate*; but Mr. Sheridan does not tell us the liabilities which attached to those assets. He says, in proof of the soundness of the company, that they afterwards distributed a bonus of 50,000*l.*; but we know a company which distributed a bonus of more than double that amount, when it was really insolvent to the extent of more than a hundred thousand pounds; and we are quite disposed to believe that the Albert was in no better condition after it had received the favours of Mr. Sheridan. Of course the actuary does not plainly tell the directors that they are insolvent and then recommend a bonus, but he tells them that reckoning the sums spent in purchasing business as an asset, there is a surplus, and that out of this surplus they may declare a bonus. Mr. Sheridan tells us that, if a company can pay commission on the introduction of one life, he does not see why they should not also pay on a thousand introduced at once. Neither do we; but if, when Mr. Sheridan was a Life Assurance manager, a person had gone to him to ask for commission on a life, the introduction of which had already cost fifty per cent. on first premium, and five per cent. per annum for five or six years, he would have replied, very properly, that the life in question had already cost all which could properly be paid for its introduction. And so it was with the lives introduced by Mr. Sheridan to the Albert,—they had already been paid for, and heavily too, and yet he in that case saw no reason against a second payment.

Whenever an agent for life assurance has been met by rumours as to the insolvency of his own or any other company, the universal boast has been, "No man ever yet honestly assured his life and kept up his premiums without the claim being properly paid." And accordingly, the proposal to reduce the value of

the Albert policies in the projected plan for reconstruction has created a great sensation, because it has destroyed this pleasing illusion. That project is rightly looked upon as a scheme for the benefit of the shareholders and a provision for a new set of directors. But the plan of reducing the value of life policies in a failing office is not new, for when "The Professional" was bought out of Chancery in 1861, the actuarial deficiency of assets was debited to the policies in proportion to the amount assured by each. Calls were then made upon the shareholders until they were exhausted, and as these calls came in the policy debits were written off. But the executors of those who have died during the progress of these repayments have received only the sums assured, minus the remaining debit. And as the whole of the deficiency was never paid by the shareholders, the nett sums assured will never be received by the policy-holders, although many of them still pay premiums according to the scale for participation in profits. And the case of the annuitants in the Professional is much worse. The liquidator reported some time ago that the funds in hand were equal to twelve-and-sixpence in the pound on the value of the lives at the date of the winding-up order. A scheme was then adopted to pay off the annuitants with a composition of twelve-and-sixpence in the pound, all payments made since the date of the winding-up order to be reckoned as payments on account. So that if a life whose value was then eight years, bought an annuity in 1861, there is no more to be received by that life, however long the annuitant may live. And for a life of less than eight years' value there is, according to this settlement (which has received the sanction of the Court of Chancery), something due from the annuitant to the liquidator. "Safe as a life annuity" has long been an adage with us, but here is an abrupt end to this pleasing illusion.

Now what is the remedy for this state of things? Is life assurance to be hereafter understood as life speculation or life lottery? or are measures to be adopted and enforced to confine speculation within proper limits, and to render it possible for a man to make provision for widow and orphans, in the confidence that his struggles and self-sacrifices will not be in vain?

Our readers are no doubt aware that Mr. Gladstone a few years ago, in consequence of the unsatisfactory condition of friendly societies, carried a Bill through Parliament which enables the Government, through the agency of the Post-office, to grant annuities, immediate and deferred, and also to assure lives to an amount not exceeding one hundred pounds on a single life.

This scheme would, if properly carried out, effectually provide for and protect from fraud the prudent portion of the working-classes, so far as provision for old age and sums at death

are concerned. And it would probably not be a bad arrangement if the friendly societies which now exist could be confined to provision for sickness only, because the amount of sickness which disables its subject from work is a matter which needs much watching, and the constant care which can only be given by persons of the same class, and who are deeply interested in confining claims on their societies to genuine cases. This is eminently a work which can be best accomplished locally, and where every member of the society is eligible to a share in the management. In a sickness society confined to a given locality there will never be any large accumulation of funds, because if the ages of the members vary from eighteen to seventy years in due proportion (and this will be the case in a permanent and well-managed society whose subscriptions are properly based upon past experience), the funds will for the most part be paid out as they are received, the managers being simply collectors from the healthy for the benefit of the diseased.

But whilst the Government Savings Banks are a great success, the Government Assurance scheme is understood to have been hitherto as great a failure. A few minutes' thought on the causes of these different results will not be ill spent. Savings Banks were already flourishing institutions before Government had any other part in them than as a borrower of their funds. Their great need is proved by the many millions sterling which now stand to the credit of working men and women, minors and friendly societies; and which apart from their existence must either have been frittered away in luxuries, simply hoarded and useless, or lent to individuals without sufficient security, and with results in many cases which would certainly not encourage continued carefulness.

The failures of the Rochdale and Bilston banks caused by the fraudulent action of their managers dispelled the fond illusion entertained by the depositors that they had Government security for all their funds, and at the same time morally forced the Government to provide on a scheme of their own for the security which they were believed already to have given.

The present Savings Bank method is very simple, and with ordinary care on the part of the depositor renders loss next to impossible. The postmaster who receives a Savings Bank deposit is bound to report it on the same day to the General Post-office in London, and the next post from London takes to the depositor an acknowledgment from the General Post-office of the receipt of the sum invested. Thus, if a depositor will make instant complaint to London in case the next post does not bring his acknowledgment, the check is as perfect as it can be made.

But there is this great difference between Savings Banks de-

posits and Life Assurances. The money saved and paid into the Bank does not practically pass out of the possession of the depositor; it is reclaimable at any time, and is meanwhile increasing in amount, although only at a slow rate. In fact the use of the Savings Bank is consistent with the utmost selfishness, it is a provision for self, to be appropriated and consumed at the sole will and convenience of the depositor.

Ordinary life assurance on the other hand is an investment put beyond the control of the assurer for the benefit of others, and to a good life is a manifest present loss of thirty per cent. of the capital, which proportion is charged for management expenses, unless an extra premium is paid to enable the assurer to share in the amount which the directors may be able to spare out of the loading, or to realize out of their investments and to appropriate as profits. Nor has there ever been in regard to life assurance the complete confidence as to the payment of claims which is felt when the Government gives itself as the security. Whilst, therefore, the selfishness of men contributes to the success of Savings Banks, that same feeling hinders the progress of Life Assurance.

That it is the duty of a man to do everything in his power in order to provide for wife and family, even the most selfishly extravagant will in theory admit; that life assurance enables a man of moderate means to make an efficient provision is demonstrated in practice; but the difference between the verbal acknowledgment and the performance of a duty is fearfully illustrated by the large amount of pauperism which continually results from sheer carelessness and self-indulgence.

Men need to be educated to the duty of Life Assurance, and the Government plan has failed hitherto because Mr. Gladstone in his Bill took no care to provide for propagandism. If he had provided an investment fund of 50,000*l.*, the interest of which should be used to send lecturers and tracts through the land in order to familiarize the scheme, first to the post-office servants, and then to the public; and if in the appointment of Post-office officials, the ability and the will to do life assurance business had been one of the qualifications sought for, and the post-office emolument had been eked out by a commission of ten per cent. on first year's premiums, with a smaller commission for the collection of renewal premiums, we venture to think that the result would have been very different.

So far as immediate annuities are concerned it is quite true that shaky assurance offices will give from seven and a half to ten per cent. more than the Government, because they are hungry for money, but this very fact ought to put prudent people on their guard; and in the hands of a good agent, who is also a Government official, would be made to work in favour of the

Government scheme. And the ordinary life tables of the Government do not differ materially from those of other offices, so that the chances are entirely in favour of the Government scheme if that scheme was properly worked.

It is, however, quite another question whether it is advisable that the Government should assume to do general life assurance business, and whether if it be advisable they should go into it gradually as a competing company, or should buy up the existing life companies as they have already done with the telegraph companies. If the present Life companies were bought up at once, the premium income would soon be increased to ten millions sterling per annum, whilst the expenses of management being nearly all saved, there would be some two or three millions per annum to be devoted to the reduction of taxation; whilst the perfect security afforded by the Government would entirely prevent the lapsing of policies; and instead of a large proportion of policies being surrendered as at present for the return of a small portion of the premiums paid, persons in necessitous circumstances would sell their policies in the market, and life policies would pass from hand to hand as securities for the surrender value, which would always be equal to that given by the best offices.

The Government being in possession of the accumulated premiums, which would soon be of very large amount, must either use them to buy up the national debt, or lend them, as the companies now do, upon real or personal property; and in the latter case a large amount of extra profit would accrue, to be also devoted to the reduction of taxation. If the Government, without buying up the companies, simply took powers to transact life assurances without any other limit than their own prudence as to the sum which they should take on a single life, the result would be, as in the case of the Savings Banks, that all except the very largest and most secure of existing institutions would soon cease to do business, and the Government would have the field to itself. In the latter case, no questions of compensation for vested interests would arise, unless the Government saw fit, for its own purposes, to arrange for the transfer of some particular office, or offices, in order to utilize the staff of such offices for extension purposes. If the Central Executive were to undertake life assurance, the question whether or not to include fire insurance would follow as a matter of course; but there are reasons here, as in the question of sickness assurance, which seem to indicate that the local authorities would be more fitted than the central Government for the management of such a business. In every town, and in almost every village, a staff of firemen, with superintendents, has to be kept; in large towns they are frequently municipal employés, the corporation or other governing

body repaying itself either by an annual contribution from each fire office, according to its local income, or by charging for the services of the staff to the offices interested in case of a fire.

The question of obtaining powers for the corporation to insure against fire was (we are informed) mooted a few years ago by Mr. Alderman Grave in the Manchester City Council. The corporation does now supply gas and water to the inhabitants, and grants annuities, and issues debenture bonds on the security of the rates, using the money for the establishment and extension of these works; it also keeps up a very efficient staff of men and engines for the duty of extinguishing fires, its municipal action would therefore probably be quickened if the neglect of any fire was entirely at its own risk. A corporation could, however, only become a fire insurance office either as a competitor with existing establishments, or by going to Parliament for a monopoly. On the first supposition, it would either be obliged to buy off the existing offices from the locality, or to fight them for business, with the risk of unremunerative premiums, and the destruction of the present good understanding as to the extinction of fires. And it is not very likely that Parliament would grant a monopoly to a municipal corporation for an object which is not strictly local, and which, if extended to other bodies, might end in the destruction of existing fire offices, and the non-insurance of property outside municipal boundaries.

To life assurance by municipal corporations these objections do not apply. If they obtained the necessary parliamentary powers they might issue policies on the security of their local rates, and use the accumulated premiums for their improvements, which under good management would to a considerable degree be paid for out of profits. Every town councillor would be specially interested in the success of the scheme, and all agency commissions and procuration fees might in a short time be abolished. There would be no share capital to pay interest upon, no directors' fees, no extension agents, no travelling expenses, no advertising throughout the kingdom, no feasting of agents, and no secret-service money for amalgamations. The corporations would simply compete with existing life companies; and the complete knowledge of the managers and their responsibility to the ratepayers, and the thorough publicity of accounts, together with the fact that the profits would go to improve the borough and to lessen local taxation, would go far towards securing success.

The bill introduced into Parliament last session by Mr. Stephen Cave, M.P. for Shoreham, proposed to oblige all life companies to file annually with the Board of Trade full accounts, according to certain forms of schedules attached, and which schedules are well calculated to exhibit the true state of a company. The balance-

sheets at present issued by many companies are evidently got up with an intention to conceal the true state of affairs—the excuse in reply to objections being, that rival companies would take unfair advantage and make unfair use of a proper statement. If all companies alike are obliged to publish in the same form, this plea, foolish as it is, will be done away with.

Mr. Cave's bill requires also the publication of each actuarial report, and enforces such a report every tenth year where the deed of settlement of any society does not provide for it. And most important of all, the bill enforces the registration of every amalgamation deed, with every sum paid or to be paid on account thereof fully set forth, whether the payment be made in cash or in securities.

If such a Bill had become law twenty years ago, the newspapers would have given us an annual return, showing the comparative position of each company, and the agents, no longer deceived themselves, would not have been induced to try to deceive others, even by 80 per cent. of the first premiums. And no man in his senses will ever believe that if the heavy sums paid to negociators had had to be published in detail, they would ever have been paid at all. Mr. Cave has done the public a great service by the introduction and discussion of his Bill; he has devoted much attention to the subject, and deserves great honour, but the nation would have been still more his debtor if, when overtaken by illness, he had arranged with the Government—as we believe he might have done—to adopt and pass the measure during the last session. However, it is useless to waste time in vain regrets; and it will be one of the consolations even to shareholders and policy-holders in the Albert, that their wreck will cause the removal of the sunken rocks upon which many a bark has foundered.

Mr. Tidd Pratt, in order to cure the evils of Friendly Societies, urges the appointment of a Royal Commission—a course which seems to us to be entirely beside the mark. A Royal Commission is useful where information is required upon an intricate subject; but we know already all which a Royal Commission could tell us about Friendly Societies. We know how they are constructed, what are their defects, and how, in consequence of such defects, they are always being established, and always dying and leaving old members to the parish, after having paid in sufficient sums to provide, under proper management, for old age and infirmity.

What is requisite is a law to oblige Friendly Societies to adopt proper rates of premium, to confine their management expenses to a proper proportion of receipts, and power to the registrar to enforce this law, and also to enforce full returns according to schedules to be attached to the Act of Parliament.

So in regard to Life Assurance Companies; people talk of a Government audit as the desirable remedy. Why, we know a company now to which the Treasury can send its accountant any day, and yet it is currently believed that the company in question is no better than it should be. If ordinary auditors did their duty companies would be kept much more nearly right; but an audit over sherry and sandwiches, where the auditors feel bound to take the word of the manager for the goodness of the securities, and have no power to disallow illegal expenditure, is simply the work of a boy who has learned to do compound addition.

When an excise was charged on printed calicoes, the excise-man was the Government auditor; and it was not unusual to ply him with wine, so that he could scarcely count the number of pieces which he stamped, and occasionally to use the stamp for him whilst he was convivially engaged.

But whether the central or local governments do or do not take up assurance business, one thing is certain to come out of the disastrous and disgraceful failure of the Albert; the public will insist upon the speedy passage of some such Bill as that introduced by Mr. Stephen Cave, will insist also upon the most complete publicity of accounts, so that they may judge for themselves which are sound and which unsound companies. We hope the public will also insist that in proprietary companies the spending of the nett premium revenue for other purposes than the discharge of policies shall be treated as a misdemeanour, punishable at law. If these things be insisted upon, it is about all we can expect the law to do; the public must do all else which is necessary for itself. If, as seems to be the growing feeling, we are to seek out, with a view to punish the men whose past proceedings have brought about the present deplorable state of affairs in life assurance, then a far better mode than a Royal Commission would be a Committee of the House of Lords, who could summon all the parties to the various Amalgamation payments and Friendly Society frauds, examine them on oath, and so expose every man of them, and, if necessary for the public welfare, direct also the prosecution of such of them as most deserved it. We should by such means achieve every desirable result, the complete exposure of the various methods of fraud and their perpetrators, the punishment of such as it is advisable to make an example of, and a legal provision which will render such nefarious proceedings impossible for the future.

One company, "The British Imperial," has already started, which binds itself, by its articles of association, to invest in Government securities a sufficient portion of every premium to meet the average claims, and to enable them at all times to pay the proper surrender value of a policy. If this company secures

business enough to carry it over its nonage—that is, if by the time its share capital is spent, it has achieved such a position as to be able to pay its working expenses out of the necessary loading which is added to premiums—it will present to the assurer perfect security, and will, we believe, be the parent of a new and reformed list of life offices. Another young company, “The Commercial Union,” is, we understand, also bound by its deed to invest (but not necessarily in Government securities) its nett life premiums, so that to spend these funds for other purposes than for the discharge of policies would be a breach of trust and punishable at law. We heartily wish these companies success, not that we care for the prosperity of any particular office or offices, but because we do care to have life assurance made doubly sure, so that it may become universal.

Since the preceding part of this article was put into type, another scene in the great assurance tragedy has commenced: the European, comprising thirty-five offices in one, has been transferred from the parental care of its directors and their stalwart manager, who were fast hugging it to death, to the more severe grip of the lawyers, who will no doubt very much shorten the process, but with the same substantial result.

The petitions for winding-up are twofold; the first from a victimized shareholder, who within six months is said to have borrowed money to pay for three thousand shares, upon which he hoped to make 15 per cent, but upon which, before the receipt of a single dividend, he received a call-notice for five shillings a share, and which call immediately reduced the market value of shares with ten shillings paid and one-and-sixpence bonus added, from four-and-sixpence each to a discount of four-and-sixpence, or nett sixpence each for shares with fifteen shillings paid, and one-and-sixpence bonus addition.

The annual meeting of the European was held at the end of May, and the usual glowing report was issued: the society had achieved during the past year a larger amount of new business than ever; a very large proportion of the old policies had fallen in, which made the life claims heavy, but the society was rapidly achieving the position of a young company with immense revenue, arising from lives which were nearly all in their prime. Such were the pæans sung by the directors and echoed by the meeting. True, there was some little denunciation of traitors within and without the camp, and the chairman was completely overcome with emotion, which the meeting accounted for by a recent bereavement; but there was no other indication of the imminent crash, and the agents met the manager at the Crystal Palace to a most magnificent entertainment, and returned home

very merry. Even when within two months the call-note was delivered, accompanied by a circular to the effect that the best friends of the company had remarked that the paid-up capital was small in proportion to the large and increasing business, the shareholders met in various places, and were told that the object of the call was to meet the requirements of Mr. Cave's Bill, and to enable the company to look well in the return of realized assets, and that it was simply a further investment of money at 5 per cent.; even then resolutions of confidence and of willingness to meet the call were passed almost unanimously.

It appears, however, that a petition was really filed before the annual meeting, but not advertised, and that the petitioner was bought off; and it is probable that No. 1 petition now arranged for hearing, not having been advertised, was also intended to make the company pay for the folly of a speculative shareholder. But petition No. 2 is by a director, who tells us that so far from the call-money being an additional investment at 5 per cent., there is not more than 10,000*l.* remaining out of about 50,000*l.* received upon that call, and that there are outstanding claims admitted but not paid to the extent of 120,000*l.*; that there was a balance of expenditure over receipts on last year (a fact which quite escaped those who listened to the reading of the balance sheet), and that after six months' earnest effort on his part, no real attempt at economy had been made. We believe that the life liabilities of the European exceed nine millions sterling, and the guarantee liabilities two and a half millions sterling; and that the nett assets will not be more than half a million, exclusive of calls upon the shareholders. The manager declares that the company is perfectly solvent and has funds to meet the current claims, but we have no hope whatever that he will on cross-examination satisfy the Vice-Chancellor in that respect.

We have heard on very good authority of agreements entered into for the sake of present cash, which if contracted by a private individual would at once issue in an inquiry *de lunatico*, or a certificate of two medical men consigning the subject promptly to Bethlehem Hospital. It looks like treachery for a director who has sat for years at a board, and who from the outside seems to have coincided in all its arrangements, suddenly to pull down and wreck the house; but the consciences of men differ in quality, and it is well for society that some are occasionally found who cannot go all lengths in rascality, and who, when urged too far, come out and expose their fellows. And it is quite possible, as the petitioning director affirms, that he has resisted and proposed and protested for a series of years in vain, until having lost all heart and all hope, he has resolved to save his remaining reputation by any means.

Forty thousand policy-holders who have struggled and saved and handed their premiums into what they believed safe keeping, are thus suddenly stranded; the dependents of forty thousand persons are wrecked, with the certain loss of more or less of their effects: annuitants to the extent of 18,000*l.* per annum have to wait the result of legal pressure upon twelve hundred shareholders, many of whom are more surely ruined than themselves, before they can learn whether or not their means of living be entirely gone; and all this in order to feed negociators who will tell us that all their transactions are "quite consistent with honour," and directors who are all "very respectable men;" for we assert without fear of contradiction, that if the money paid for amalgamations had remained in the European, and the manager and directors had been satisfied with moderate payment, the office would not only have been permanent, but wealthy. In the fall of the Albert and the European, sixty different offices have gone to wreck, there have been sixty lots of promoters, sixty preliminary expenses' accounts, sixty sets of officials, fifty-eight purchases of business balances, with all their negociators, solicitors, counsel, compensations, and choked-off protesters! What a mountain of wealth has thus been dissipated. These various offices must have handled 12,000,000*l.*, and their remaining assets are almost *nil*. Evidently there can be no security for the future, except either in a law to make it misdemeanour to dispose of nett premiums, or the carrying on of assurance by public authorities, who, however changeable as to their personnel, will remain publicly responsible and without fear of insolvency.



ART. VIII.—COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

1. *The Education of the People.* By the Rev. CANON NORRIS. London. Macmillan. 1869.
2. *Rapport sur l'état actuel de l'enseignement Spécial et de l'enseignement Primaire en Belgique, en Allemagne, et en Suisse.* Par J. M. BAUDOUIN. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale. 1865.

THE admitted ignorance of the working classes at home, and the weighty evidence of the superior intelligence and morality found amongst the corresponding class in Switzerland and Germany, seem to establish at least a *prima facie* case in favour of compulsory education. Its opponents, nevertheless, are often

contented with saying little more than that what suits one country does not necessarily suit another. The objection is not without plausibility, and many instances might be given of its proper application. Yet surely the general utility of a principle may sometimes be augured from its success in a single community. Political economists do not doubt that the principle of free trade, which has enriched England, would produce similar results abroad. Jurists do not question that religious toleration, so beneficent in France and Germany, would promote happiness and harmony in Spain and Sweden. Foreign statesmen, struck with the usefulness of the English police-force, have found no reason to regret their imitation of it. A cheap letter post, first carried out amongst ourselves, has been eagerly transferred across the Channel. So has our mode of cheap telegraphy. It does not seem to have occurred to foreign politicians that plans for controlling criminals and for conveying letters and telegrams, which succeeded in an island, would probably fail on a continent. Without, however, being accused of pressing the argument too far, we may at least contend that the time has come, when the enemies to the introduction into England of German education, ought to be prepared with distinct and intelligible reasons for their opinions.

Canon Norris has accordingly come forward in defence of the Conservative view. Whilst warmly approving of indirect compulsion, he thinks that any direct method is liable to three decisive objections. 1. A revolution would be created in the management of schools; in other words, the authority of the Anglican clergy would be impaired. 2. Parents would be exposed to great hardship. 3. The people would not submit. He further insists, in answer to those who rely on foreign experience, that in those countries in which compulsion has been applied, no effect has thereby been produced on the advance of education. Its progress, he believes, would have been precisely the same under voluntary regulation.

As many people who consider direct coercion "un-English" look with complacency on indirect methods, it is important to observe at the outset, that in principle these two modes of procedure are the same. The man obliged to do a thing, and the man who unless he does it is deprived of some of the privileges of freedom, are equally living under force. The payer of income tax has quite as much liberty as one not allowed to have the necessaries of life till he has satisfied the collector.

"You take my house, when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

No new principle is invoked by the advocates of direct interference. They can appeal to numberless precedents in our legislation; to such, for instance, as relate to sanitary arrangements. The best example, perhaps, is afforded by the Compulsory Vaccination Act. It is not, however, on any flaw in the principle relied on by his opponents that Canon Norris takes his stand.

That the clergy should view with distrust an innovation which tends to limit their own power is in no way surprising. Like other closely connected bodies of men, they are not without an *esprit de corps*. Moreover, they may appeal with truth to much valuable work done by them in educating the poor. They have during the last thirty years, in many parts of the country, been lavish, not only of personal labour and superintendence, but of what many of them could ill spare—pecuniary contribution. When their influence is far less than at present, the example set by them to the laity, in making exertions to enlighten the ignorant, will still be remembered to their credit.

If, however, the question be, not what are the services and deserts of the clergy, but how education may be rendered popular, the "revolution" which Mr. Norris anticipates has nothing in its nature so very appalling. The poor do not always like to be patronised. Now, the education given by the clergy sometimes seems to the poor to be tainted with an air of patronage. Then, a large proportion of the working class happen to hold opinions which do not find any echo in the theology professed by the Anglican clergy. It is possible, therefore, that Government schools—not subject, as at present, to the authority of the parson—may be regarded with favour by the labouring class. But the clergy need not be inconsolable. The denominational schools would still hold their ground as far as they were supported by public opinion. If they fell in the general estimation, and consequently, as Mr. Norris anticipates, failed to gather adequate subscriptions, this would be because their inferiority to the new schools, maintained by rating, had become manifest. In this case the old schools would gradually give way to the new; but when the reasons were understood, even clergymen would be found who would look on the change with approval.

The hardship to parents is forcibly depicted by Canon Norris:—

"They are returned in my political friend's statistics as 'idle,' being 'neither at school nor at work.' But what is the fact? They are as indispensable to the home-life of that cottage as if they were earning three or four shillings a week. One is going errands—most necessary errands; with the father's meals, to the apothecary, three miles off, to the village shop. Another collects half the fuel they use, or acorns for the pig, or manure for the garden. A third, and all in

their turn, 'mind the house,' 'mind the fire,' 'mind the baby,' while the mother is out. We must think twice or thrice before we roughly try to apply compulsory attendance to such a home as that. To require those parents to give up their children's services, would be simply tantamount to requiring them to keep a servant girl, at a cost of two shillings and sixpence a week, [out of an income of twelve shillings a week."

But in this passage Mr. Norris suggests the strongest possible argument in favour of direct compulsion. It is precisely because children are so indispensable to the home life of their parents—because they are so useful, one in going errands, with the father's meals, or to the apothecary or village shop; another collecting fuel, or acorns for the pig, or manure for the garden; in short, doing the work of a servant-girl engaged at two shillings and sixpence per week, that in thousands of families they can never be got at by any indirect method.

With Mr. Norris, we should deeply regret the loss of comfort to the parents. But it is the duty of a statesman to regard the evils not on one side only, but on both sides of a question. What is the consequence to themselves and to society if these children are left to mind the house or the fire, or gather acorns for the pig, or manure for the garden? This view will, we trust, be considered by Mr. Norris in his next publication.

Again, is it true "that such a law would be practically inoperative?" Though, as the reverend canon tells us, "Legislation is useless unless the popular conscience go with it," that popular conscience is against us must not too easily be taken as proved. A large part of the working population is notoriously in favour of compulsion. They know full well that their whole class is pulled down and degraded by the ignorance of the larger portion, and that till this portion is leavened by education, the whole, for all social and political purposes, must remain unduly weak. The subject was frequently broached at the general election; often with the decided approbation of the audience, and rarely, as far as we know, with any indications of their dissent. That individuals would feel themselves aggrieved by the new law may be granted. Individuals, nay, thousands of families, are aggrieved by the Compulsory Vaccination Act, yet that Act is far from inoperative; its usefulness is widely acknowledged amongst those best qualified to form an opinion.

Not the least arduous part of Mr. Norris's undertaking is his contention, that though education in countries using compulsion is satisfactory, the results under a free system would have been the same. Let, however, this pregnant fact be steadily kept in view; not only that wherever coercion is applied, education is good and morality high; but that wherever coercion is not

applied, education is deficient and morality comparatively low. What is the natural inference?

The efficiency of a medicine can never, it is true, be positively certain. If you tell a doctor who boasts of a cure, that in your opinion his patient would have done equally well without his assistance, he cannot confute you by absolute proof. Yet, if he could show that a number of sufferers for whom he had prescribed had recovered, while an equal number, under the same conditions, having refused his treatment, had died, a strong presumption would have been created in favour of his remedy.

Just such is the case of the Compulsory principle. Governments resorting to it can boast of an intelligent and well conducted population. So enviable a state of things might possibly, as Mr. Norris urges, have come about under a voluntary system. And if the matter had stopped there, the evidence would have been incomplete. When, however, you find, not only that in these countries an agent has existed capable of producing the effect, but that in places from which that agent has been excluded no such effect has been attained, as strong a chain of reasoning is presented, as in a world in which we have to act on probabilities, can often be expected.

This view is strengthened by two *à priori* considerations.

(1.) That foreign statesmen, who may be supposed to know something of their own affairs, would not have gratuitously introduced a stringent law. In their opinion, at any rate, a coercive measure was not likely to be a "dead letter."

(2.) Then it is a matter well ascertained, that the opinion of a nation is largely modified by its laws. Were the statute forbidding murder to be suddenly repealed, few men would be deterred from their ordinary pursuits till they had provided themselves with arms. But whether the same security would prevail, had no law against murder ever been enacted, is a very different question. In this respect nations are like individuals. A man can seldom govern himself whose youth has not been controlled by others. We rejoice then to hear that the law in Germany affecting parents is so seldom put in force. But we must crave leave to think that the wisdom of adopting such a measure has not, therefore, been in any way disproved.

Though differing on many points from Mr. Norris, we readily admit that his paper has rendered good service to the cause of education. A careful argument, whether on the right side or on the wrong, always advances truth. When distrust and prejudice are floating vaguely in the public mind, they are far more fatal than when collected and expressed in a clear and tangible form. Their strength, if they have strength, no doubt

becomes more impressive. But also their weakness, if they have weakness, is more easily brought to light.

We have pleasure in finding that Mr. Norris is eager to extend indirect coercion to agricultural districts.

"Of course," he says, "it is more difficult to enforce such a law over scattered farms than in workshops or factories. But I see no reasonable objection to a law requiring that no boys or girls under fourteen years should be hired for farm service of any kind unless they could produce certificates signed by a teacher and countersigned by a government school inspector, that they had passed an examination in the fourth standard of the revised code."

Canon Melville (who is in favour of direct compulsion) writes to the same effect.

"It is scarcely less true that, for certain field processes, juvenile labour is the best. On the other hand, any one acquainted with our rural districts must know that for no class are the elevating effects of Education more needed . . . There is no reason why this part-time system should not be extended to agricultural as well as manufacturing pursuits—why, in fact, it should not be made the condition of all employment whatever, and forbidding out-door employment to any child under eight; enforcing alternations of work and school on all employed between eight and thirteen. Of course agriculture is more fitful than manufacture, but not so much as to make school-teaching impossible."*

We may here advert to a sophism lately propounded to the country by Mr. Disraeli and Lord Stanley. If education is popular, they said, compulsion is unnecessary; if unpopular, compulsion will not be tolerated. The fallacy appeared to find acceptance with the audiences to whom it was addressed. They failed to see that though education were popular, isolated districts might still remain, which, fostering ignorance and her train, would be a nuisance to the community; or that if, on the other hand, education were unpopular, the odium need not be so great as to incite resistance. Laws intensely annoying to large numbers of the population, have often been passed and worked, without producing insurrection or disturbance.

Those whose scruples as to compulsion have not been met in these pages, we would refer to the interesting report on German education, sent in by Monsieur Baudouin to the French Government, and to an article by the present writer in the *Fortnightly Review*.† But, in truth, the time for discussing principles is past. The important question is how most quickly to give education to every child in the kingdom. While legislators are,

* "Popular Education." By the Rev. David Melville, M.A. Rivingtons.

† "Compulsory Primary Education." *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1868.

in a desultory manner, making up their minds, irreparable mischief that might be averted, is daily being done to hundreds of thousands of human beings.

We would submit that the Factory and Workshop Acts should be extended in such a manner that no child can be employed either in the town or the country without a certificate attesting a certain amount of education, and a guarantee that till the age of fourteen, education shall continue. And that children may not be kept from school, to remain as servants at home, a measure should be passed requiring parents who are not educating their children, to send them to school for a portion of the year, between the ages of five and fourteen.

Moreover, these means should be adopted, not as cautious politicians have recommended, ten or twenty years hence, when the public has become more enlightened, but *now*, whilst its ignorance is gross, and its need of stringent remedies the more pressing. When a house is on fire, and water at hand, it is well to extinguish the fire with all possible speed; not wait till the lethargic inmates are convinced that water would be useful.

This generation cannot, indeed, expect to get rid, at a blow, of the bitter legacy inherited from the past. But it is for them to say how far they will be instrumental in handing it on to the future. As far as we are aware, no more effectual method lies within their reach, than making the education of the poor, which is now a matter of accident, a matter of certainty.

DUDLEY CAMPBELL.

ART. IX. — PROSTITUTION ; ITS SANITARY SUPERINTENDENCE BY THE STATE : AN EXTRACT FROM THE ELEVENTH REPORT OF THE MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

IN the concluding paragraph of the article on Prostitution in relation to the National Health, published in our last number, we pledged ourselves to prove that the plan of dealing with the diseases incident to prostitution, now vigorously pressed on the legislature, viz. that of extending the Contagious Diseases Acts to the civil population, "will both signally fail to accomplish the object in view, and will itself entail evils far greater than those it is intended to remedy, and that there is a plan open to no such objection, in harmony with the free spirit of English institutions, which if practised will be successful, and which it is

our intention fully to explain in a succeeding number of this *Review*." We hope to redeem our pledge next January. Meanwhile we congratulate all workers in the cause of English freedom on the fact, that in his Eleventh Report, just issued, the eminent and very able Medical Officer of the Privy Council has declared himself opposed to the extension of the Contagious Diseases Acts to the civil population. Mr. Simon has published his reasons for taking the decisive attitude he has assumed, and as his official position gives additional importance to his arguments, which however are quite sufficiently weighty of themselves, we deem it our duty, at this critical period in the agitation of the unspeakably important subject in question, to lay his arguments before our readers in his own vigorous, clear, and convincing language. The section of his Report devoted to this topic Mr. Simon entitles—

"QUESTION OF STATE INTERFERENCE TO PROVIDE FOR THE DISINFECTION OF PROSTITUTES." His treatment of the question we give *in extenso* as follows:—

"The inquiry of the department into the prevalence of venereal diseases among the civil population, was intended to contribute some of the elements necessary for judging a question which of late has been much agitated before the public: the question, *whether it is expedient to have in this country a systematic sanitary superintendence of prostitutes*. During the last few years, under the provisions of special Acts of Parliament—the so called 'Contagious Diseases Acts' of 1864 and 1866, a system of this sort has been administered on a small scale by the War Office and Admiralty, at certain military and naval stations; and recently, while these departments have been proposing to extend their own operations with respect to the two public services which they direct, the more general question has been raised by the advocacy of a voluntary association formed for the purpose of promoting the extension of the Contagious Diseases Act, 1866, to the civil population of the United Kingdom.

"There are here two questions which I think cannot be too strictly distinguished: the question concerning the army and navy, and the question concerning the civil population. It has not been any part of my duty to advise on the former of these questions; and I now only advert to it for the sake of greater clearness in proceeding to discuss the other. It seems to me that prostitution and its attendant diseases, in their relation to the army and navy, are, in two different points of view, matter of public concern and responsibility; first, because the military and naval services at their respective stations are essential determining causes of prostitution, and the State, which for its own purposes keeps those masses of male population unmarried, cannot

claim to be indifferent to the result ; and secondly, because the specific diseases which arise in that mode of life occasion so enormous a quantity of temporary disablement in the two services as to be of pecuniary importance to the entire tax-paying community. These I apprehend are the grounds on which rests all that has yet been done by the Legislature with reference to venereal diseases : grounds which are in the utmost degree exceptional as regards the nature of the case : and to argue from such a case to the case of the civil population would manifestly be a confusion of judgment. Of the venereal diseases of the civil population, English sanitary law has not hitherto taken any special cognizance ; and whether this neutral state of the law ought or ought not to be abandoned is a separate question, of far more intricacy than seems to be generally imagined, and which on all accounts certainly deserves most careful consideration.

"In proceeding to discuss this question, I may conveniently first refer to the programme of the association which I have mentioned—the 'Association for promoting the Extension of the Contagious Diseases Act, 1866, to the Civil Population of the United Kingdom.' The Association contends 'that sufferers under any kind of [venereal] contagious disease are dangerous members of society, and should, so long as they are in this state, be prevented from communicating it to others ; . . . that common prostitutes should be subject to a compulsory medical examination, and to compulsory detention in hospital as often as they are found diseased, and as long as they continue so ; . . . that, for the reception of prostitutes suffering from venereal disease, hospital accommodation should be provided in all towns where such persons congregate.* To give a notion of the quantity of hospital accommodation which would be requisite to satisfy this programme, I may observe, for instance, that London is conjectured to have some 18,000 women whose living is gained by prostitution ;† and that, according to one of the secretaries of the society, on any given number of prostitutes, always about one-third may be assumed to be diseased.‡ If, instead of insisting on these colossal estimates, we take only half their total result, the plan would require for London alone the creation and maintenance of new hospital accommodation nearly equal to that which is now given by the twelve general hospitals of London for all bodily diseases put together ; accommodation, namely, for 3000 patients. The charge of maintaining (independently of the cost of constructing) such lazarets as the above would probably be at least

* Report of Association, sections 2, 32, 33.

† Appendix of Assoc. Report, p. 22.

‡ Mr. Curgenven, on the Contagious Diseases Act of 1866, p. 7.

100,000*l.* per annum : and their construction would probably represent a first cost little short of half a million of money : besides all which there would be the considerable annual charges for police arrangements and medical inspections. This for London alone ! And the requirements of other large towns would probably be of like proportions.

“Demands like the above are evidently not likely to be met by voluntary contributions. The result, if to be got at all, can only be got under action of law ; and any such law, whether empowering the central government to defray expenses out of proceeds of general taxation, or empowering municipalities to assign local funds for the purpose, is of course in relation to minorities, compulsory. Now it is quite certain that, rightly or wrongly, the proposed appropriation of money would, in the eyes of very large numbers of persons, be to the last degree odious and immoral. In most municipal constituencies there are swarms of persons who already find it no easy matter to satisfy the collectors of rates and taxes ; they would see the prostitute kept in hospital at their expense for weeks or months, not necessarily from the exigencies of severe illness of her own, but essentially that she might be made clean for hire, lest any of her users should catch disease from her ; they would remember in contrast, that for themselves wonderfully little is done by authority to protect them against adulterations of food, or against false weights or measures ; and they might regard it as a strange caprice of law which should oblige them to contribute to the cost of giving an artificial security to their neighbour’s looseness of life. It seems to me very important to measure beforehand the degree in which such arguments would be valid, or rather to consider on what principles (if any) the proposed intervention of law is to be justified.

“I suppose it may be assumed that public policy is very decidedly in favour of marriage as against promiscuous fornication ; that the latter, however powerless may be laws to prevent it, is at least an order of things which no State would willingly foster ; that whereas it has some inherent inconveniences, among which is the liability to specific contagious maladies, such drawbacks from its attractions are not in their kind a matter for general social regret ; that venereal diseases are, in principle, infections which a man contracts at his own option, and against which he cannot in any degree claim to be protected by action of others—the less so of course as his option is exercised in modes of life contrary to the common good ; that thus, *primâ facie* the true policy of Government is to regard the prevention of venereal diseases as matter of exclusively private concern. *Caveat emptor*. And though it must be admitted that to some extent the con-

sequences of promiscuous fornication spread beyond the persons of the original performers; the infections of the brothel being oftentimes carried into simultaneous or subsequent wedlock, and in some cases fixing their obscene brand even on the offspring of such marriages; this horrid fact is only one of many which might be cited, where innocent wives and children participate more or less severely in consequences which husbands and fathers have earned. To be wife or child of a drunkard or a gambler involves evils against which the State does not affect to give security; and *primâ facie*, the dependent interest must be equally unprotected by the State against harms which that other sort of looseness may bring on it.

"I am very far from thinking that the above are the sole considerations to which regard must be had in deciding such questions as the present. But they seem to me to define a position which ought not to be abandoned, except under strong compulsion of circumstances, and with reasonable prospects of success. Evidently, if venereal diseases were now the same gigantic scourge and terror which they were some 350 years ago, when they inspired Fracastoro's poem, and if curative medicine had continued as powerless against them as then; if we saw them still raging as great intractable epidemics, impeding national movements, and forcibly occupying the mind of society with all sorts of lazarous presentations; the reasons for legislative action, *provided such action could be effectual*, might be stronger than the reasons for neutrality, and considerations as to the personal ætiology of the disease might perforce have to be subordinated to the urgency of a public danger.

"The cardinal questions, then, are two:—First, does the detriment which venereal infections cause to the public health reach those limits at which principles generally preferable ought to be exceptionally abandoned by the State? Secondly, would the good which can be got through State interference in this matter be enough to reasonably compensate for the cost at which it would have to be attained? I must confess that I cannot with any approach to confidence answer either of these questions affirmatively. As regards the first of them, I have not the least disposition to deny that venereal affections constitute a real and great evil for the community; though I suspect that very exaggerated opinions are current as to their diffusion and malignity; but since the resources of curative medicine against them are constantly becoming stronger and stronger, it seems probable that the worst of them will year by year become less and less important (as endangering life or limb) in cases where infection may obtain. It may also be anticipated that the greatly improved knowledge which late years have given to the medical profession

with regard to the venereal contagia will spread, and not very slowly spread, through the minds of the general public, and will soon very much reduce the number of those sad cases where infected men give syphilis to their wives and offspring. On the other hand, as regards our power of preventing venereal diseases by such a superintendence of prostitution as is proposed, it is certain that no appreciable good would be got except with much organization, and at very large cost of money; and there are strong reasons for believing that the gain so purchased would, on analysis, be found to belong very predominantly to those kinds of venereal diseases in which the community has little or no permanent interest.

“First, as regards the actual quantity of venereal disease current in this country, and the importance of such disease to the public health, it is to be remembered that under the head of ‘venereal diseases’ are included three chief sorts of disease, and of course in each sort many different degrees of severity. The three sorts to which I refer, and which in any given person are not incompatible with one another, are gonorrhœa, pseudo-syphilis, and true syphilis. *Gonorrhœa* is never even temporarily of much importance to women, nor ever, unless very exceptionally, of much permanent importance even to men; but yet thus far it is not a quite unimportant infection, that in men it is often extremely inconvenient, indeed sometimes involves for a time painful and even disabling complications, and cannot absolutely be said never to leave permanent local damage behind it. *Pseudo-Syphilis*, or so called ‘simple chancre,’ is a form of ulcer which may be of considerable local destructiveness, and is often attended by inguinal buboes, but leads to no specific ulterior consequences. *True Syphilis*, arising as ‘hard chancre,’ or in other less characteristic primary affections, involves an outbreak or successive outbreaks of so called ‘secondary symptoms:’ which though almost invariably amenable to medical treatment as they arise, and probably in an immense majority of cases not of more than transient importance to the person attacked, are yet not infrequently a more or less troublesome relapsing illness, and sometimes, even in spite of treatment, a long subsequent danger to life; and this true syphilis is of permanent interest to society, partly because of the cases (though comparatively very few) in which it is intractable in the person of the original sufferer, but still more because of the indefinite duration of time for which he or she may at intervals be capable of infecting others, and because the issue of syphilitic parents is apt to perish during utero-gestation, or to be born more or less syphilitic. In seeking to estimate, without exaggeration, the harm which society suffers from venereal diseases, and the good which preventive measures

may possibly effect, it is of course essential to observe the distinctions between the above-described three sorts of diseases : above all not to use the word 'venereal' as if it were synonymous with 'syphilitic,' and it is also essential that whatever purports to be statistical evidence on the subject should be evidence on a sufficiently large and impartial scale. The report of the 'Association for Promoting the Extension of the Contagious Diseases Act to the Civil Population' gives some statistics which might lead to an impression that in London from one-fifth to one-third of the sick poor are suffering from 'a contagious disease of the gravest character, which is constantly transmitted from parent to offspring;' but the contents of Mr. Wagstaffe's report* satisfy me that no sufficient grounds for any such impression exist; rendering it, I think, highly probable that, of the sick poor who at any given moment are receiving medical relief under the Poor Law and at dispensaries and general hospitals in London, only about 7 per cent. have venereal disease of one kind or another, and that only in about half this proportion the form of disease is true syphilis. Again, a piece of the experience of the Children's Hospital in Great Ormond Street, as quoted in the report of the Association, may seem to suggest that 'about one-fifth' of the sick children of the poor are sick with immediate consequences of inherited syphilis; but on inquiry I find that, of 118,590 children of the poor treated during the last ten years for all sorts of diseases at the Ormond Street Hospital, the proportion recorded to have been syphilitic has been only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per 100. Thus, in both cases the quantity of evil appears to be many times less than advocates of legislative interference may imagine; and it must be remembered that London probably illustrates the utmost dimensions which the evil can attain in this country.†

* Printed in the Appendix to Mr. Simon's Report. We regret that we have not space in which to reproduce it here.

† Mr. Simon's opinion that "the quantity of evil appears to be many times less than the advocates of legislative interference may imagine," does not seem to be fairly justified by the evidence to which he refers. The paragraph in which he expresses this opinion has been criticised in the *Lancet* for September 18th as follows:—This paragraph "contains a larger series of propositions than it will be possible to deal with satisfactorily in the limits of a single article; but still we must endeavour to state briefly some of our cardinal objections to them.

"In the first place, is it true that 'gonorrhœa is never even temporarily of much importance to women?' Is it not occasionally the primary cause of some internal inflammations that produce permanent barrenness; and of others that may terminate in pelvic cellulitis, leading to severe and lingering illness, and even to death? In men, is it 'very exceptional' that gonorrhœa should produce stricture? and is it very exceptional that stricture should cause renal

"Then, as regards the preventability of venereal diseases, even the abstract question (abstract I mean from considerations of cost) is by no means an easy one. Especially we are in want of exact discriminative information as to the good which other countries have got from their sanitary superintendence of prostitution. I believe it to be the fact that, even under strict systems of police, prostitutes in very large proportions escape the intended supervision; and that in their evasive traffic so large a dissemination of venereal disease may be kept up as to leave in net result very little apparent success to be boasted of. Let it be assumed, however, that in any place where circumstances are favourable, 'venereal diseases' in mass may be greatly reduced under such a system; but there remains as an unfortunate accident of the case, that this reduction might least of all affect those sorts of disease in which society is incomparably most interested; and in the absence of exact records on this point, expectations

disease and death? The experience of any London hospital would surely answer these questions in an unmistakeable manner, and would prove that Mr. Simon has understated the gravity of this one form of disease. 'Pseudo-syphilis' we are content to surrender to him; but as regards true syphilis we think he has erred in the same way as with gonorrhœa, and we do not see that the Report to which he alludes affords even the materials for a judgment upon the question. Mr. Wagstaffe has made observations at, and obtained out-patient returns from, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, St. George's, and the Royal Free Hospitals, and from the Western General, Finsbury, Farringdon, Surrey, and Stanhope-street Dispensaries; and in-patient returns from St. George's, the London, the Royal Free, the Female and Male Lock Hospitals, and from the Lambeth and St. Pancras Workhouse Infirmaries. He states that 'only those cases have been entered as venereal where the disease for the relief of which the applicant presented himself was due directly or indirectly to some form of venereal affection; and no entry has been made of those who at some previous time in their lives have had one or other kind of such disease.'

It is quite evident that such an inquiry as this, made with any resemblance to the ordinary way of investigating the cases of out-patients, would altogether fail of arriving at the truth. It would omit from consideration the whole of the remote effects of syphilis, the gummosse tumours of the brain, liver, and other organs, and the many cases of syphilitic cachexia in which all manner of symptoms continue unrelieved until they are treated by anti-syphilitic remedies. The quality of the statistics may also be shown by their differences. Thus, in the ophthalmic department at St. Thomas's, the syphilitic out-patients amount to ten per cent. of the whole number; at St. George's only to four per cent. Putting percentages on one side, and not allowing the amount of venereal disease in London to be disregarded as trifling because it is concealed by a vast amount of comparatively trivial cases of other forms of illness, we find that Mr. Wagstaffe's tables absolutely show *three hundred and forty-five* cases of acquired syphilis among the out-patients of four London hospitals in the course of a single week—(the quota of the Royal Free was contributed in four days only), or *seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty cases in the year*. If we allow that the other seven hospitals, and all the special hospitals, and the dispensaries and parish doctors, treat twice as large an aggregate, we shall

ought, I think, to be very moderate. For the various local states which most habitually spread the infection of true syphilis are apt to be in themselves such slight and painless affections as almost or entirely to escape the patient's notice; and indeed in women primary syphilitic ulcers, and other local states capable of infecting with syphilis, not only very often pass unnoticed by the patient herself, but have often been overlooked in examinations made expressly for their discovery. And with reference to proposals that particular inspections of women should take place on the information of men whom they have infected, insuperable difficulties are created in the case of true syphilis by the very long incubation-time of the primary infection: an interval generally of at least three weeks, and capable apparently of extending to six weeks or more; during which time the inoculated part presents absolutely no sign of infection; and at the end of which time the infected man may (for obvious reasons) be in utter ambiguity as to his infectress.

at once arrive at a total of nearly fifty-four thousand patients, each with acquired syphilis, treated by charity, in the course of the year, and each one of them liable of course to infect many others. We think this alone is a sufficiently strong case on which to rest legislation.

"We doubt very much, however, whether this number, large as it is, at all adequately represents the magnitude of the evil. The people who go to hospitals for relief belong largely to classes in which the ties of morality sit somewhat loosely, and in which there is probably less resort to hired prostitutes than among those a little higher in the social scale. Prostitutes are much resorted to by clerks and shopmen, and they, when diseased, are more likely to go and pay shillings to a druggist than to make application to an hospital. They are none the less likely or less liable to diffuse syphilis in society; and, on account of the deterioration of race that it may involve, their disease becomes of public importance.

"With regard to women, it has recently been reported by Dr. Ellis, surgeon to the St. Pancras Workhouse Infirmary, that they, when they become diseased in brothels, and are too sore to carry on their business, remain as servants at the same house, or in some other house belonging to the same proprietor, and do not seek hospital relief unless they are 'very bad indeed.' The circumstance that an infecting sore, in either sex, is neither very painful nor attended by much depression, serves to prevent many persons from seeking aid at all; and we do not think that Mr. Wagstaffe's researches throw the smallest light upon the question at issue.

"Finally, we must take exception to the statement that London 'illustrates the largest dimensions of the evil.' We believe there are country towns in which syphilis is actually more prevalent than in London, and in which, from certain social conditions, it is even more liable to spread.

"The prevalence and the severity of syphilis have little bearing upon Mr. Simon's main argument, to which, although it concerns social science rather than medicine, we purpose to call the attention of our readers at an early period. At present we can only protest against any endeavour, especially on the part of so high an authority as Mr. Simon, either to underrate the severity of venereal disease, or to hide its prevalence by contrasting it with the thousands of trumpery ailments that make up the roll of the out-patients at our hospitals."

"When the question of preventing venereal diseases is considered as one of administration and finance, some of the above facts become important difficulties. It is proposed that the organization should take equal cognizance of all sorts of venereal disease ; indeed this, if the organization were in existence, would seem practically inevitable ; partly because of uncertainties and precariousness of diagnosis ; partly because cases, taken in the order of their permanent interest to society, would very often be in inverse order to that which the relative urgency of personal sufferings would dictate. And thus, so far as the extinction of true syphilis is to be deemed the essential object of the system, the organization would in two ways tend to be disproportionately expensive : on the one hand, because expending a very large share of its strength on diseases of no permanent importance to society, and, on the other hand, in such measure as cases of true syphilis would escape the intentions of the system.—Further, when the administrative question is considered, not as national and one, but as distributed among many local authorities, a new sort of difficulty presents itself. Whatever good can be got from a sanitary superintendence of prostitution, if worked with uniform strictness through the entire country, the good will not only of course diminish, but will diminish at an immensely increasing rate of diminution, in proportion as the system is not universal and uniformly strict ; so that a local expenditure which would give remunerative results, if other places were acting on the same system, might easily, in the contrary case, appear comparatively unproductive. This has been a chief point in the case of those who have pressed for an extension of the present venereal diseases law ; and the Association's report has for one of its chief texts, 'Free communication between localities, fatal to success of Act in limited districts.'

"The broad result in my mind from the various above-stated considerations is that at present I very decidedly refrain from recommending any change in that neutral position which English law has hitherto held in regard of the venereal diseases of the civil population. So far as my present knowledge enables me to judge, I believe that any departure from that position could do little but embarrass and disappoint.

"That under a well planned national system, obligatory in its local operation, and stringently directed from the centre, with an enormous establishment of lock hospitals, with prostitution universally submitted to strict methodical supervision by police, and with very frequently recurring minute surgical examination of the persons of prostitutes, a great reduction might be made in the present prevalence of venereal diseases among the civil population ; and that as part of such reduction (though probably in

comparison but a small part) there would be a diminution in the prevalence of true syphilis; these are propositions which I do not dispute; but their very important converse has to be remembered, that, in proportion as the above conditions cannot be attained, the hope of results becomes chimerical. The conditions, I need hardly observe,*are such as there can be no reasonable present expectation of seeing realized in this country; and I must add that, in the present state of my knowledge, I could not advocate any such legislation as would even approximately fulfil them. Not only do I doubt whether the evil can in any reasonable sense be said to call for the repugnant and very costly measures of prevention which alone could pretend to be of effect against it, but also I feel bound to press for something like proportion in the treatment of such matters. And recognising how incomplete is hitherto our sanitary system, and particularly how little pressure is yet put on local authorities in matters of far more general importance to life; recognising, for instance, that it is almost entirely a question of private charity whether fever hospitals exist in a town, and that such hospitals are most insufficiently provided: I cannot but think that during this state of things compulsory legislation in the present matter would be a disproportion not to be justified.

"On the other hand I have to observe that the somewhat uncertain amount of good which very strict compulsory legislation might produce would less and less admit of being realized, in proportion as the provisions of law were non-compulsory; and a law, giving to local authorities or populations any considerable scope for option in the present matter would quite unquestionably be futile. Every one knows how valueless such legislation has been in the greater part of the hitherto province of sanitary law, even as regards objects of foremost necessity to the public health; so valueless, that in all chief respects compulsory legislation has already had to be substituted for it; and the light of those experiences may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the present extremely difficult and delicate subject matter. There probably would be detailed discussions, often indefinitely prolonged, and resulting in inharmonious conclusions, in innumerable vestries and town-councils and wardmotes; discussions which, if not to bear fruit, ought in the interests of decency to be deprecated; but of action capable of giving success, there certainly would be little or nothing. It is true that under permissive law there have been exceptional instances of local exertion for other sanitary purposes; but even solitary instances of such exertion could not in the present matter be anticipated; for here the peculiar discouragement would exist, that no town could be sure of satisfactory results from its own superintendence of prostitution, unless

other towns in communication with it were acting upon the same system.

"In a particular proposal which I think it my duty to mention, permissive legislation, of a sort which would almost entirely rest on a system of voluntary contributions, has been contemplated ; and this proposal was received last year with some favour by the committee of the House of Lords which had the Contagious Diseases Act under consideration.* The proposal, viewed in relation to its professed aim, is of course open in the very utmost degree to the objections which I have just stated generally against permissive legislation ; indeed, I can scarcely conceive that, if enacted, it would in any single case be of good effect ; and there is a different point of view in which I would venture to submit that its admissibility (as well as that of any permissive legislation) requires to be most cautiously considered. For it seems to me that the proposed legislation, powerless though it would be for any sanitary result, would in principle be the thin end of a wedge ; that the question of its acceptance or rejection is, as precedent, of fundamental importance ; that, between permissive general legislation to-day and compulsory general legislation to-morrow, there would stand but the question of expense. In courses called tentative it is so easy to drift into positions which become pledges, that I venture to press this consideration. Whether the venereal diseases of the civil population are henceforth to be deemed matter of public concern, whether the civil fornicant may reasonably look to constituted authorities to protect him in his commerce with prostitutes, is the principle which I conceive to be at stake. And I would repeat my opinion, that if that principle is affirmed, the responsibilities implied in it cannot be adequately met without stringent compulsory general legislation.

"Whether particular municipalities wishing to exercise within their respective jurisdictions special powers in relation to venereal diseases might properly be let acquire such powers by purely local Acts of Parliament, is, I think, a somewhat different question ; and possibly such special Acts (provided they contained proper obligatory provisions) might, in certain cases, be conceded without any sacrifice of the real principles which are at stake. Every such case would then have to be judged on its own merits.

* "I describe the financial basis of this proposal as 'almost entirely' voluntary contribution. The proposal, as I understand it, is that Government should be authorized to confer the requisite police powers for sanitary superintendence of prostitution on any local authority shown to have at command (as by voluntary contribution) the proper hospital accommodation for such purposes. And the proposal seems to assume that, if lock hospitals were established by voluntary contribution, the local authority could provide (presumably from proceeds of rates) for the cost of the medical inspections and police arrangements."

But as regards any general legislation, whether compulsory or permissive, in regard to the venereal diseases of the civil community, my conclusion is very decided that at present I cannot recommend any such legislation.

"Finally, there are some incidental considerations to which I beg leave briefly to advert.

"Among arguments put forward to recommend a general superintendence of prostitution, there is one which seems to have gained for the proposal a considerable quantity of non-medical, particularly clerical, support. The report of the Association, namely, alleges 'that a collateral but not unimportant result which inevitably follows the establishment of preventive measures is the improvement in the moral and social condition of the women;' and a memorial which was last year addressed to the then Lord President of the Council, by the President of the Royal College of Physicians and others, supported the view 'that, of the unfortunate women who are subjected to these restrictive and sanitary measures, a comparatively large proportion have been reclaimed.' I believe it to be unquestionable that such women as have hitherto come under medical inspection have generally been influenced by it to become cleaner in their persons, and that the brothels inspected by police are less apt than they were to be scenes of riotous disorder; changes on which no doubt the users of those persons and places may congratulate themselves; but which cannot without extreme abuse of terms be described as of any moral significance. On the other hand, the last clause of the statement cannot fail to seem morally important to any one who accepts it without reserve. I fear, however, that such hopes as it at first sight would seem to justify, as to possible moral results of a government superintendence of prostitution, would on any large scale show themselves essentially delusive; not perhaps as regards individual reclamations to be effected, even from brothels, by pure and kindly human contact, but as regards the statistics of prostitution, broadly and practically considered. For I apprehend that the concubinage-market, like other markets, tends to be fed according to demand; and that, if prostitution is really to be diminished, the principles of those who would diminish it must be preventive. Of the many roots of the evil some are practically immutable, but others will undoubtedly vary with the general moral sentiments of the time. Always, of course, there are certain large quantities of mere brute passion, forcing at any price to have their way; and always, in our present social state, there are large unintelligent masses of human life with little sense of right and wrong, and much of abject poverty ready to sell itself for food, and even more of uneducated frivolous temperament. But if these be regarded as in

my present sense 'fixed' elements (though indeed all of them are happily susceptible of reduction) a comparatively very variable force is represented in the influence of public opinion. That parents of the educated classes regard with immeasurably different degrees of interest the chastity of their daughters, on the one hand, and the continence of their sons, or future sons-in-law, on the other, is a fact which probably has its basis in a doctrine of supposed general consequences; but knowledge which is supplied in studying the venereal diseases of the civil population—a knowledge of the mischief and misery which a young man's transient incontinence may be preparing for his whole future domestic life, certainly gives room for consideration whether these ingredients of the one case ought not to be more popularly understood. The only state of things which can be regarded as essentially antagonistic to prostitution is the system of early marriages: which, in this respect, commends itself equally on moral and physical grounds; for, in proportion as it is accepted, the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes ceases to excuse itself by circumstances, and the chances of venereal infection fall to the lowest level they can attain.

"Also, in conclusion, I would beg leave (though perhaps superfluously) to protect parts of my above argument from misapprehension. In the proposals which I have had to criticise, hospitals for diseased prostitutes have not come under discussion as charitable institutions, but solely as elements in a machinery proposed to be constituted by law for giving an artificial security to promiscuous fornication. In the latter sense I may have seemed indifferent to their existence; but in the other sense, if this occasion permitted, I would willingly plead in their favour. For some thirty-five years of hospital-surgery in London have given me the amplest opportunities of knowing what physical miseries (as well as what worse mental states) attach to the career of prostitutes; and in this point of view I cordially agree with those persons who deplore the extreme insufficiency of hospital accommodation provided among us for prostitutes venereally diseased. The defect may not be for legal remedy, but not the less it is real, and I sincerely hope it may be dealt with by agencies appropriate to its nature. Such are not for me here to discuss. But considering how large a proportion of society has responsibilities of causation or connivance in that sphere of suffering and shame, and considering again what cause for compassion even those who are purest from such responsibilities may recognise in states of human life so estranged and so bitterly punished, I should suppose that dictates of justice on the one side, and impulses of charity on the other, would respond, and not parsimoniously, to any well considered appeal in the matter."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

MR. BARING-GOULD'S work on "The Origin and Development of Religious Belief" is certainly a very pretentious one.¹ The author has collected a great deal of interesting material, and treats it in a manner which, at first, may prove alarming to his more "orthodox" readers. His undertaking is "on purely positive grounds to determine the religious instincts of humanity." Consequently, neither the existence of a God, nor the truth of Revelation, is assumed. The truth of a historical Revelation, he says, can never be proved, but there is a Revelation in our own nature which is never antiquated—it is an Oracle at which inquiry may always be made, and from which answers more or less intelligible may always be had. "On this Revelation the Church of the Future must establish its claims to acceptance." The religious instincts of mankind manifest themselves with an underlying similarity, in varying and, on a superficial view, contradictory phenomena; but the science of comparative theology may be expected to yield as grand results in this field of observation, as the science of comparative physiology has in another. It has not as yet been largely studied, and in this country is almost unknown. Mr. Baring-Gould therefore deserves thanks for attempting its treatment in a systematic manner, whatever the value of his ultimate conclusions may prove. In endeavouring to ascertain what the religious instincts of humanity are, and how they originate, the author commences his exposition with a description of the physical constitution of man, so far as is necessary in order to show that both mental and emotional or sentimental action consist in an expenditure of force in the individual, and are produced by impressions received from the environment in which he exists. Inasmuch as the constitution of man differs from that of the brute, the instincts of man differ from those of the other animals, and so do the instincts of different races of men vary from each other, and of men in successive periods of history and under dissimilar conditions. This variation is exemplified in the political instincts of humanity, and, in a parallel way, in the development of various forms of religion. There may be conceivable a perfect, or if not a perfect, a best possible form of polity, yet it may never have been reached, it may never have been capable of being reached, by any people up to the present time; or even if

¹ "The Origin and Development of Religious Belief." By S. Baring-Gould, M.A., Author of "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," &c. &c. Part I. Heathenism and Mossaism. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

reached, or approximatively reached by some peoples, it may not have been possible for other peoples in different conditions to have reached it, and consequently it was not the best form of polity for them. It is necessary, however, if we would lay the foundation of political science, to observe all the forms under which the political instinct has manifested itself. In like manner, in order to a science of religion, all particular forms of religion must be noted, both the less perfect and the more perfect as they appear to the particular observer; valuable results are obtainable even from morbid anatomy. Moreover, if, apart from the theory of a miraculous Revelation, which in this inquiry is excluded, or at least postponed, no religion which has hitherto existed has been free from error, neither has any been without some element of truth. None, even the lowest, can have been without some element of truth. for they have all originated in human instinct.

"The history of religious experiments is exceedingly instructive, for it shows us, first, what are the religious instincts of humanity; and secondly, failure through imperfect co-ordination of those instincts. A review of the religions of the world will show us of what nature that religion must be which alone will satisfy humanity—a religion in which those inherent tendencies of the mind and soul which produced Fetishism, Anthropomorphism, Polytheism, Monotheism, Spiritualism, Idealism, Positivism, will find their co-ordinate expression; a religion in which all the sacred systems of humanity may meet, as in a Field of the Cloth of Gold, to adorn it with their piety, their mysticism, their mythology, their subtlety of thought, their splendour of ceremonial, their adaptability to progress, their elasticity of organization, and meeting, may exhaust their own resources.

'By this to sicken their estates, that never
They shall abound as formerly.'—p. 54.

This looks like a mere gross syncretism. And there is an absence throughout the book of a power of discrimination. The author shows well enough the origin of religious beliefs in the instincts of men even in very low conditions of life and culture. But he does not trace with any success the development of religious belief, in any proper sense of the term—namely, as the rising from a lower to a higher form of belief. He seems to us to have no insight into the distinction between the permanent and the transitory in the religious conceptions of humanity. He has at least given no clue towards that distinction in the present volume. We are promised the *mot d'énigme* in the volume which is to succeed, wherein he purposes to show how "Christianity, by its fundamental postulate—the Incarnation"—assumes to meet, and does meet, "all" the religious instincts of humanity.

Bearing in mind the attempts which are made under cover of this most ambiguously treated word "Incarnation," to reconcile the irreconcilable, we read that sort of undertaking with very considerable distrust. We ought, however, in justice to Mr. Baring-Gould, to select from the present volume one of the best bits.

"We are as justified in concluding, from the presence of the instinct of prayer, that the personal Deity whom we address has a real existence, as the infant is, when, feeling the passion of hunger, in concluding that it has a mother at whose breast it can find relief; or as a little bird, when pecking
[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. P P

open its shell, is justified in concluding that there is a world outside in which it can live and breathe and agitate its wings. We have absolutely no instance in the whole world of animated nature of an instinctive *penchant*, without a corresponding object to which it tends to satisfy that *penchant*. The religious passion, the straining of the desire towards God, is a fact—as certain a fact as the sexual passion, the straining of the desire of man towards woman, to which, indeed, it bears a resemblance. And just as in the sexual passion a reciprocal action is desired with an intensity which can be satisfied with nothing short of it, so in the religious passion the heart craves for a reciprocal action on the part of God, and such action it finds in the Sacraments. Prayer is the afferent fibre, and sacrament the efferent fibre of the religious system.”—p. 395.

Unless he would submit himself to the discipline of a few years' silence, the future of an author who can satisfy himself with baseless analogies is hopeless as a thinker. The alternate leg of the above comparison has nothing to stand on. That the infant seeking the breast finds it; that the chick, having chipped its shell, enters a world fitted for it; that the desires of the male find satisfaction with the female, are admitted examples of the law that every true natural instinct is provided with its complement. We find, as a fact of the commonest possible experience, not only that the efforts or appetencies exist, but also that they do meet their counterparts or satisfactions. But we have no similar proof that the effort of prayer, addressed to some superhuman Being, does ever in fact pass beyond the praying subject; there is no clear evidence, which in a matter of such moment may fairly be required, that prayer so addressed has ever been answered, in the proper sense of the word; still less is there to be said for the analogy of the “efferent nerve.” There is not the least proof that emotional, or spiritual effects ensuing in the recipients of sacraments, are due to the operation of any supernal cause, or cannot be accounted for by physiologists on natural principles. Moreover, the author should have remembered that in his treatise “the existence of a God is not assumed;” but it is required to be assumed, or must be taken as proved, before there can be any centre for the “afferent” and “efferent” nerves of Prayer and Sacraments. No metaphor, it is true, runs on all four legs, but we think we could make Mr. Baring-Gould very sick of his similitude of the “afferent” and “efferent” nerves. We suppose the upshot of all Mr. Gould's parade and sham inquiry will be to describe a Church of the Future which shall satisfy the instincts of humanity, whose forms shall be not very unlike those of the Church of Rome, with a priesthood and Sacraments, with an Incarnation, and a due honour to the Virgin Mary as the female ideal, and a carnivorous eucharist to satisfy the cannibal instinct which is so graphically described (pp. 409–411).

Much more really to the purpose is a little book by Mr. S. Leigh,² suggested apparently by some passages in Prof. M. Müller's “Chips from a German Workshop;” it is a small contribution towards popularizing a science in the fields of which such men as Kuenen and Müller are the effectual labourers. On the other hand, the “Romish

² “The Religion of the World.” By H. Stone Leigh. London: Tübingen. 1909.

religion" will not surrender its claim to being the only true religion of humanity. A translation of an antiquated essay having for its object to make good that claim, with no addition to obsolete statements, will be sufficiently indicated by its very lengthy title.³

The translator of Dr. Schenkel's "*Sketch of the Character of Jesus*"⁴ observes in his preface, that the work has often, but wrongly, been classed with those of Strauss and Renan on the same subject; and he says, "A different spirit pervades Dr. Schenkel's work; he believes in the imperishableness and glory of Christianity, and in the incomparableness of the person of the Saviour. He intends not to destroy, but to build up—not to oppose Christian faith, but to purify and renew it"—p. vi. It may certainly be said with truth of Strauss that his purpose, especially in his original work, was to destroy; it was necessary to clear the ground; the mass of superstition accumulated in the concrete Christianity was so great that it required the steadiest eye and an unflinching hand to cut into it to the quick; but his mythical theory, although too indiscriminately applied and not intended as reconstructive, ought not to have been judged as other than conciliatory. It attempted to account to the Europe of to-day for the origin of the beliefs which it had inherited from former ages, but which were now felt to be incompatible with the knowledge of the present. Moreover, the theory of myth was tender of the reputation of the New Testament writers, much more so than the hypothesis which has lately replaced it, of "tendency writing." And as to Renan—however inconsistent in certain respects his portraiture of Jesus may be with itself, however open he may be to some of the criticisms which have been freely lavished upon him, it can still less be said with fairness that his purpose was a destructive one. He found the image of the historical Jesus in fragments; and he set himself to reconstruct it. A great deal is no doubt supplied by the artist, but that is necessary when the fragmentary material is defective. As history, therefore, the result is only hypothetical, but it is certainly not destructive; at least it can only appear so to those who are sensible that incomplete as it may be, it is a more plausible hypothesis than that of the dogmatists. Renan's work is commonly described as sentimental; there may be said to be a certain piety about it, in the Latin sense of the word.* In speaking of his own undertaking, Renan points out that his object was not critical nor polemical, but historical (*The Apostles*, pp. 34, 35). Nevertheless we must not be too severe upon

³ "*Brief Exposition of the Origin, Progress, and Marks of the True Religion, from the Creation of the World.*" By His Eminence Cardinal Gerdil. Translated from the Italian (seventh Roman edition), by Edmond William Mahony, Esq., Barr. and dedicated (by special permission) to His Grace the Most Rev. Henry Edward Manning, Archbishop of Westminster. London: Longmans. 1869.

⁴ "*A Sketch of the Character of Jesus: a Biblical Essay.*" By Dr. Daniel Schenkel, Professor of Theology in the University of Heidelberg and Kirchenrath in the Grand Duchy of Baden. Translated from the third German Edition. London: Longmans. 1869.

* "*The Apostles.*" By Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut, Author of the "*Life of Jesus*," &c. &c. Translated from the Original French. London: Trübner. 1869.

an English translator, if in his anxiety to secure an unprejudiced reading for his author he goes somewhat out of his way to distinguish him from unpopular persons with whom, however, in many respects he has much in common. For Schenkel is entirely anti-supernaturalist, he approaches the life of Christ solely from its human side; and in one very important respect, relatively to the sources of the history, is much less conservative than M. Renan. The character which this sketch is intended to portray was determined, according to Dr. Schenkel, by the conception which Jesus entertained of his own Messianic mission. It thus lies entirely between the baptism and that which our author calls the glorification. It neither embraces the miraculous Incarnation, nor the corporeal Resurrection, as historic prodigies. Moreover, Dr. Schenkel neither considers Jesus to have been omniscient, nor of absolute moral perfection, nor to have risen at once to the high understanding of his own mission which he ultimately attained. In tracing this development of character, he follows the sifted and adjusted evidence of the first three gospels—for according to the fourth there is no growth or development in Jesus at all. There is no place in the Johannean narrative for inserting the history of the temptation in the wilderness, which in the other gospels is descriptive of a determining crisis in the life of Jesus. Nor after that crisis did he at once declare himself Messiah, or at once throw off Jewish conceptions of what the office of Messiah was to be. But in the fourth gospel he is acknowledged from the first to be Messiah, though the idea of Messiah is a spiritual one. It is interesting to remark in Dr. Schenkel, as a disciple of Schleiermacher's, how entirely he has broken loose from his master, on critical grounds, as to the authorship of the fourth gospel, while he clings to the spiritual conception of Messiah therein given, and imports it inconsistently, as it seems, with the accounts of the other gospels, into the self-consciousness of Jesus himself. This is perhaps necessary in order to give cohesion to Schenkel's hypothesis, which could not admit that Jesus had deceived himself. It might very well be supposed that his disciples and the first Christian generations expected him to return shortly, bodily in the clouds, to judge the quick and dead, and to set up his kingdom—an expectation doomed to disappointment, but an expectation founded only on a misunderstanding of the words of the Master. And closely connected with such misunderstanding would be the belief gradually formed among the Christians of a corporeal resurrection and ascension. For such, according to Schenkel, there is not only no sufficient evidence, but a resurrection so limited would be inconsistent with that spiritual Resurrection whereby "he is exalted above earthly powers and the limitations of sense."

"It is customary to regard the *physical* reanimation of the Crucified One as the essential point in the accounts of the resurrection, and to rest the faith in the power of the Gospel for overcoming the world upon this external fact. That Jesus came forth from the grave on the third day after his crucifixion with the *same* body that had hung upon the cross, that his body could be felt by the hands of his disciples, that his organic functions went on as before, appears to many as an indispensable condition of the success of Christianity.

Only thus, it is thought, can be explained the sudden revival of the faith of the disciples, which by preceding events had been so much shaken. But this entirely overlooks the fact that the women showed courage and devotion even *before* the resurrection of Jesus; that the apostles, on the evening of the first day of the week after the crucifixion, before they had had an appearance of Christ were, according to the later tradition *assembled* (Luke xxiv. 33) in Jerusalem, and therefore neither scattered, nor wholly disheartened. To a faith resting upon the *external* fact of a bodily resurrection of Jesus, the Apostle Paul has denied all worth; for he says, 'Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him *no more thus*. If any man be in Christ he is a *new* creature: the old has passed away, all has become new' (2 Cor. v. 16, 17). Jesus Christ the risen, the glorified, the exalted one, is as such *the living one* in his community, and therefore *with* his community until the end of the world (Matth. xxviii. 20)."—p. 319.

And in the spirit of Bunsen he adds,

"The Christian community needs now, more than ever, a living Christ, who in death conquered death and became for time and eternity the creator of imperishable life in the history of nations and in the lives of individuals. The attempt has been renewed in the present time to bring again the Christian communities under the yoke of the letter, and into subjection to obsolete statutes. Hierarchs of the stamp of Caiaphas, and statesmen of the character of Pilate, still nail Jesus Christ to the pillar of the cross. To them Christianity is a shell and not a living germ—the church an institution of priests instead of a living communion. Christianity to them seems to be established for the enthrallment, not for the deliverance, of the nations—a scourge of Divine wrath, not a gift of Divine grace. The kingdom of God, in its truth, freedom, and spirituality, is to them a creation of the phantasy, the Saviour a dogmatic idea, faith a formula of catechism by which to keep children, large and small, in order."—p. 321.

There are added in an appendix some critical and historical illustrations which are well worthy the attention of the English reader, particularly the discussion concerning the order of composition and authorship of the gospels, pp. 325–357. Schenkel concludes for the priority in date and superior authenticity of the second gospel, and against the apostolicity of the fourth. There are also some good observations on particular miracles with reference to the mythical hypothesis.

We referred in a previous number to the leading part taken by Dr. Schenkel in the promotion of the German Protestant Association,⁵ and in our notice of the proceedings of the Association we described the wide basis on which it was originally projected, so that the maintainers and impugnors of particular doctrines, as well as naturalists and supernaturalists, might alike be embraced within it. For the purpose of a temporary or limited protest, as for instance against a papal encyclical, or the pretensions of a national clergy, persons of very different views, doctrinal and philosophical, might very well act together in the same Association. So, also, they might be compre-

⁵ "Brennende Fragen in der Kirche der Gegenwart." Drei Vorträge gehalten von Dr. Daniel Schenkel, Grossh. Bad. Kirchenrath und Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg. 1. Ueber Christenthum und Cultur. 2. Ueber das Princip des Protestantismus. 3. Erklärung gegen das apostolische Schreiben des Papstes, vom 18 September, 1868, und die Ultramontanen Angriffe und Anmassungen. Wiesbaden. 1869.

hended in an old organization, particularly in a State Church wherein the privilege of membership partakes of the nature of a civil right. But in a voluntary society aiming at a reconstruction of existing churches, it would soon become necessary to speak definitely on subjects hitherto held of essential importance. Accordingly, as we have on a former occasion pointed out, Dr. Schenkel himself has been defining his opinions more and more, and we doubt not many of his friends have done the same, and in the same direction, with himself. Hence we shall look with the greatest interest for the report of the proceedings of the *Verein* announced to meet at Berlin on the 5th and 6th of this month. The attitude now assumed towards the *Verein* by the existing Protestant churches in refusing them the use of their buildings for the purpose of their meetings, seems to show that the recognised bodies are aware of the presence of a formidable antagonist, and that there is approaching a struggle within the bosom of German Christendom itself between the naturalist and supernaturalist parties. Of the three Addresses here printed by Dr. Schenkel on "Pressing Questions in the Church of the Present," the third, concerning papal and ecclesiastical assumptions, does not raise any issue on which Protestants as such need be divided: the first turns on the impossibility of reconciling Christianity, as hitherto understood, with increasing science and civilization, and leads of necessity to the conclusion that miracle must disappear from the Christianity of the future. The second undertakes to liberate the conscience of Protestants from the bondage of the doctrines embraced by the reformers of the fifteenth century, those doctrines being only the result of a temporary application of the principles of Protestantism. These essential principles are two: 1. The liberty of the individual or personal conscience, according to its best lights, unfettered by the decrees of a church as a supernaturally constituted and infallibly endowed teacher. 2. The freedom of the church or Christendom of the present from any supposed supernatural authority belonging to the decisions of the church of the past. It is intelligible at once that an Association putting forward such principles as the foregoing, would provoke the deadliest hostility both from the high Lutheran quasi-Roman party and also from the dry Luthero-Evangelical party. However supported by the patronage of government for the present, the artificial ecclesiastical and academical influence of those parties must before long die out, as that of similar parties similarly supported here must before long die out in England. Then the more important question arises, will such as are ready to give up the traditional supernaturalism and the traditional dogmatism declare themselves members of the new Association? This is by no means to be expected: and an unwillingness to do so is by no means to be taken as tantamount to an adhesion to the old superstitions. One cause of such unwillingness may be found in a recoil from the peculiar subjective Christianity which the joining the Association might be thought to imply. For we should be disposed to say that a large majority of those who have abandoned supernaturalism are equally removed from the mysticism which some leaders of the *Verein* have inherited from Schleiermacher: they have given up their faith in the

dogmatical Christ, but cannot with truth profess themselves in conscious spiritual relation with a personal Saviour whose historical lineaments are still vague and unascertained.

And some reason not unlike the foregoing must, we think, be assigned for the feeble response made in England to the invitation of the "Free Christian Union."⁶ Very many who have broken, or are breaking, loose from dogmatism and supernaturalism, are unwilling to commit themselves to a new organization professing a Christianity founded on "intuition." Neither M. Coquerel's sermon, nor Mr. Paul's, on occasion of the first anniversary, presents anything particularly worthy of note; but a practical suggestion has since been made by the committee of the Union well worthy of being followed up—namely, that the time has perhaps come when an attack may be made upon the practice of reciting Creeds in public worship with some hope of success. It will be observed that this is a layman's question. Every layman in church makes himself a party to the recital of the so-called Apostles', or of the Nicene Creed. Does he well consider for himself the meaning of what he is saying? Or if for himself he can apply the palliative of some mental reservation, does he reflect on the misleading influence which his example must have on those who are not so well informed as he may be. The principle applied by St. Paul to the case of one having knowledge of the nothingness of idols, and therefore of the indifference in a certain sense of acts done in an idol's temple, nevertheless being bound not to sit at meat in such a temple lest the unlearned should misinterpret it, applies also here. This is not a question concerning abstruse points of theology, but whether the labourer and the artisan should be led to believe—not on the statement of a minister, who is a mere mouthpiece and retained—but on the independent authority of squires, lawyers, and gentlemen of all grades, that a person was once born supernaturally of a Virgin Mother; that he came to life again after being dead and buried; that he went away into heaven, wherever that may be; that he is remaining there till the last day—nobody knows for how long—and is to come back to judge all mankind in person. The verification of these things—some pretended to be facts, and others to be undoubtedly well-grounded expectations—is confessedly beyond the power of the unlearned. Is it fair to him that his enlightened neighbour should induce him to think that he, having means of examination, is convinced of their reality? But perhaps the most astounding occasion of the recitation of a Creed, to which hundreds of thousands of persons who ought to know better make themselves parties, is when parents or sponsors present their children to be baptized according to the ceremonial of the Established Church. There is no occasion, as far as we

⁶ "Two Sermons preached at the First Anniversary of the Free Christian Union," 1st June, 1869. By the Rev. Athanasius Coquerel Fils, Pastor of the Reformed Church of France; and the Rev. C. Kegan Paul, M.A., Vicar of Sturminster Marshall, Dorset. Published by Request. London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

recollect, on which a clergyman is called upon for an adhesion so express, direct, and tied to details as that of the sponsor of a child at baptism, when in reference to the Apostles' Creed he answers, "*All this I steadfastly believe.*" The theory no doubt is, that he is answering for the child; but this rather makes the matter worse; and when attention is fairly drawn to it an honest sponsor will be incapable of undertaking for children that they shall, as far as is possible, be taught to believe that which he does not believe himself; nor will honest parents allow an undertaking to be entered into for their children, either by themselves or others, to believe as facts things which are incredible to themselves. This opens of course into a still larger question, whether as a matter of public policy the formal recitation of such propositions as some of those contained in the Creeds, ought to be required by law or to form part of a worship maintained by a vast endowment; whether in special reference to the baptismal service of the Church of England, and the "*All this I steadfastly believe,*" meaning the Apostles' Creed, it is not a process of kidnapping children carried on upon a large scale with the aid of a national subsidy. Meanwhile, those whose attention has not as yet been specially drawn to this matter of the Apostles' Creed will do very well to read M. Coquerel's History,⁷ from which they will learn how little pretension that formulary has to be considered as the expression of the mind even of the primitive Church.

We have already in a former Number noticed the Dutch edition of the Rev. D. P. Faure's sermons.⁸ We are exceedingly pleased that an edition has been published in English, of which a limited number only has been sent to England. There are, as will be readily understood, a number of persons at the Cape who speak and write the two languages, and in this way an important influence is being exercised upon English people in that colony by the modern theology which is so ably represented in the Netherlands. Mr. Faure was regularly educated for the ministry at Leyden, and competent, according to the custom in Holland, to take charge of any congregation to which he might receive a call. He went to the Cape a few years since with the intention of there exercising his ministry. The local synod, however, then recently alarmed with apprehensions of the introduction of "neology" from the mother country, had enacted that all such candidates should pass the ordeal of an examination entitled *Colloquium doctum*—something as if a bishop in this country should insist upon his right of examining a clergyman coming for the first time into his diocese before admitting him to a charge. So thinking he might be caught in this net, Mr. Faure, without at first formally severing himself from the Dutch Reformed Church, gathered a voluntary congregation, assembling in a building called the "Mutual Hall," in Cape Town. There these discourses were delivered. From the sermon on Pentecost, now published for the first time, we take an extract:—

⁷ "Histoire du Credo," par Athanase Coquerel Fils. Paris: 1869.

⁸ "Modern Theology." Sixteen Discourses held in the Mutual Hall, Cape Town. By the Rev. D. P. Faure. Cape Town: 1869. London: Trübner and Co.

"Materialism will not build it [the temple of the New Religion]: it will destroy all temples, old and new. Orthodoxy will not construct that new one: it is satisfied with the old, and thinks it quite good enough. Thither they all go of a Sunday: they are baptized with water; there the Bible, which they call God's infallible word, is read; there wordy prayers are offered up; there bread and wine are administered to cure the soul's diseases—why then build a new one? Because all this is not religion! Jesus said, and we repeat, that religion is something far more living, far more inward than all this. Religion is loving God with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your understanding, and loving your neighbour as yourself."—pp. 230, 231.

Naturally, however, it was not possible for Mr. Faure and his friends to remain in the provisional position first taken up. Laymen who had imbibed the modern views, even though disinclined to withdraw from the Dutch Reformed Church, did not find themselves able, without doing violence to their consciences, to answer the questions demanded when presenting a child for baptism. This is the very point which we have above commended to the attention of English laymen. It is the most immoral thing they can do to make themselves parties to statements of obsolete doctrines and beliefs in miraculous stories, with the excuse perhaps to themselves that they do so for the sake of the 'women and children.' They should seriously set themselves to find a means for the moral guidance of 'the women and children' unpoisoned by incredible miracle stories. Mr. Faure, however, has simplified his baptismal service, and simplified the service which would correspond with Confirmation in the English church. The address delivered by him⁹ at the first admission of members to the new congregation embodies a very earnest appeal to the young people present before him, the essential part of the ceremony consisting of a simple affirmative answer by the candidates to the following question. "Do you join yourselves to the Free Protestant Church, in order thereby to express your conviction that true religion is nothing more, but also nothing less, than love to God and love to man, and that your earnest endeavour will be to manifest this religion in your lives?" This Free Church is receiving accessions not only from among the members of the Dutch Reformed Church, but also from German settlers at the Cape, who are mostly Lutherans.

In the meantime the liberal ministers of the regular Dutch church of the colony stand their ground with great success. Mr. Burgers, who not long since defeated some arbitrary proceedings of the Synod before the Privy Council, recently celebrated with great local *éclat* the tenth anniversary of his settlement in his parish.¹⁰ His text (Neh. ii. 20) has been well worn in service of the dogmatists. He applied it to enforce practical ameliorations founded on true religious feeling—not on creed theologies. His parishioners pre-

⁹ "De Roeping van de nieuwe Leden der Nieuwe Gemeente." Toespraak gehouden in de Mutual Hall op Mei, 1869, door D. P. Faure, Leeraar van de Vrije Protestantsche Kerk, Kaapstad. Kaapstad: Van de Sandt de Villiers. 1869.

¹⁰ "Feestrede, gehouden te Hanover, op den 25sten Junij, 1869, door T. F. Burgers, bij gelegenheid van het tiende jaarfeest zijner aanvaarding van het Leeraarsambt in de Hanoversche Gemeente. Kaapstad: Juta. 1869.

sented him on this occasion with a purse containing 130*l*. Meanwhile, the high Presbyterian party, against whom the decision of the Privy Council went in "*Murray v. Burgers*," upon the simple and intelligible principle that a voluntary religious association is bound to observe its own laws in dealing with its ministers or members, have taken their defeat so much in dudgeon, and are so alarmed at the certainty of a few ministers of modern views claiming their seats in the Synod under the protection of the Civil Courts, that they seem to prefer bringing their ecclesiastical machinery to a standstill, and have adjourned the meeting of that assembly *sine die*.

Mr. Stanley Leathes, in the "*Boyle Lectures for 1868*,"¹¹ endeavoured by a peculiar prophetic theory of his own to 'turn' the difficulties which beset the usual argument from prophecy as an evidence of the truth of the Christian religion. He undertook to supersede the necessity of showing that a foresight of material particulars in the Gospel history was given to the Hebrew Prophets by showing that there was granted to them a far higher and more important insight into the Divine nature of the Messiah. His undertaking in the Lectures for the present year is of a like kind. For his object is to prove that we have in the writings of St. Paul the delivery of a direct supernatural revelation made to himself concerning the Divine nature of Jesus, the power of his Resurrection, and his atoning work. It is evident that in this way the essential parts of the Creeds would be arrived at by a much shorter path than by commencing in the first instance with an attempt to prove the details of the Gospel histories. There is a further reason for beginning with St. Paul, inasmuch as his acknowledged Epistles are anterior at least to all of the Gospels, if not to every other book of the New Testament. But the references he makes to the earthly life of Jesus are very few, his recital of the death, burial, and subsequent appearances of Jesus in 1 Cor. xv. is altogether insufficient as evidence of fact, still less sufficient to support any doctrinal inferences as to the person of Jesus. It is as a channel of a direct revelation, or, as Mr. Leathes calls it, as a witness to Christ, that he is valuable to the Christian dogma. Nevertheless, he is himself an historical person, and must be so if he is to convey a revelation from God to men. Prophecies in the old sense of prediction may very well be of anonymous or unascertained authorship—their truth and divine power would be adequately tested by the event. But in the case of the revealer of supramundane facts, the pretensions of the revealer must be guaranteed to us by something more than his own assertion. We are thus forced to examine, not only statements of the person himself, but other evidences of his commission. He may be thoroughly veracious, thoroughly convinced of the significance of his own impressions:—but he may be mistaken. There is no sufficient evidence to show that this

¹¹ "*The Witness of St. Paul to Christ. Being The Boyle Lectures for 1868, with an Appendix on the Credibility of the Acts in reply to the recent Strictures of Dr. Davidson.*" By the Rev. Stanley Leathes, M.A., Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London, and Preacher Assistant, St. James's, Piccadilly. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

was not, on subjects connected with his supposed immediate revelations, the very case of St. Paul. He himself seems to have turned away from the subject of external evidences or confirmations with some distaste. We do not read in St. Paul himself of "handkerchiefs or aprons brought from his body" for the curing of the sick. When he is compelled to glory he glories honourably and straightforwardly concerning things which touched his human infirmities, and which things were a seal to others of his sincerity. He glories, also, of his revelations, which could only be a seal of his mission to himself. But when elsewhere he speaks of the signs of an Apostle being seen among the Corinthians, to what do they amount?—to nothing like the prodigies we read of in the Acts—to nothing beyond phenomena which have often been recorded as attending religious revivals. He speaks of these as emerging in his congregations in the same way that they emerged in the congregations of other Apostles. He does not become personally responsible to us, as it were, for the account of any single miracle whatever. A large number of his statements require no voucher whatsoever for their confirmation, others might be capable of confirmation by a miraculous attestation to the commission of the person making them. But we do not find St. Paul himself appealing to such attestation for that purpose. To what then can his personal witness amount towards re-establishing the doctrine of the Creeds concerning the person of Christ, supposing him to have given it? Nevertheless, it is said there are ample testimonies in the Acts of the Apostles to the supernatural endowments of the Great Apostle, beginning with the threefold account of his conversion. Here is a writing by a person, who was, according to primitive belief, a companion of the Apostle himself, and who must have had amplest opportunities for knowing the truth. Still, without attempting to fix a date for the composition, or rather compilation, of the Acts, or feeling called upon to *disprove* the authorship of Luke, the book is anonymous. There is no one who can be held personally responsible for its contents, and probably it is made up of very many parts. To say nothing of other Apostles, and without adopting any particular theory of the intention of the writer—for in fact all histories are in a greater or less degree *tendenz-schriften*—the accounts given of St. Paul can have but little historical value. Particular discrepancies have been pointed out, as by Davidson and Zeller, between the third Gospel and the Acts, between the Acts and Gal. i.; others, appear internal to the book itself, of various importance, and more or less soluble. Some, even on the confession of Mr. Leathes, are only soluble upon the assumption of a mystery. Now, it is not heroic fighting to descend into the *mêlée* with the critics and on feeling oneself wounded to retire under cover of the cloud or ægis of the god. The purpose, however, of criticisms, often minute, is at times much mistaken. For if the critic has in view any controversial object, it is no more in the first instance than the showing an absence of thorough infallibility, of verbal inspiration, of absolute divine authority in the book. Mr. Leathes himself appears to concede that the Acts of the Apostles does not possess that character. And if that be so, we become free to analyse the whole or any part of the work, without reference to

any minor question of discrepancies internal or external. For in the case of the Acts of the Apostles (putting aside the assumption of an absolutely infallible authority already independently ascertained) there are narratives contained in it not only incredible in themselves, but most damaging to any other narrative with which they are at all closely connected. Such is—1. The Pentecostal miracle, which Mr. Leathes rightly understands, as stated in the story, to mean the speaking in foreign languages without ever having learnt them. Dr. Alford has had the courage to say that he thinks such a miracle inconceivable. If the Christian religion could be risked upon the reality or not of this miracle as Mr. Leathes understands it—namely, of the Galilæan peasants suddenly speaking intelligibly a multitude of foreign languages—it would last as long and in the same minds only as if it were perilled upon the very parallel prodigy of Balaam's ass. Whatever the basis of fact at the root of the story, whatever the simplicity or the good intentions of the compiler, it cannot do otherwise than impair the credibility of his whole book. 2. Is a still more astounding prodigy in another field. The atrocious conception embodied in the story of the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira belongs, it may be, but we should be grieved to think it, either to Peter who desired the catastrophe, or to the author who imagined it divinely possible. The author is at least a party to a supposition concerning the divine dealings which shows him entirely untrustworthy, though not necessarily in the sense of untruthful, in giving an account of any supernatural interference. The claim, therefore, made for Paul as the earliest and most direct of the human channels through which the message of the Gospel of Jesus and the declaration of its meaning has come, must rest upon Paul himself and such attestation as he can give it. Now it must be allowed that on one vitally important side Paul fails as a representative of the Master. Whatever shock he may have experienced on the road to Damascus, whatever other visions and revelations he may think himself to have received, nothing appears to have succeeded in effectually softening his heart. The persecutor of the Christians becomes the excommunicator of heretics. Now it was—"I thought I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth" (Acts xxvi. 9); then again—and which appears to the Boyle Lecturer as the summing up of the whole matter—"Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed" (Gal. i. 8)—p. 234. It was said by the king of old to the prophet—"Thou knowest I can promote thee to great honour:—Come, curse me this people. Curse them, from hence, or from thence." So now the preacher hears, whether from within or from without—"Come, curse now these critics. Curse them as atheists, or if not atheists as Unitarians. Curse them as infidels, or if they are not infidels, they are not Pauline Christians. Paul would have cursed them. Nay, you can curse them in the words of Paul. Come now and curse."

With a conscientiousness which does him the highest credit, Mr. Seebohm, on the discovery of Dean Colet's work, on the "*Hierarchies of Dionysius*," recently translated by Mr. Lupton (*W. R.*, July 1,

1869), and some other information bearing on his subject, caused the remaining copies of his original work on the "Oxford Reformers" to be destroyed, and now publishes a revised and enlarged edition.¹² It is a work not very pleasing to High Churchmen, nor will even Low Churchmen, who might sympathize with some of the anti-hierarchical sentiments of Colet, approve of the freedom with which he approached the exposition of the sacred writings, (pp. 46-58). The Episcopal succession taken from Rome, and the theology taken from Luther, have hopelessly worked out together the fate of the Church of England. It would be too speculative to inquire whether, on the principles of the "Oxford Reformers," a Church Constitution could have been given to it, and the rudiments of a theology have been laid down, by which, renewing itself from time to time, it might have attained a longer life.

There is little in the reprint of the first Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI. to interest our own readers.¹³ There is just this to be noted in the introduction, that the editors, desiring apparently a liberty of assimilating the Service of the English Church in some particulars to the older forms here reproduced, point out that uniformity is not to be confounded with Unity. There would have been a much stronger case for those who would like to have the option of using the Eucharistic Service of Edward VI.'s first book, if the Ritual Commission had been prepared to recommend the leaving optional the recitation of the Athanasian Creed, which could have been accomplished by merely changing "*shall* be sung or said" into "*may* be sung or said," in a single rubric; and without entering into any question of doctrine at all. Among the forms here reprinted, perhaps the most curious for the general reader is the form of exorcising in the baptismal service. It was as follows:—

"Then let the priest looking upon the children say—I command thee, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to his holy Baptism, to be made members of his Body, and of his holy Congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand, wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and for thy angels. And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants, whom Christ hath bought with his precious blood, and by this his holy Baptism calleth to be of his flock."

For those who lay any stress upon the material transmission of the Episcopate in the Church of England, Mr. Haddan's will be found not only a very temperate, but a very well reasoned book.¹⁴

¹² "The Oxford Reformers, John Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More." Being a history of their fellow-work. By Frederic Seebohm. The second Edition (revised and enlarged). London: Longmans. 1869.

¹³ "The First Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI., and the Ordinal of 1549, together with the Order of the Communion, 1548." Reprinted entire, and edited by Rev. Henry Baskerville Walton, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, with an Introduction, by Rev. Peter Goldsmith Medd, M.A., Senior Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

¹⁴ "Apostolical Succession in the Church of England." By Arthur W. Haddan, B.D., Rector of Barton-on-the-Heath, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

Mr. Haddan is a High Churchman—very high indeed—but distinctly Anglican. The principal subjects discussed in the work—not now taken, however, in the author's order—are, 1. The validity of the English orders as established against the allegations made by Roman controversialists, that the material succession of the English bishops was broken at the time of the Reformation. In this respect we think Mr. Haddan has triumphantly made good his position, that the actual succession was not broken. 2. In his argument against the Papal development of Episcopacy, we hardly think him equally successful. Undoubtedly Episcopacy did not concentrate itself into a monarchy till many hundred years onwards in its history. But supposing it to have been supernatural in its origin, there would be nothing incongruous in the supposition that it may so have developed itself in obedience to a divine impulse, if, and when the circumstances of the Church required it. 3. The most important part of the discussion concerns the carrying up of the origin of Episcopacy to the Divine Founder himself. This takes us across the somewhat thorny ground of the immediately sub-Apostolical period. We certainly think, that with reference to the mere question of primitive authority for the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Congregational form of Church constitution, the controversy concerning the Ignatian letters has considerable importance. But in regard to such a theory as Mr. Haddan's, of a transmission of a supernatural grace through the Episcopacy from Christ himself, what is required is, not evidence of authority, but evidence of fact: and whatever may have been the ecclesiastical form of Church constitution in the sub-Apostolical period, it is the first link which still remains wanting—namely, to show that such constitution was by the ordinance of Christ himself—that “virtue went out of him” when he constituted it—that he not only promised the transmission, but confined the transmission of that virtue in a particular way. If, however, direct evidence of the Divine Origin of Episcopacy be after all actually wanting, Mr. Haddan urges forcibly enough the argument *ad verecundiam*:

“Men cannot safely, not to say honestly, accept a principle, and choose at their own will to take some of its logical consequences and reject others. And how then if the evidence for the Apostolical ministry is to be set aside, is it possible to maintain with consistency either the doctrines of the Creed or the Canon of the New Testament. If all three rest upon evidence of the same kind, and that evidence even more precise in the one case than in the others, then certainly to reject that which is proved most distinctly, must carry on the reader inevitably and *à fortiori* to reject the others too.”—p. 125.

Perhaps Mr. Haddan, here and elsewhere, confounds “evidence for an Apostolical ministry,” with “evidence of supernatural powers” belonging to it. Moreover, it is necessary for him, in order to complete the chain of Episcopal succession upwards to Christ himself, to avail himself of the testimony of the very books whose authorship rests upon evidence weaker than that which we possess for the existence of the Episcopacy which they are summoned to prove.

Mr. Birks delivers a protest on the part of evangelical churchmen against the progress of the godless policy, as he esteems it, of separa-

ting Church and State.¹⁵ "Three standards are mustering their followers: Superstition, represented by Ultramontane Popery; Unbelief, represented by the Positive Philosophy, the worship of man and his powers of self-development; and the Catholic, Apostolic, Orthodox, and Protestant Christianity of the Reformation" (p. xvi.). Mr. Birks evidently expects that the Protestant Christianity of the Reformation will have the worst of it in the coming struggle, but he consoles himself with the expectation that he and his friends will be found on the victorious side in "the promised day of the glorious advent of the King of kings." Mr. Birks shows a singular taste in his employment of a scriptural verbiage, and in his illustrations of the events of contemporary history. The following is his description of the disestablishment of the Irish Church:—

"The Israelites of old were baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea. When the pending Bill has become law, an opposite phenomenon will occur; and the British Executive and its officers, from the Lord Lieutenant downward, will be baptized into Comte and the Positive Philosophy in the waters of the Irish Channel."—p. 413.

Mr. Birks, however, has the happiness of receiving episcopal sanction for his protests and his prophecies. The new Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Christopher Wordsworth) has recommended the work in "a few weighty words of preface;" that is to say, has prefixed a few ponderous periods, comforting the defenders of Church and State with the assurance that they cannot fail of a reward hereafter, and that "a victory will eventually be achieved on earth for the church on earth, and for all her faithful members by the divine omnipotence of Unrist."

That the gospel of Mark, or rather an earlier writing on which it was based, was the first composed of all the evangelical histories, is an opinion which continues to gain more and more adherents. There cannot be a more complete exposition of the argument than that given in Scholten's treatise, of which the German translation is noted below.¹⁶

After forty years Dr. Carl August Hase reissues his treatise on the Protestant evangelical doctrine, but somewhat enlarged, under its original fanciful title of "Gnosis."¹⁷ Dr. Hase belongs to a mediating party, writes pleasantly and not unfairly, but seldom decisively. He still

¹⁵ "Church and State; or National Religion and Church Establishments, considered with reference to present Controversies." By the Rev. T. R. Birks, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. With a Preface by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. London: Hatchards. 1869.

¹⁶ "Das älteste Evangelium." Kritische Untersuchung der Zusammensetzung, des wechselseitigen Verhältnisses, des geschichtlichen Werths und des Ursprungs der Evangelien nach Matthäus und Marcus. Von J. H. Scholten. Professor zu Leiden. Aus dem Holländischen mit Genehmigung des Verfassers übersetzt von D. Ernst Rud. Redepenning. Elberfeld. 1869.

¹⁷ "Gnosis oder protestantisch-evangelische Glaubenslehre für die Gebildeten in der Gemeinde wissenschaftlich dargestellt von Dr. Carl August Hase, Professor d. Theologie an der Universität Jena, Geheimen Kirchenrath, u. s. w. u. s. w. In zwei Bänden. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Erster Band. Leipzig. 1869.

holds the genuineness of the fourth gospel, although not maintaining the authenticity of the speeches. He is very loose on the subject of miracle, which he resolves into the action of a higher holding a lower law in abeyance. He gives up the personality of a devil. But even as a mediator he is hardly up to the mark of the present day.

There is considerable merit in the brief treatise by H. T. on the use of Jehovah and Elohim in the Pentateuch, which the rather deserves attention, inasmuch as it is written from the Jewish point of view.¹⁸ It is inscribed to Mr. Alderman Salomons, and stated to have been "written in defence of the most venerable and valuable gift from the Hebrew race to all nations." The author lays down as a cardinal point, that the Pentateuch should not be regarded primarily as a history, but as a law-book, wherein historical portions are imbedded for the purpose either of giving an account of the origin of particular laws, or of assigning reasons for their observance. These portions, which may be roughly described as historical, consist nevertheless of materials of very diverse character, namely, of *Legends*, of *Traditions*, and of *Chronicles*. The composite character of the Pentateuch is thus acknowledged, and more particularly the Jehovistic and Elohistie distinctions between some of the original documents. The author, however, supposes that these were all welded together by Moses in illustration of his legislation. He has not at all discussed the question whether the legislation itself in the form wherein it now appears is not of a later date: and the greater part of his observations would apply to a final compilation or revision by Ezra equally well as to an earlier compilation by Moses himself. Meanwhile the literary phenomena actually presented by the Pentateuch are becoming more and more generally agreed upon.

The arrangement of the Book of Genesis by Mr. Neale seems to us very carefully and exceedingly well done.¹⁹ It proceeds upon the assumption of a single original narrative (*die Grundschrift, Elohistie*) to which additions have been made by successive writers. If all these additions were struck out, this one narrative, with very few exceptions, is alone capable of being read continuously by itself. The same cannot be said of any of the other parts or additions, which are incapable, any of them, of forming a whole by themselves. The various elements, six altogether, of which the book as it has now come down to us is supposed to be made up, are here exhibited at one view by a typographical arrangement giving the original narrative as the text in a somewhat larger type, with the successive additions as notes distinguishable both from it and from each other. Mr. Neale has taken a great amount of pains, and appears to have well succeeded. The Introductory Remarks are also deserving of an attentive perusal. They are excellent. We cannot say that we approve at all of the manner of translating the Hebrew verbs adopted from Mr. Wright.

¹⁸ "On the Use of Jehovah and Elohim in the Pentateuch, as consistent with and confirmatory of its Mosaic Authorship." By H. T. London: Longmans. 1869.

¹⁹ "Genesis critically analysed and continuously arranged." With introductory remarks. By Edward Vansittart Neale. Thomas Scott. 1869.

We have to recommend a clear and brief semi-popular introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, by Theodor Nöldeke,²⁰ and also by the same author an attempt to ascertain the extent of the original document which lies at the basis of the Pentateuch, together with brief Essays on the landing of Noah; on the unhistorical character of Gen. xiv. (the battle of the kings); and on the chronology of the book of Judges.

Dr. Halley's "Lancashire" traces the progress of Puritanism and Nonconformity within the great County Palatine of Lancaster from its earliest origin down to modern times.²¹ The historian thus traverses many periods wherein the scenes depicted possess a general interest. The most valuable part of the work, however, seems to us to be that in which a very detailed account is given of the successive phases of Nonconformity which have prevailed in Lancashire since the Act of Uniformity, 1662, and the Toleration Act, 1688, under which Dissenting congregations were recognised in the State. Dr. Halley exhibits the results of a vast amount of research, and has recorded detailed accounts of a very large number of chapels, with personal sketches of their successive ministers. Dr. Halley is a pleasing and equable writer, and never shows the least trace of any harsh or uncharitable feeling.

Of two works edited by Mr. Orby Shipley, "Counsels of Perfection"²² is a somewhat mystical and ascetic manual, which might pass in most Christian communions. "Invocation of Saints"²³ is a Guide to those members of the Church of England who are advanced enough for its use, how to bespeak the Intercession of the Saints, of the Angels, and of Mary the "Mother of God."

M. Ferri's is a very thorough exposition of the philosophical movements which have taken place in Italy during the present century.²⁴ The more interest attaches to this history because it runs parallel with the history of the political awakening which has taken place in the same country. And the two movements in some particulars have their points of attachment, and some of the most eminent Italians have taken part both in the one and the other. At the beginning of the century the sensationalist philosophy is alone in possession of the ground—all intelligence is transformed sensation (*Gioia, Eléments de*

²⁰ "Die Alttestamentliche Literatur in einer Reihe von Aufsätzen dargestellt von Theodor Nöldeke." Leipzig. 1868.

"Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments von Theodor Nöldeke." Kiel. 1869.

²¹ "Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity." By Robert Halley, D.D. In two Volumes. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1869.

²² "Counsels on Holiness of Life, being the first part of the Sinner's Guide." Translated from the Spanish of Luis de Granada, together with a Life of the Author. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

²³ "Invocation of Saints and Angels: compiled from Greek, English, and Latin sources, for the use of Members of the Church of England." Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans. 1869.

²⁴ "Essai sur l'histoire de la Philosophie en Italie au dix-neuvième Siècle. Par Louis Ferri, ancien élève de l'Ecole normale supérieure de Paris, professeur de l'histoire de la Philosophie à l'Institut supérieur de Florence. Paris: 1869. 2 tomes.

Philosophie à l'usage des Ecoles. Milan, 1818). Romagnosi repudiated that doctrine as pure sensualism, as he repudiated mere intellectualism on the other hand, holding a concurrence or *compenenza* of intelligence and sensation in the production of thought (*Sur la saine raison*, 1827; *Ordre suprême de la science humaine*, 1828). Galluppi distinguished completely between the material furnished by the senses and the operation thereupon of the intellect, acknowledging that this operation is determined by the laws of the intellect itself (*Essai philosophique sur la critique de la connaissance*, 1819-1832). With Rosmini commences the Italian idealism (*Nouvel Essai sur l'origine des idées*, 1830). He was well acquainted with the great German philosophers. He stated the problem as turning upon the nature of the mental proposition or judgment. Hence he is led to examine the whole of Kant's theories concerning synthetical judgments and the categories or formal elements of thought. In the hands of Rosmini the numerous forms of thought of the German philosopher were first simplified and reduced to a single form—namely, of existence or possibility (i. 145). Moreover, regarding the three root ideas or absolutes, the I, the world, and God, Rosmini observed that there cannot be three Absolutes, except in a subordinate or unequal sense, for that the I is already included in the world (or the world in the I), and so that there can be but one Absolute—namely, God. Whether he did not entangle himself in some degree, from theological causes, in the ambiguity against which we are warned in the first part of the following passage, is not now the question. The distinction is, however, one which should always be borne in mind when divines mingle philosophy with their theology, or philosophers are over heedful to make their philosophy theologically safe.

"Mais autre chose est, suivant lui (Rosmini), l'idée de cet être réel, idée que nous déterminons par nos moyens de connaître ainsi que celle de tout autre objet, et autre chose, la forme universelle de notre connaissance ou l'idée première où nous voyons pour ainsi dire tout ce que nous concevons. Tout objet de notre intelligence est pensé par cette forme et dans cette forme, et toutes les déterminations abstraites, qui n'en dérivent pas directement nous sont fournies par les sens; les formes pures de la sensibilité, ou le temps et l'espace qui Kant pose également *a priori* sont réduites par Rosmini aux éléments dérivés des sens."—Vol. i. p. 147.

Whether Rosmini's own idealism would stand is another matter, but the intrepidity with which he deals with Kant's "forms of thought" certainly deserves praise. He first dwells on the superior simplicity of the Kantian theory over the old theory of innate ideas, and he says:—

"Ce fut là un progrès considérable pour la philosophie. Mais il restait à opérer encore une simplification. Il restait à réduire à la moindre quantité possible cette *partie formelle* de la connaissance, dont on avait reconnue l'existence primitive et naturelle en nous, de ce principe enfin déposé en nous par les mains du Créateur. Voici donc le problème que la philosophie doit résoudre après les efforts de Kant."—tom. i. p. 148.

This minimum element of knowledge, as he calls it, may be reduced to that of possibility or ideality. Following Rosmini is Gioberti,

more generally known by his polemic against the Jesuits, and by his theoretical constitution of Italy under a national Pope, than by his philosophical writings. The important point of his controversy with Rosmini, philosophically, concerned the identification by the latter of *possibility* and *ideality*. For according to Gioberti the ideal can only be the counterpart of the real, and this whether in the Divine or in the human mind. Theologically he attacked Rosmini for being contented with a negative conception of God; according to Gioberti the true idea of God is positive, and necessarily implies a corresponding reality. (*Introduction à l'étude de la philosophie*, 1840; *Des erreurs philosophiques d'Antoine Rosmini*, 1844.) An account is next given of the idealism of M. Mamiani, or rather of his cosmological hypothesis, whereby he attempts to ascertain the relations which exist between the ideas in the Divine Mind and the ideas which arise in ours, implicated as they are with sensible things. Both with reference to the source of human knowledge and to the Theodicy of the Moral Universe, M. Mamiani has a doctrine of a "pre-established harmony." Among his works are, *De la renovation de l'ancienne philosophie italienne*, 1836; *De l'ontologie et de la méthode*, 1841; *Confessions d'un métaphysicien*, 1865. The further movement of Italian philosophy has been, partially at least, in the direction of Hegelianism. M. Vera is the ablest expositor of this scheme writing in French, but there are many obstacles as yet to its making much way in Italy. The description of the recent progress of philosophy in Italy given in these volumes is much interrupted by biographical accounts of the principal actors in it. We do not at all find fault with this, considering the great interest which attaches to some of their names, but the work thus acquires a diffusive character, and there are besides some unnecessary repetitions and *résumés*. Italy will no doubt take its place in the first rank of the European nations in all departments of human activity. The abstract given by M. Ferri proves that she has already made great strides in the field of philosophy.

In 1861 Mr. Bolton put out a brief criticism of the principles of what he called the Scoto-Oxonian Philosophy, in reference to some of the most prominent inconsistencies to be met with in Dr. Mansel's Bampton Lectures.²⁵ That is a very old story now, although Dr. Mansel will never relieve himself of the imputation of playing fast and loose with the doctrine of the limitation of the consciousness, accordingly as he desired to show its impotence relatively to a conception of a philosophical absolute, or its competence relatively to faith in a theological absolute or God. Mr. Bolton in a few supplementary pages now points out some other loosenesses of expression, logomachies, and inaccurate quotations in subsequent papers of the Dean's, which are worth conserving by those who wish to keep a complete record of the controversy until it finally dies out.

²⁵ "Examination of the Principles of the Scoto-Oxonian Philosophy." By M. P. W. Bolton. Revised Edition. "Remarks on certain Replies attempted by Dr. Mansel." London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

THE Trades' Union question in England, and indeed all over Europe, is one on which the eyes of all foreseeing politicians must become ever more and more intensely fixed. Upon the happy solution of this question depends not merely the rest, the material wealth, and the social advancement of European nations, but the very continuance of everything that deserves the name of civilized life. In a very few years the last relics of superstitious reverence for the fortunate classes of society will be swept away even from the face of countries now, apparently, the most retrograde. Numerical superiority and muscular power will stand face to face with those who represent such advantages as capital, leisure, and a higher education. Victory on either side would be fatal to both, and a long armed truce in the highest degree detrimental. The one only mode which the instinctive sagacity of the labourers has taught them to adopt by way of obtaining an issue beneficial to all concerned, is trades' unionism. M. le Comte de Paris¹ has performed a high service to Englishmen, as well as to his own countrymen, by giving a compendious and most faithful account of this great movement as it has exhibited itself during the last forty years in this country. His facts are mostly founded on the evidence adduced before the recent Commission, and annexed to their successive reports. But the selection and grouping of topics, the grasp of what is essential, and the neglect of what is irrelevant, betray the hand of an original and clear-headed politician. We would call upon all interested in the welfare and the occupations of the mass of English workmen, to read for themselves the compressed account of the trades' struggles in the building, iron, coal, and iron-shipbuilding trades. The main questions around which the condensed enthusiasm of trades' unions usually gathers, are the admission of apprentices, the allowance of piece-work, the regulation of the rate of wages, the length of the day's work, the imposition of fines, the institution called the "Truck-shop," and what is called in the coal-trade "Confiscation," that is, a practice by which every time a tub of coal on coming to bank is found, on weighing, to be under a certain weight, or to contain a certain proportion of earth or stone mixed with the coal, it is declared forfeited, and the contents are emptied into the dépôt, and not carried to the credit of the workman who sends them up. The objections to apprentices, among the building trade, for instance, are grounded upon the trouble that the ordinary workmen are put to in teaching them. They say, "if we are to get nothing for teaching them, we have at least the right to refuse, or to limit our pupils to the number which suits us." Mr. Hewitt, the American iron-master, gave some valuable information in his evidence before the Commission as to the position of the unions in the United

¹ "The Trades Unions of England." By M. le Comte de Paris. Translated under the Author's direction by Nassau J. Senior, M.A. Edited by Thomas Hughes, M.P. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1869.

States. They are there purely trade societies, and do not raise any relief fund. They are very rarely called upon to resist a reduction of wages, and strikes are almost unknown. It appears that the high rate of wages in America is attributable to the low price of land. "In a country where any man can buy land from the State at an almost nominal price, to be paid in small yearly instalments, the iron worker leaves the forge the moment he has discovered that his pay is less than what he would gain by cultivating his own land." The author notices further that the reason why America resorts to protection, is "because it is easier to import iron from England than men." Emigration, however, is said to be daily tending more and more to make the wages of skilled labour the same in all countries. The principal effect of the unions in the iron trade is rather in regulating the fluctuations of wages than in changing the law of these fluctuations. Lord Dudley's agent, Mr. Smith, remarked, "I do not wish ever to see a puddler working at a less rate of wages than he is at the present time, even though, unfortunately, the price of iron should have to be reduced; because the moment you bring a class of men like the puddlers, who are very hard worked, below a certain rate of wages, that moment you rid the community of the best men." An interesting part of this work is concerned with the organization of unions, with respect to which the main question raised has been as to the propriety of combining "benefit" with "trade" purposes. It is argued in defence of this usual combination, that it insures an increased pacific and rational temperament in an union, while the purely trade societies, as the Sheffield cutlers, have always been notorious for their intolerance and violence. "The moment they find themselves in possession of a common fund intended for strike purposes exclusively, their natural tendency is to seek employment for it with or without reason." The author evidently rises up from his task of studying the evidence adduced before the commission with a strong persuasion of the general value of unionism, and of the degree in which moderation, wisdom, and enlightenment prevail among the members of unions just in proportion to their magnitude and effective strength. "It will be found that workmen are inclined to be moderate in their conduct and reasonable in their demands in proportion as they are conscious of the strength of the association in which they are united: accordingly, as might be expected, the crimes which have sometimes disgraced other trades are unknown in the history of the iron workers. In discussing the wages question, they showed that they are well acquainted with all the important questions relating to their trade, and that they observe all the circumstances which can exercise any influence over it." No higher tribute could be paid to the social and political education implied in the existence and growth of the unionist system. In receiving, as it shortly will in this country, Parliamentary sanction, it is to be hoped it will attain a full and adequate development, such as will render strikes wholly needless, and encourage the formation of a strong public opinion as justly favourable to the artisan as it has hitherto been disproportionably so to the capitalists. The account of Mr. Cottle's and Mr. Mundella's Arbitration Schemes, and the co-operative system of Briggs and Co.'s "Co-operative Coal-mine

Association," is not the least important part of this very important work.

It is too late now even for a bishop of the "Irish Branch of the United Church," by any amount of pamphlet-writing to influence the future status of that body.² The Bishop of Ossory, however, wrote his pamphlet against Mr. Gladstone's Bill during the passage of that Bill through the two houses. It is written in a sincere and very honest spirit, though it scarcely contains anything new. Some of the arguments, indeed, are, from the nature of the case, impossible to deal with, appealing as they do to the fact of the State being a "Divine Institution, appointed by God for the preservation and well-being of His people, and invested by Him with all the powers which are necessary for the due discharge of the duties of its high office." The bishop shows by other parts of this pamphlet, especially by his consideration of Mr. Bright's land measure, that he knows what political controversy means. He should be above adducing, in an argument strictly addressed to statesmen, considerations based on assumptions, affording an opening for every degree of mental vacillation, and carrying with them, in the very form of the expressions used, the greatest indefiniteness, not to say, for some minds, utter unintelligibility.

A real piece of history, little known, and touching the very root of the question of church establishments, is extremely welcome at the present epoch. It is all the more so when it comes from the hands of a great church historian like Dr. Hook,³ who unites in himself an enthusiastic attachment to the principles of the English Church and a rare amount of special erudition in all matters pertaining to its development and historical fortunes. Dr. Hook attempts to show from the history of the Anglo-Catholic Church in the United States that the question of Establishment or non-Establishment is purely a political and not a religious question. Hence, while the founders of the existing "Protestant Episcopal Church" in the United States rightly endeavoured to found a constitution for their body as far as possible in conformity with the republican government just victoriously established, and in full recognition of the principle of State-rights, those same founders were bound by no religious obligation whatever, except such as might be due to a conscientious view of public duty, to one course rather than to another. Dr. Hook holds that the only ground upon which a Church can take its stand is that of promoting the highest moral life of the nation, and while particular accidents in any country may allow, with this object in view, the continuance of an existing establishment, at any rate provisionally and for a time, no good Churchman or honest citizen can tolerate the binding up of the best possible ecclesiastical corporation with the State where the moral life of the country is thereby sacrificed or endangered. He says, "that if it be proved that the ad-

² "The Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Branch of the United Church Considered." By James Thomas O'Brien, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin. Part II. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

³ "The Disestablished Church in the Republic of the United States." By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Dean of Chichester. London: John Murray. 1869.

vantages do *not* in any particular locality ensue, then there can be no reason why, as *Churchmen*, we should stand opposed to the disseverance of a union which may under one set of circumstances be advantageous, while under another set of circumstances it may be the reverse. Let us respect the assertion that the question is one which is propounded to us, not in our capacity as Churchmen, but in our relation as citizens and subjects to the Commonwealth." This is weighty language, and shows a thoroughness and decision of thought on politics which we should like to see widely diffused in clerical and, indeed, all other circles. There is much interesting matter besides in this work; as, for instance, the account of the diplomatic difficulties in the way of obtaining an episcopate for the new Republic at the time of its foundation, and the memorable organizing work achieved by the personal heroism of Bishop Hobart.

There is something of the charm which attends visiting one's old school or college about a genuine defence and glorification of true Whig principles, equally removed from those of the "Tory" on the one hand, and of the still more obnoxious "Advanced Liberal" on the other. The anonymous author of "Phases of Party"⁴ gives a sketch of the history of all these several parties, together with that of the "Conservatives," "Liberal Conservatives," and "Liberals" not advanced. The "result of all this" is that "the majority of cultivated and intelligent Englishmen are at the present time neither High Tories nor yet Advanced Liberals, but are either Liberal Conservatives or Liberals of the Whig type, only differing generally as to the expediency of special measures. At the same time, it is clear that there does exist in certain minds a hope of materially altering the Constitution, and that in a republican sense." We certainly agree with what we assume the author to mean, that many Englishmen are neither cultivated nor intelligent, and, being tolerably prosperous themselves have no care whatever, or courage either, to investigate the real sources of the hopeless misery and cramped life which abound everywhere, with a view to devising bold and comprehensive measures of root-and-branch reform.

It is an opportune moment to revive the memory of Robert Owen and his enormous labours in the service of mankind.⁵ He was connected with the rise of every great social experiment by which the present age is distinguished from its predecessors. Infant schools, education conducted on scientific and rational principles, Factory Acts, co-operation for purposes of production and distribution, trades unionism, and, above all, pauper farms, for the purpose of providing labour, not wholly unremunerative, to the unemployed, were his work. All these modes of grappling with the evils attending the race of industrialism were started, or stimulated by, or received the most generous personal and pecuniary aid from, Robert Owen. Notwithstanding this, his biography is a very sad one, as scarcely any scheme of his, either in this country or

⁴ "Phases of Party." London: Longmans. 1869.

⁵ "Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England." By Arthur John Booth, M.A. London: Trübner. 1869.

in America, except his original factory at New Lanark, was in any sense a success. His spirit of self-devotion and disinterested philanthropy is almost without a parallel. He had also a keen sense of many of the real sources of social misery and inequality, and some of his panaceas contained the essence of true medicines. But he wanted the calm scientific spirit of investigation and patient attention to the facts of history and the teachings of experience, which too few virulent reformers possess in the degree needful to enable them to effect any lasting work.

We had occasion in our last number to notice an excellent electoral scheme for the representation of minorities, propounded by Mr. Droop. A similar scheme, placed, as we are told, in the publisher's hands before the notice in the newspapers of Mr. Droop's communication on the same subject to the Juridical Society, is presented in an interesting pamphlet, by "A Merchant."⁶ He carries out the practical working of the suggested measure with more practical detail, in view of a large mass of collected statistics, than Mr. Droop does; but Mr. Droop has the advantage in the exhaustive reasoning by which his proposition is supported. The main features of the "Merchant's" measures are the division of the whole country into equal electoral districts, with no distinction between town and county, each district returning seven members, and each elector voting for only one representative. The benefits incidentally likely to arise from this plan are said to be, that "the Liberals will lose in number but gain in earnestness, whilst the Conservatives will gain in numbers but lose in homogeneousness; and, in consequence there will probably be as many independent members on the Conservative as there are on the Liberal benches, and, as a consequence, measures will be looked at more upon their merits, and less as affording battle-fields for party."

Professor Burrows' Lectures,⁷ delivered before the University of Oxford, can neither be called very profound or altogether superficial; certainly not liberal, and yet not altogether reactionary. They are the work of a thorough good and rather narrow English Churchman, whose sense of churchmanship dominates over his mind in such a way as to hide from his view the very elementary truths of human life upon which every form of religion or ecclesiastical corporation can alone finally rest, if it rest at all. Thus, Professor Burrows' account of the rise of the Papacy, and its alternate reliance on Germany and France, as well as of the historical fortunes of the Church of England in relation to the State, is given with great ability and relish for the task. In view of the dissolution of the Pope's temporal power, Professor Burrows becomes "almost and altogether" liberal, exclaiming, in his new-born enthusiasm, "Has not the public opinion of all Europe—a daily increasing power—settled down with a conviction that there must be an entire and final withdrawal of France and Germany from the new

⁶ "Representation of Minorities, with a Scheme of Redistribution; showing the probable results of equal Justice to all." By a Merchant. London: Effingham Wilson. 1869.

⁷ "Constitutional Progress." Seven Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford by Montagu Burrows, M.A. London: John Murray. 1869.

kingdom?" The lecturer's main position is that the problem which has been in the course of solution throughout Christian times has been the combination of universality and nationality, and that every fresh national cataclysm has only broken up some temporary basis of unity, in order to found a deeper and truer one. This is rather an optimistic view of things, but it is no doubt a true one; although it admits of explanation on far more rational grounds than the Professor thinks it worth while to assign. Whatever anticipation of final unity in multiplicity has been reached at any time by the nations of Europe, or is now in process of being reached, is due to the indestructible forces of the spirit of man, evermore realizing and vindicating itself, and bursting every barrier by which the tyranny of monarchs, aristocrats, or mobs, may from time to time attempt to enthrall it. Believing thus, that true liberalism can never triumph too largely, we resent altogether Professor Burrows' comment on the situation and work of this country at the time of the French Revolution, deeply sympathetic as England was for the overthrow of the superficial crust of a spurious social system, and caring little for the deep-toned human remonstrance which more than half redeemed the most violent excesses of that era.

It is a great treat to get a matter of supreme political importance, and one which is specially exposed to every kind of confusion and misrepresentation, treated with the calm and luminous ability which Sir Alexander Cockburn has so manifestly displayed in his investigation of the European laws affecting "Nationality."⁸ This work is, for the most part, a compendious summary of the main evidence produced before the recent Commission, though it includes a good deal of independent criticism, and indicates views occasionally at variance with those of the majority of the Commissioners. The problem to be solved is, on one side, a political, and on the other, a juridical one. It is political so far as the question is what on the whole are the best rules for a State to lay down by way of testing the nationality of any person found in a given country, and by way of providing for persons changing their nationality, in other words, becoming "Naturalized" in a country in which they were previously aliens. All this is a question of general politics; and the first step in the solution of the problem is that to which Sir Alexander Cockburn has, by the use of the evidence published in the Appendix to the Report, rendered important aid—namely, ascertaining the current rules now in use among the different European nations. The juridical problem is ancillary to the other, and all that is required for its solution is a clear distinction of the personal conditions indicated under such titles as "alien," "citizen," "denizen," and the like, as well as a precise investigation of all that is implied in the terms "nationality," "naturalization," and "expatriation," especially as respects the rights and duties which the more or less complete conditions of citizenship draw with them. Sir Alexander Cockburn strongly insists that England ought to get rid (1) of her theory of double nationality, or of a nationality by place of birth and also by descent, and (2)

⁸ "Nationality; or, the Law relating to Subjects and Aliens considered with a view to Future Legislation." By the Right Hon. Sir Alex. Cockburn. London: William Ridgway. 1869.

of her theory of permanent allegiance. These two changes would suffice to clear out of the way some very absurd anomalies which the existing law brings in its wake, and would bring the English law into close proximity with the current law of all other states. Sir Alexander Cockburn treats the whole matter with a liberality of spirit and cosmopolitan width of mind which shows that the study of law may, in some noble instances, be far more alien than too many contemptible examples have led us to suppose possible, to a dull and selfish conservatism. He recommends (1) that nationality of origin should be derived from descent alone; except in the case of children born of foreigners domiciled in the country of such children's birth, in the first generation, on a claim being made within a fixed period after attaining majority; in the second, in the absence of a declaration that they desire not to become subjects. Further (2), that it should be free to every one to expatriate and denationalize himself, and to transfer his allegiance to another country, the effect of naturalization being to do away altogether with the prior nationality. That (3) emigration, with the intention of expatriation and of becoming a citizen of another State, should have the effect of putting an end to the relation of subject, unless, prior to naturalization, the party should abandon the intention of becoming naturalized in the foreign country, and return to the country of origin with the intention of remaining in it and of resuming the character and status of subject. That (4) in respect of civil rights, with the single exception of the ownership of British shipping, aliens should be placed on the same footing as subjects, without a reference to the principle of reciprocity. A precise account of the long paper conflicts between the United States Government and the Government of this and other countries on the subject of permanent allegiance is a most instructive and valuable part of this work.

A reprint of Sir William Jones's translation of the text book of the Mahommedan Law of Inheritance,⁹ with valuable notes, is an important contribution to the science of Jurisprudence, as well as a serviceable aid to all practically concerned in knowing accurately what the law prevailing in Mahommedan countries is. Whatever may be the political value of that legal system, to the jurist, at least, it is full of interest and instruction. The European jurist is always in danger of limiting his conceptions to those modes of succession to rights of ownership which have been introduced by the Roman, Canon, and Feudal law upon which the practice of all European countries is based. In approaching the elegant and refined distinctions which obtain in such a system as the "*Al Sivaiazzah*," the jurist is reminded of the vital truth that his science is as expansive as the possible events of human existence, and as the modes which human sagacity may adopt to legislate wisely in view of those events. Upon the death of an owner, according to the Mahommedan law of inheritance, all his property, moveable and immovable, is at once distributed in payment—firstly, of his funeral expenses; secondly,

⁹ "*Al Sivaiazzah*: or, the Mahommedan Law of Inheritance." Reprinted from the translation of Sir William Jones. With Notes and Appendix by Almaric Rumsey. London: William Amer. 1869.

of his debts; thirdly, of his legacies, which are valid to the extent of one-third of the property remaining after payment of the funeral expenses and debts; and fourthly, of those entitled under the law of inheritance, which law forms the subject of the present treatise. The leading notion that pervades this law is the distribution of those entitled under it into the great divisions of so-called "sharers" and "residuaries," it being possible for a member of the family (a person entitled as such through some special relationship, as that of a master to a freedman) to take in both capacities. Those entitled to "shares" amount to twelve persons, four males (of which one is called by the constantly recurring name of the "true grandfather," or a male ancestor without any intervening female ancestor) and eight females. Certain events, carefully defined, may exclude persons either completely or partially from sharing. The universal mode of calculating the amount of each share is complex in the highest degree, but is explained with great precision by Mr. Rumsay. A "residuary" may be either in his own right or in another's right, or in his own and also in another's right. The events of pregnancy, hermaphroditism, apostasy, being lost, taken captive, or of a company of persons being drowned, buried, or overwhelmed in ruins, are carefully provided against with the greatest juridical acumen. On the whole, we hail this book as a testimony to the universality of the science of Jurisprudence, if not to the identity in East and West of the prescription of positive law.

The influence of the profession of the bar upon politics tells in many more subtle and indirect ways than is often kept in mind. Hence the organization of that profession, and the character as well as the attainments of its members, are matters of great national importance. M. Jules le Berquier has republished some very effective essays, first contributed to the *Revue des deux Mondes*, on this subject.¹⁰ He notices how the increase of modern business, the system of trial by jury, and the increased heat and rapidity of action which pervades modern life, have transformed the functions of the Bar, and led to the disuse of the old formal and classical mode of pleading. A comparative view of the ways of replenishing and disciplining the profession in other countries than France, as England, Austria, and Prussia, is entered upon. As to this, the institution of "Inns of Court" government seems very clumsy by the side of the republican mode of election practised by the French bar. The value of the profession as a political medium, for the purpose of gradually communicating and translating the will of the legislature into a dialect apprehended by the vulgar, and so facilitating any kind of reform, is well appreciated by M. J. le Berquier.

The actual influence of the Bar, it has been already noted, is not merely due to the direct effect on legislation and the administration of law of an united and educated corporation of practitioners, but far more to such facts as the partly independent and partly servile habits of mind which a lifelong devotion to the study of law favours among men always prominent in the political world. Whether the indepen-

¹⁰ "Le Barreau Moderne." Par M. Jules le Berquier. Paris. 1869.

dence or the servility is the main outcome in any particular country, depends on the nature of the legal system in that country, and especially on the procedure. In England, the Bar has at all times been as a body conservative and cringing to authority. In France, any reader of Mr. Young's very interesting treatise on the French Bar¹¹ must admit that the Parliament of Paris, and the long race of illustrious advocates and jurists which have ornamented all periods of French history, has afforded almost the sole sanctuaries to liberty of speech and political action throughout the incessant oppressions of that country. The influence of the Parliament of Paris on politics is owing to the curious right of refusing the registration of laws that became attached to the Court of Justice created by an ordinance of Philip the Fair, of March, 1302. This right gave rise to the famous *lits de justice*, according to which the king, who regarded himself as the supreme judge of his subjects, took upon himself to preside in the parliaments, and occupied a throne termed *lit de justice*; he did this especially when it became necessary to procure the registration of a law in spite of the opposition of parliament. An interesting question raised by this work is as to the expediency of having a race of Government advocates or *procureurs*, and another and separate race of counsel for the defence. The English system is most praised in some quarters for the opposite method, which is said to secure well-balanced and unprejudiced habits of mind among the Bar. It might be said in favour of the French system that it possesses all the advantages of a complete division of labour, and has certainly nurtured into being a very high class of advocates on both sides, possessed of the severest morality, the most delicately-cultured minds, and the keenest political sensibilities. An account of many of these advocates still living, together with extracts from their speeches, is a valuable part of this work. The relations of Napoleon I. to the Bar and to the French legal system, are also described with interesting detail.

The present situation of the best German thinkers, in respect of moral and political speculation, is almost ignored by Englishmen, who persist in confounding under the epithet "German" every form of thought requiring for its mastery more preliminary knowledge than they have ready at hand, and too novel or courageous for them to trouble themselves about it. It is true, German speculation requires in the student undeviating attention, enthusiastic love of knowledge, and a comprehensive acquaintance with the best works that have been written in all countries on every subject. The ordinary Englishman, before he opens such a work as Professor Dettingen's "*Moral Statistics*,"¹² must consider whether he possesses, at the least, these qualifications. If not, he had better have nothing to do with it. This work is one of the greatest possible importance, and possesses the most stirring interest for the social philosopher, and even for the most unpretending

¹¹ "An Historical Sketch of the French Bar, from its Origin to the Present Day." By Archibald Young, Advocate. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1869.

¹² "Die Moral Statistik." Von Alexander der Dettingen. Erlangen. 1868.

philanthropist. It is an attempt to investigate by the use of a more rigid inductive process than has ever been applied before, all the statistics bearing on the development of the main classes of moral phenomena as exhibited on a large scale in organized communities of men. For the purposes of this inquiry, man is looked upon as an animal whose distinctive characteristic is what may be called "sexual polarity," and the result of which characteristic is the institution of the family. The family gives rise to such moral facts as reciprocal affection, piety or reverence, and authority, and these elementary traits are developed over and over again, and on a larger and larger scale, so as to give rise to a fresh institution called the State. The life of the State depends upon each person who composes it doing his part as an unit of the moral whole. Formal law, scholastic institutions, and ecclesiastical corporations combine to make up the tripartite machinery by which the State is held together, though the use of the word "machinery" is misleading, inasmuch as each part of the framework is evolved by a process akin to that of organic growth, out of the individual life of the particular people, and the accidental form of each part of such framework is determined by all the elements that go to make up that life. In reviewing former speculators in the same field, Mr. Buckle is noticed as having underrated the difficulty of the problem, and of having drawn his conclusions from superficially gathered premises. Mr. Mill is noticed as having paved the way for these inquiries by enlarging the region of strictly scientific methods so as to comprehend moral and political topics within it, while he has been cautious enough to avoid the use of necessitarian expressions drawn from the treatment of the simple causative processes familiar in the material world. The Professor, however, finds fault with Mr. Mill (1) for not insisting with sufficient force on the inexorable conclusions to be looked for from the use of moral statistics, (2) for not admitting that the whole social fabric rests on the fact of monogamic marriage and family life, and (3) for not analysing more closely the notion he implies when he speaks of human "free-will." Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling are disregarded as pantheistic; Kant and Herbart as (socially) atomistic. The actual matters investigated in this volume are of the highest interest. They are such as the prevalence of prostitution, the fecundity of married and unmarried women in different countries, the months in which most children are born; questions affecting trade, education, commerce, punishment, suicide, and the general philosophy of marriages and deaths. The combination of empirical methods of inquiry with a philosophical diction, breadth, and sensibility is a marked feature of this work, as of most of the best recent German speculations on similar subjects.

There is something very different in the calm, ambitious, self-contained style of French moral and political speculations from the more manifold and adventurous thought that is supplied to us from Germany. From each country, however, the modern Englishman may learn encyclopedic modes of applying himself to ethical studies which will make him more useful as a politician and wiser as a man. M. Renouvier's careful and very interesting work on "The Science of

Morality,"¹³ is a good specimen of the range of the higher French political conceptions at this day. M. Renouvier starts by pointing out in what sense morality is a science, albeit the premisses concerning conscience, free-will, and the source of moral obligation, are still exposed to the greatest possible debate. He then proceeds to establish a whole theory of human action, grounded on moral rights and duties, and extending from the individual looked at in his naked isolation, to national societies in their relations to each other. We are of opinion that this mode of evolving ideas of right from the situation of an individual will never lead to much, simply because it rests upon an assumption of facts which are not true. Every man that ever was born or will be born is at least a member of a family, and the reciprocal moral relations thereby engendered are earlier than any other whatever. There can be no good then in picturing how a man might be liable to discharge all kinds of duties towards himself before he was liable to discharge any other duties, supposing he was introduced into the world under entirely different circumstances from what he is. M. Renouvier then goes on to examine into the source of a sense of mutual rights and duties as between different members of the society. These rest upon a sense of "divided identity," so that a man's public duties are always, in some sense, due to himself. His remarks, in the second volume, on the mode of growth of a rational state out of a mere natural society, and on the higher moral condition of the former as implying a reconciliation of antagonistic elements, are very valuable. So also is the notion of a perpetual peace, due to the magnanimity, in the first instance, of a leading State—in the only just sense of the word State—that is, a society of free men in entire sympathy with the governing body among them, and lending to the acts of that body the full weight of their aggregate authority.

The persistent application of the methods of physical science to moral and political problems; which is becoming such a marked feature of continental thought, is well illustrated by M. Maurice Block's laborious and sagacious work on "Political and Social Europe."¹⁴ M. Block commences by pointing out the danger to which all reasoning from mere statistics is open, and what is the real worth of such reasoning. It is true, says he, that not the number of electors, nor the number of newspapers in a country, are a true index of the degree of political freedom there enjoyed, but the incorruptibility and public spirit of the one, and the unshackled hands of the other. With these cautions, M. Block enters upon his work of examining, first, into the statistics affecting the physical conditions of the European nations, such as territory, population, finances, army and navy, agriculture, commerce, and means of locomotion and communication. The second part touches on such less material conditions as religious worship, education, luxury and misery, prudential habits, and the like. The last part contains a direct examination of the like statistical facts conducted for each European nation in turn.

¹³ "Science de la Morale." Par Ch. Renouvier. Paris. 1869.

¹⁴ "L'Europe Politique et Sociale." Par Maurice Block. Paris: Hachette. 1869.

We have scarcely the hardihood in England to probe some of the more hidden and cancerous sores which are in too many quarters sapping the life of our moral and social state. A Frenchman like M. E. Caro, proceeds in the execution of this task¹⁵ for his own country with a grim scientific readiness to perform the most agonizing operations, if necessary, which, if we will not imitate, we may at least reap the fruits of. His "Moral Studies" contain a most interesting and readable article on the statistics and general phenomena of "Suicide," which he notices to be confined to states of society where the conditions of life are exposed to great vacillations, and where strong passions and violent vicissitudes of fortune abound on all sides. Suicide may, however, be more directly the result of a prevalent religious creed, a philosophical system, or even of a peculiar and transient literary and poetical taste. During the first fifty years of this century, there were 300,000 suicides in France. The chapter on "l'Hygiène Morale," giving an account of a German work showing the power every man possesses over his own health and spirits, is of great importance. The biographic sketches of Lamennais and Henri Heine are happily ranged with the other topics of the work.

A valuable contribution to the discussion of the question of capital and labour, is supplied by Dr. Weinhold, in the first volume of his "Geschichte der Arbeit."¹⁶ It is almost an original idea to survey the history of all known nations, commencing with the most primitive times, with the view of ascertaining the condition and quality of the persons in those nations who did the producing and distributing as well as the spiritually-enlightening work for the whole community. Dr. Weinhold recognises rightly in work not a pernicious doom, but in the first ages a "necessity," in the classical ages a "burden," in the middle ages a "privilege," in modern times a "right," in the future a "duty," and at all times, ideally, a "pleasure." The main question is as to the true mode of distributing the work of the community through the whole body of citizens. Greece accomplished her majestic task when she had taught and enabled her citizen to live in the grandest way for his individual self. Rome accomplished hers when she showed what was the economizing power of a great society. But both states perished because of the slavery which tainted their moral and political conceptions, and of the consequent inability to recognise at once the dignity of labour and the equality and the unity of all the members of the State.

An enthusiastic little work on "Indifference in Political Matters,"¹⁷ by M. Edmond Dutemple, gives a very pleasant notion of the spirit and good heart of the youthful writer. Neither the psychological nor the political analysis included in the work can be called profound or even original, but it is well to preach as homely and vivaciously as

¹⁵ "Nouvelles Etudes Morales sur le Temps Présent." Par E. Caro, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: Hachette. 1869.

¹⁶ "Geschichte der Arbeit." Von Dr. Moriz Weinhold. Erster Band. Dresden. 1869.

¹⁷ "De l'Indifférence en Matière de Politique." Par Edmond Dutemple. Paris. 1869.

possible that most things go wrong just because men are too lazy to take the trouble of making them go right. There are three great departments of political action, according to M. Dutemple; first, matters of pure government or administration; secondly, social relations; thirdly, diplomatic relations. All men and women are concerned in the successful regulation of the two first departments, but only some men in that of the last. Women ought, because of their passionate or enthusiastic, loving, and ambitious temperament, to take a deep interest in politics, and help men in practically working out political problems: but because of that very temperament, they are not themselves good for any practical work of the kind. English women will scarcely acquiesce in this distribution of functions, and still less in the grounds of it.

Dr. Brady's "Essays on the English State Church in Ireland,"¹⁸ are full of valuable matter, historical and statistical, bearing on the Act of Disestablishment which has at length, with the congratulations of all good citizens, been carried through the two Houses of Parliament. The facts Dr. Brady brings to light—some of them for the first time—ought to dispel the last doubt of the faint-hearted as to the wisdom and equity which characterized the entire measure. For instance, the practical working of the commutation clauses is illustrated in the following way:—There are, says Dr. Brady, quoting the Church Commission Report, 199 benefices in which the Church population varies from 1 to 39 Anglicans each, and mainly consists of the families of the clergymen, clerks, and sexton. There are many other benefices the church population of which is not much over 40. "Perhaps 300 incumbents might be reckoned to whom a commutation offers a change from comparative inaction to a moderate amount of church work, with, in many cases, an increase of income. By this kind of commutation the life services of the present clergymen may be made to supply the wants of the Church created by death vacancies, and at the same time remove some glaring anomalies." Dr. Brady examines the prospects before the Anglican Church body upon the death of the bishop, clergymen, clerks, and sextons whose life-interests are protected by the Act. The average length of these lives is taken at fourteen or fifteen years. "That breathing time may be employed in the collection of money to form a Church endowment for use when those fourteen or fifteen years shall have elapsed." Dr. Brady goes on to point out how, if sixpence a week were contributed during the next fifteen years by each of the Anglican families in Ireland, estimated at 180,000 in the census of 1861, there would be produced a capital sum of more than three million pounds, yielding from the year 1885 nearly 100,000*l.* a year. In this way a permanent endowment might be raised sufficient for the maintenance of twenty bishops, if need be, at 2000*l.* a year each, and for the support of clergymen in poor districts. The same rate of voluntary assessment might be continued for the general body of ministers: and its annual produce of 200,000*l.* would be swelled by donations and be-

¹⁸ "Essays on the English State Church in Ireland." By W. Maziere Brady, D.D. London: Strahan and Co. 1869.

quests. Dr. Brady says, "Disestablishment is mitigated by the grant of incorporation, a privilege at present confined to Anglicans, and denied to the other religious bodies in Ireland. Disendowment comes in a very modified form to a Church which retains some three hundred endowed churches, twelve or fifteen hundred fabrics of churches, eight or nine hundred ecclesiastical residences, some of which it can sell at a profit, and the life-services (which will last for fourteen or fifteen years) of some ten thousand clergymen." In the last essay of the volume, Dr. Brady enters on a very interesting defence of the date of 1660, selected by Mr. Gladstone, "beyond which private endowments were not to be retraced for the purpose of claiming them for the Establishment." The argument on the other side of course was that "the Irish Church, between 1560 and 1660, was the same Church as at present, removed from Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and on the other from Presbyterianism," and that therefore it was the clear will and intention of donors that their gifts should be bestowed upon such a body, and not upon a national Church as such, or upon the nation at large. Dr. Brady disposes, by reference to facts, of the argument from "reciprocity of preferments" in England and Ireland, and he meets the further allegation that the churches in England and Ireland were since 1560 identical in doctrine and discipline, by showing that the Acts of the Irish Parliament, upon which such ecclesiastical identity purported to rest, were "not received by any convocation or other regular assembly to which the affairs of the Church ought canonically to be entrusted, and that they were in fact imposed by Queen Elizabeth on Ireland without even a pretence of soliciting the consent or co-operation of the Irish Parliament. The actual vacillation for a hundred years after the Reformation in Irish Church discipline and the uncer tainty of the episcopal orders, are also notorious facts in the face of the supposed identity between the two Churches before 1660." Dr. Brady's whole work is full of valuable historical research reaching up to the earliest days of the first Papal Establishment.

There is a peculiar melancholy attaching to a set of letters communicated to a newspaper in the Colonies about six or seven years ago, and describing the mere superficial events of history which mostly interested people in London at the time. Mr. Parkes,¹⁹ in most matters, does little but reflect the commonplace, milk-and-water philosophy which an ordinary set of readers in an English provincial town would be likely to enjoy. There is certainly not much either original or interesting in what he says about the life and death of the Prince Consort, the International Exhibition, the debates in the House of Commons, or the relation of England to her Colonies. The best part of Mr. Parkes' book is where he moans over the general political flimsiness and immorality of all parties whatever in the country. He complains that whereas the shopkeepers call themselves "Liberals," it is the voice of them which is loudest in its abuse of Mr. Bright, and

¹⁹ "Australian Views of England. Eleven Letters written in the years 1861 and 1862." By Henry Parkes, late Colonial Secretary of New South Wales. London: Macmillan. 1869.

which has since (we might add) rejected Mr. Mill. "Their Liberalism extends little beyond their own order, and the secret of the working-men's preference for the Conservatives, is that the Conservatives really evince a more genuine feeling of fellowship for the working-men when they come in contact with them, than is to be found among the new families of opulence which have been admitted to political power by the Reform Act."

Among the different measures suggested as likely to operate favourably on the plague of pauperism, that of an extensive system of emigration, conducted at the expense of the State, always occupies a conspicuous place. We are much indebted to Mr. Edward Jenkins for an essay on the subject of "State Emigration,"²⁰ which can be described as nothing else than a masterly piece of advocacy and of lucid and exhaustive statement. Leaving for the time on one side the great question as to the true relation between a parent State and its Colonies in the present condition of the world, and also that as to the general functions of Government in the matter of taxing particular classes of the community in order to relieve the whole labour-market, we are ready to attach the greatest value to Mr. Jenkins's calm though vigorous reasoning. He himself has passed many years of his life in Canada and the United States, and for some years past has been practising at the Bar in this country. He has also concerned himself deeply with imperial political questions, having contested Stafford at the late election, and having taken a leading part in the debates of the Social Science Association, especially in respect of sanitary reform. Mr. Jenkins's view is that a leading distinction ought to be drawn between two classes of emigrants:—1st, labourers, artisans, and domestic servants; and 2ndly, settlers. For the former the demand in the Colonies is limited, and could by energetic charity be fully supplied without Government assistance. "To this object alone, therefore," says Mr. Jenkins, "let charity discreetly devote itself. The effect of their extrusion on the mass of redundant labour in this country would however be really inappreciable." The "settlers" are those to whose removal, "by families," Mr. Jenkins invites the co-operation of the State, and he gives good grounds for his belief that "the funds required for the removal of hundreds of thousands, the organization, discipline, facilities, and conveniences of transport, the co-operation of the Colonies, the guarantee of good conduct and repayment of moneys advanced, could only be secured with Government resources and authority." The amount required for the transport of an emigrant to Canada, including food, is about 6*l.*, to the Australian Colonies 14*l.* or 15*l.* Children are taken at a reduction. It has been ascertained by a careful calculation, that the amount either in food or in utensils sufficient to support a family of five for the first eighteen months, until their land begins to yield crops enough to sustain them, is 47*l.* sterling, or say 50*l.* The questions arising out of these general considerations are examined by Mr. Jenkins in great detail and with the utmost perspi-

²⁰ "State Emigration. An Essay." By Edward Jenkins. Second edition, revised by the Author. London: Published by the National Emigration Aid Society. 1869.

capacity; and we trust the Essay will have the large circulation its importance and cheap form merit for it.

There are, indeed, few imperial questions which exceed in importance at the present moment that concerning the whole relation of England to her Colonies. There are three dominant views on this subject, which either are illustrated by actual practice, or if only theoretical as yet, have very able and enthusiastic defenders. There is (1) Mr. Goldwin Smith's view that the sooner entire separation for all purposes of the Colonies from the mother country takes place, the better for both parties concerned. There is (2) the plan generally followed in practice, especially in Canada and the Australian Colonies, of conceding to the Colonies a large measure of independence and so-called constitutional government, coupled with the retention of a power of *veto* in a resident governor appointed by the mother country, and also of a general power in the Crown to annul all Acts of the provincial legislature. There is (3) the view advocated by Mr. Adderley²¹ in his review of Lord Grey's work on Colonial Policy, and which though little appreciated at present, is of the richest promise in itself, to the effect that the union of the British Colonies with the mother-country may be of the greatest benefit to both parties if the conditions and nature of the union be wisely established and apprehended. Such an union, in order to be fraught with good and not with evil effects, must rest on the largest possible powers of self-government existing in the several Colonies, only controlled by a latent authority, rarely exercised by, but none the less reserved to, the head of the Confederation to interpose in the event of any provincial act seeming likely to be detrimental to the whole Confederation. By a careful review of the past history of each of the great groups of Colonies, Mr. Adderley points out that the earliest policy previous to the War of Independence, was that of leaving the Colonies, for all purposes whatever, to themselves: the next policy, brought about by the results of that war, was that of complete home protection and home government: then followed the period of local parliaments and the grant of constitutions, hampered, however, in all the Colonies by the incessant meddling of the ministry of the day in England. Mr. Adderley points out in a most liberal spirit that this habit of interference is fatal to the acquisition in the Colonies of self-reliance and self-respect, and it is better for them to make mistakes and correct them than to be constantly nursed and kept out of harm's way by the maternal leading-strings. A persistence in this course will hasten the time of a bitter separation, or dislocation rather, whereas a large-hearted and generous policy will make all parties gradually feel more warmly and intensely their real need of, and dependence upon, each other.

It is possible to learn something from every book of travels, however unreliable on many accounts. Mr. Henry Deedes, in the light sketches he gives of the "South and West,"²² does everything he can—so often

²¹ "Review of the 'Colonial Policy of Lord J. Russell's Administration.' By Earl Grey, 1853; and of Subsequent Colonial History." By the Right Hon. C. B. Adderley, M.P. London: Edward Stanford. 1869.

²² "Sketches of the South and West; or, Ten Months' Residence in the United States." By Henry Deedes. London: William Blackwood. 1869.

as he touches upon the slave question and the condition of the negro—to alienate our general confidence. Thus he tells us that “taking the negroes in America as a class, numbering not less than four or five millions, ten years ago there did not exist a better cared-for or more contented people.” “They had always been housed, clothed, fed, doctored, and buried without thought for themselves.” “By nature the faculties of the negro are not well developed.” It is the worst result of a slave system existing so long in an otherwise civilized community, that it has, so to speak, bestialized the idea of humanity as applied to a large portion of the race, whereby the state of “not thinking for oneself,” comes to be a consummation devoutly to be wished. The present devastated condition of the South, as described by Mr. Deedes, and the actual misery of the whole people, black and white, is, no doubt, not exaggerated. An interesting part of the work is a detailed account of Mr. Alexander’s Woodburn Farm Estate in Kentucky.

The recent afflicting events in Jamaica, coupled with the condition of the negro question in the Southern States of America, give great importance to an intelligent and searching investigation into the causes of the declension of the sugar-trade in Jamaica. Such an investigation is contained in a pamphlet entitled the “Fall of the Sugar Planters of Jamaica.”²³ The reverses of the planters are traced to their root, which is found to be “their fatuously clinging to the barbarous practices of slave labour, tillage, and plantation management.” Other causes are alleged to be “the flagrant dishonesty of the planters in dealing with their labourers,” and the reckless financial extravagance and stupid impolicy of the late legislature over which they exercised an unlimited control, added to their corrupt denial of justice in the magistrates’ petty courts, in disputes between themselves and their labourers.

The mutual recriminations between the English and American nations arising out of the incidents connected with the notorious *Alabama*, throw a good deal of light on the characteristic foibles of each nation. In Mr. Sumner’s celebrated speech, fixing, as it did, the amount of damages due to America from England at a sum which would be ludicrously extravagant, were such sum named otherwise than in irony, the strength of American indignation, not to say folly, reached its climax. Between this exhibition of temper and an equally culpable spirit in the opposite direction, common in Conservative quarters in this country, Mr. Goldwin Smith, who has good reason to command the sympathies of all rational Americans, occupies a very dignified standing ground.²⁴ His speech, delivered as a reply to Mr. Sumner before the members of the Cornell University, is a model of calm statement, earnest yet self-restrained, and may be accepted by Americans as an exposition of the views of Mr. Sumner’s extravagance held by

²³ “The Fall of the Sugar Planters of Jamaica, with Remarks on their Agricultural Management, and on the Labour Question in that Island.” London: Trübner. 1869.

²⁴ “America and England: their Present Relations. A Reply to the late Speech of Mr. Sumner.” By Goldwin Smith. London: John Camden Hotten. 1869.

their best friends in England. Mr. Goldwin Smith rightly draws a clear line of demarcation between the superstitiously aristocratic classes in this country and the great liberal majority of the people. The former undoubtedly sympathized with the South throughout, the latter with the North, especially when the anti-slavery character of the struggle became prominent. Mr. Goldwin Smith denies the charge that England is any longer a highly aggressive power, and cites her conduct in relation to the cession of the Ionian Islands, her readiness to entertain the idea of ceding Gibraltar, her withdrawal from Abyssinia, and her furtherance of the scheme of Canadian confederation. Former utterances of Mr. Sumner are alleged against him to show the kind of temper towards England in which he approached the *Alabama* question. Thus on one occasion he said, "Œdipus, in the saddest tale of antiquity, weds his own mother without knowing it : but England will wed the slave power, with full knowledge that the relation, if not incestuous, is vile." And again, "The foul attorneys of the slave-monger power, reeking with slavery, will have their letters of licence as the ambassadors of slavery to rove from court to court over foreign carpets, talking, drinking, spitting slavery, and poisoning that air which has been nobly pronounced too pure for a slave to breathe." Mr. Goldwin Smith says, in relation to the speech of Mr. Sumner on the *Alabama* question, that he has not felt such a sense of wrong since he read the libels on America in some English newspapers at the time of the civil war.

Another very temperate and able review of the relations between England and America, as animadverted upon by Mr. Sumner, is from an anonymous quarter, and is signed *Britannicus*.²⁵ The author notices how uncertain was the condition of international law at the time of the sailing of the *Alabama*; what regret was felt by the large bulk of the English nation at the mistake which left room for her departure; and how ready everybody with any pretensions to justice in this country was and is to compensate every fair claim due to her ravages. That the sympathy with the North was not at first clearly and strongly expressed is fully attributed by the author to the circumstances, that for years after the war commenced, the American Government refused to speak a word in favour of Emancipation, and that "a feeling largely prevailed on this side of the Atlantic that the American Confederation was a voluntary union of States, and that the principles of their government and the facts of their history alike forbade a war for the subjugation of recalcitrant members." We must remind all true Americans that English Liberals have hard enough work to do to support the just claims of American institutions, and to vindicate the virtues of the American character, without having their task impeded and complicated by erratic statesmen like Mr. Sumner, the principles of whose creed we hereby call upon all his honest and intelligent countrymen publicly to disavow.

A really accurate account of some of the chief physical conditions of

²⁵ "A Letter to the Honourable Charles Sumner upon his Speech delivered on the *Alabama* Claims Convention." From *Britannicus*. Liverpool. 1869.

life in an outlying British colony is a valuable contribution to political science. Captain Hardy's description of "*Forest Life in Acadie*"²⁶ may fairly be characterized as such. The term "*Acadie*," signifying a place "where this or that is found," and being of frequent recurrence in the old Indian names of places, was adopted, thinks Captain Hardy, by the first settlers in Nova Scotia, to designate an extensive district, though one with uncertain limits. This work contains a brief but interesting notice of the main circumstances attending the development of Nova Scotia as an English colony. The discovery of gold, and especially the existence of fruitful coal-fields, have much facilitated that development; and Captain Hardy says, that "when one reads the abundant events of interest with which the whole history of Nova Scotia is chequered, of its steady progress and loyalty as a colony, and of the men it has produced, one cannot wonder at the present distaste evinced by its population on being compelled to merge their compact history and individuality in that of the New Dominion." The bulk of the volume is occupied by a precise and very full account of the animals found in the country, which will be of great value to the naturalist and the speculator in physical science.

We are very much indebted to travellers like Mr. Tozer, who explore the remoter and least visited parts of Europe, and, being possessed with the erudition and faculties needed for the purpose, give a full and particular account of all they have seen and heard.²⁷ Mr. Tozer's volumes contain, not merely a description of the outward scenery and features of the places he visited, but also particular investigations into the existing social and political condition of the several tribes with which he came into contact. Some interesting speculations are included, bearing on the relations of modern Greeks to their illustrious ancestors, as evidenced by the existing language, customs, superstitions, and popular tales. Mr. Tozer is of opinion that the Slavonic and Greek races, different as they are in character and tastes, are the natural component elements of a future strong power to the South-East of Europe. The Turks cannot hope to maintain a permanent sway over these races such as would satisfy their aspirations, and no other people can be allowed to do so. Constantinople would be made a free port, and the proposed railway route from Belgrade to Salonica, and also one from Belgrade to Constantinople, in communication with the Euphrates Valley line, would open out a brilliant prospect for the civilization of Europe both in the East and West.

The Circassian provinces, lying between the Black Sea and the Caspian, are brought to our notice in a very attractive volume by Mr. Freshfield.²⁸ The chief aim of his journey was the exploration of the passes and glaciers of the Central Caucasus and the ascent of two most

²⁶ "*Forest Life in Acadie. Sketches of Sport and Natural History in the Lower Provinces of the Canadian Dominion.*" By Captain Campbell Hardy, R.A. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

²⁷ "*Researches in the Highlands of Turkey.*" By the Rev. Henry Fanshawe Tozer, M.A., F.R.G.S. In two volumes. London: John Murray. 1869.

²⁸ "*Travels in the Central Caucasus and Bashan, including Visits to Ararat and Tabreez, and Ascents of Kaybek and Elbruz.*" By Douglas W. Freshfield. London: Longmans. 1869.

famous summits. This work contains pictures of many places and scenes not familiar to English readers, and it is a great gain to procure, by Mr. Freshfield's intelligent assistance, a description of "a Persian town," "a Persian post-road," and the like, and to attach some fixity of conception to the names, Ararat, Armenia, Trans-Caucasia, and Georgia. He mentions tribes under the dominion of the Russian government, which have been since the Crimean war kept in tolerable order; but the reckless religious proselytism of the Georgian and Armenian Churches under their Russian patronage, makes Christianity look rather poor and very immoral, even by the side of the surrounding Mahometanism.

It is from intelligent English officers on the spot that we must look for our best information as to the advances of Russia towards Hindoostan. Captain Harcourt's pamphlet on "Our Northern Frontier"²⁹ is on many accounts a valuable contribution to our knowledge. The main facts which Captain Harcourt announces, with the utmost decision and compendiousness, making good his statements throughout by reference to the best authorities, are (1) That Russia has been, since 1840, and especially in 1865 and 1868, constantly advancing her line of forts in the direction of the British frontier. (2) The practicability of further encroachment is due to the incohesiveness of the central Asian Khanats or States which touch the Russian border, Central Asia being described "as one vast waste, intersected here and there by abandoned aqueducts, canals, wells, and ruined cities, over which the miserable hovels of the peasantry are reared." (3) The Central Asian trade is of the greatest value, and Russia is immensely furthering her commercial interest by acquiring new districts, rich in vegetable and mineral products. Captain Harcourt concludes by suggesting "that the boundary limits we have now reached should suffice; but, while confining ourselves to our own borders, and endeavouring to raise the people of India to something of our own level, and fostering public and private enterprise in every possible way, it is also incumbent on us to be on the alert, and to avail ourselves of every opportunity that offers of extending our knowledge of Central Asian matters. A generous treatment of the sovereigns on our borders would seem to be an indispensable policy.

Side by side with the mere "Russophobists," and all those who obstinately refuse to look many years ahead, and prefer accepting facts just as they come without trying to stem or direct them, there is a steady column of well-informed writers, who treat the Central Asian question with a balance of mind and spirit of calm scientific investigation, which ought to carry with them the greatest weight. Captain Trench, who has been quartered for four or five years in the Punjab, two of which were spent in the close neighbourhood of the frontier of Afghanistan, has published a most interesting work³⁰ on the subject

²⁹ "Our Northern Frontier." By Captain A. F. P. Harcourt, Assistant Commissioner Punjab. London: James Madden. 1869.

³⁰ "The Russo-Indian Question Historically, Strategically, and Politically Considered, with a Sketch of Central Asian Politics, and Map of Central Asia." By Captain F. Trench, F.R.G.S. London: Macmillan. 1869.

of the relations of Russia to India, in which all the conditions, historical, geographical, and political, of the question are precisely distinguished and ably investigated. Captain Trench agrees with other writers who approach the subject from his point of view—that Russia has neither the intention nor the ability to make any decisive movement in the direction of the English frontier at present, but, with the view of ultimately possessing Constantinople and influencing Western politics, the crippling of England through her Indian empire is an essential part of her future programme. The best means of protection for England are (1) the carrying out of the Euphrates Valley railway, and (2) the promotion of the influence of England in Afghanistan, lately commenced with Shere Ali under the most favourable auspices.

In a letter to the Duke of Argyll, of great interest and abounding in important facts and statistics, Mr. Andrew strongly urges the carrying out of the proposed Indus Valley railway.³¹ In view of the yearly progress of Russia, Mr. Andrew is of opinion that we cannot be said to be keeping pace with her in any commensurate degree, and that we are totally unprepared to resist her aggressions, both midway and on the Indian frontier. Midway all depends upon the construction of the Euphrates line. "At the Indian extremity, our security depends on the completion of the Indus Valley line, and its extension branches from Lahore to Peshawur, and from Sukkur to Dadur. With these completed, our position in India would be unassailable." Mr. Andrew gives extracts from official minutes to show that he is fully corroborated by the late Viceroy (Lord Lawrence), Sir Bartle Frere, and other Indian authorities of the highest eminence.

A pleasant collection of Anecdotes of illustrious and excellent women, in all kinds of relations, and in the discharge of all kinds of duties, woven together by the interspersions of a good deal of wholesome thought and genial encouragement, is supplied by Mr. Joseph Johnson, in his "Willing Hearts and Ready Hands."³² Such books must be very useful for women who live in retired nooks and unexciting scenes, to get new hope and life from. A pretty account, for instance, under the head of "Influence and discipline," is given of Dante's sentiments towards Beatrice after her death. "The death of Beatrice imposed new duties upon him. That which he felt he had then to do was to render himself more worthy of her."

We scarcely know how to characterize the mystic book called "Despotism,"³³ with its black border and black cross, by the author of "Vital Law," except by simply saying, it is dedicated to Dr. Newman and Mr. Carlyle jointly. The main object of the work seems to be to bring about some ethereal form of marriage, dispensed from all its more, at present, familiar liabilities. Another work is promised

³¹ "On the Completion of the Railway System of the Valley of the Indus." A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.G. By W. P. Andrew. London: W. H. Allen. 1869.

³² "Willing Hearts and Ready Hands; or, the Labours and Triumphs of Earnest Women." By Joseph Johnson. London: Nelson.

³³ "Despotism." By the Author of "Vital Law." London: Longmans. 1869.

from the same author on "Infancy." Perhaps it will shed a light back on the present one.

Mr. Barry, who unites the qualifications of a "Professional Leader Writer of ten years' experience on the London daily and weekly newspaper press," and "Special Commissioner to Brazil and the Republics of the Uruguay and the Argentine on the live cattle trade to Europe," has certainly considered "Wealth and Poverty" after a most original, not to say eccentric, fashion.³⁴ He holds that the main oppressors of the English people are the house-owners and the bankers; and he investigates, after a peculiar but not unfair or unproductive fashion, the actual condition of all classes of people in the country, under the heads of the "struggling classes," the "oppressing classes," and the "neutral classes." The last division consists of the fundholder, the landed proprietor, and the Royal family. Under the head of the "pauper workman" a very pointed illustration is given of the tyrannical operation of the current law of distress. An unfavourable comparison is drawn between this law and that of the United States.

It is not a familiar idea with Englishmen to organize, on strictly scientific principles, the science and art of travelling, any more than to organize a great many other things much needing that process. Before another long vacation we recommend our readers to study Herr W. H. Riehl's "Wanderbuch,"³⁵ from which they will not only learn the whole theory of judicious travelling, but they will see the theory illustrated and applied before their eyes, by the exhibition of a very carefully conducted journey through Holland. The traveller is recommended (1) to go alone; (2) never to ask his way, but always to carry a map about with him; and (3) to know beforehand more about the place he is visiting than any one can tell him. He must also keep a journal, and commence by rather seeing a small territory thoroughly, than just peeping at a large one. Every one of these principles are about as much in the teeth of the notions popular among English tourists as can well be supposed.

An exact survey, geographical and topographical, of some of the highest peaks in Switzerland, will be very acceptable to English travellers and mountaineers. Herr Studer's work has the additional interest of giving, with all the detail needed by the Alpine climber, a particular account of all prior ascents of the several summits noticed.³⁶

Mr. Adams' account of Venice³⁷ contains a mass of curious information which it would be difficult to find collected together elsewhere. It is arranged under the heads of (1) History, comprising a first and second period; (2) Fine Arts, Literature, Manners and Customs; and (3) Public Buildings and Memorable Places. Such half-way books

³⁴ "Wealth and Poverty Considered." By P. Barry. London: Longmans. 1870.

³⁵ "Wanderbuch als zweiter Theil zu 'Land und Leute.'" Von W. H. Riehl. Stuttgart. 1869.

³⁶ "Ueber Eis und Schnee. Die höchsten Gipfel der Schweiz und die Geschichte ihrer Besteigung." Von G. Studer. 1 Abtheilung, Berner-Alten. Bern. 1869.

³⁷ "The Queen of the Adriatic; or, Venice Past and Present." By W. H. Davenport Adams. London: Nelson. 1869.

between mere guide-books and systematic histories are of great service, and no city in the world is more deserving every kind of illustration than Venice.

The Index to the *Times* Newspaper³⁸ for the winter quarter, 1869, will be found of much use for purposes of reference. A mere glance at the strange accumulation of miscellaneous matters, lying side by side in such unconscious irony, suffices to tell of the general character of the times in which we live as well as of the kind of events people most like to hear about under the head of "news."

SCIENCE.

IN his "Croonian Lectures on Matter and Force," Dr. Bence Jones treats of a subject which is at present of the highest interest.¹ He indicates in the first place the stages through which opinion has passed with regard to the connexion between Matter and Force, and shows that we may distinguish more or less clearly three stages in its progress. In the first or earliest stage, which the author distinguishes as the primitive or authoritative stage, matter and force are regarded as completely separate ideas; and he illustrates the prevalence of these views from the Bible and from other old writings. In the second stage, to which the author gives the name of the Newtonian stage, we have incomplete separation of the ideas of matter and force, the latter being regarded as manifestations of imponderable matter, essentially separable from ponderable matter, but capable of being attached for a time to it. This, until very recently, was the opinion generally entertained, and taught in all works on chemistry and physics; but the rapid progress of physical science within the last few years has led to another conclusion—namely, to the assumption of a "complete union or perfect inseparability between the ideas of ponderable matter and force." Turning now to the phenomena of life, Dr. Bence Jones proceeds to examine whether and how far we can recognise a similar progress in opinion with regard to the vital forces and the materials of which organisms are composed. He shows again, that in the earliest records with which we are acquainted, the idea of life is always separated from the idea of the matter of the body; and cites the statements of philosophers down to our own day to indicate the prevalence of opinions as to the relations of life to the material organism, nearly identical with those characteristic of the second stage of opinions with regard to the relations of matter and force. The third stage of opinion, in which the inseparability of the forces of the organism from its material particles is recognised has hitherto, as pointed out by the author, made

³⁸ Palmer's "Index to the *Times*, January 1st to March 31st, 1869." London: Palmer. 1869.

¹ "Croonian Lectures on Matter and Force: given at the Royal College of Physicians in 1868." By Henry Bence Jones, A.M., M.D., F.R.S. 12mo. London: Churchill. 1868.

comparatively little progress, but he goes on to demonstrate that such a view of the phenomena must be the true one, and to indicate the great advance in all departments of knowledge relating to life and vital action that must result from the general adoption of identical ideas of the relation of force to matter both in organic and inorganic nature. This little book must tend to diffuse more correct notions upon the true nature of the phenomena of life among the reading public; and we cannot too much admire the bold, and yet reverent manner, in which the author has treated his subject. The lectures themselves occupy only half the volume; in the other half the author has given three appendices, containing reprints of lectures which treat at greater length upon some of the most important vital phenomena.

Among the great physical discoveries of recent years none has made a greater impression upon the minds of men, or excited a higher degree of interest, than that of spectrum analysis. When we were told by Bunsen and Kirchhoff that by means which they pointed out we could not only readily detect in chemical investigations the presence of substances in quantities so minute as to elude the ordinary processes of analysis, but also investigate the chemical constitution of the sun and other heavenly bodies, notwithstanding their enormous distance from us in space, who could help feeling that great mysteries were about to be unfolded before him, and receiving the revelations of this new method of research almost with a sort of religious awe. Less than ten years have elapsed since the practical applicability of the spectro-scope, both in direct chemical analysis and in the investigation of the nature of the sidereal bodies, was demonstrated by Kirchhoff and Bunsen, and we have already a long series of important researches, made by its means, leading to a complete change in our ideas of the nature of the sun, and promising to give us, upon this and kindred matters, an amount of information such as could not previously have been hoped for. Already spectrum analysis possesses a literature of considerable extent, but consisting chiefly of memoirs and short papers published in various journals and in the transactions of societies; but however interesting these may be, the want of a good manual of the subject must have been often felt. Hence the publication of Professor Roscoe's "*Lectures on Spectrum Analysis*,"* delivered last summer before the Society of Apothecaries, cannot but be most welcome, as the lectures themselves furnish a most admirable elementary treatise on the subject, whilst by the insertion in appendices to each lecture of extracts from the most important published memoirs, the author has rendered it equally valuable as a text-book for advanced students. Professor Roscoe treats first of the nature of light and of the spectrum, and then indicates how the differences in the spectra of various bodies led to the discovery of the method of spectrum analysis. In the third lecture he commences by indicating the history of this method, the first glimpse of which seems to have been attained more

* "*Spectrum Analysis: Six Lectures*, delivered in 1868 before the Society of Apothecaries of London." By Henry E. Roscoe, B.A., Ph.D., F.R.S. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1869.

than a century ago by Thomas Melville. The remainder of this and the fourth lecture are occupied with an account of the application of the spectroscope to ordinary chemical analysis; whilst the fifth and sixth are exclusively devoted to the consideration of "solar and stellar chemistry." The work is beautifully illustrated with numerous woodcuts of apparatus, &c., and with a great quantity of coloured representations of various spectra contrasted with that obtained by the decomposition of the sun's light. The author also reproduces the maps of the solar spectrum published by Kirchhoff, and Angström and Thalén.

Mr. Dingle, in his attempt to bring the phenomena of astronomy into strict accordance with the Scripture narrative of creation,³ has contrived to veil his meaning in language so ingeniously unintelligible, that it is quite beyond our power to give any idea of what his precise views may be. The author's intention may be good, but we doubt greatly whether the effect of his work will be in accordance with his desires, if indeed it can have any effect at all. His notion seems to be that light is an ethereal medium, in which the celestial bodies float and by which their motions are produced; but if this be really his view, it is difficult to see in what manner he proves it from the account in Genesis of the creative acts of the fourth day.

M. de Parville's "*Causeries Scientifiques*" for the year 1868⁴ has reached a second edition. Like its predecessors, it contains a series of lively articles upon subjects of scientific interest with regard to which the past year has brought us any new information, and upon the discoveries and inventions of the year. Of course the preparation of the French Atlantic Cable, the laying of which is now an accomplished fact, forms a prominent topic; indeed it is the first subject referred to in the book. The progress of spectroscopic analysis, and especially the great results obtained by its means during the solar eclipse of 1868, and the important discovery by Lockyer and Janssen, of the possibility of seeing the red prominences at all times when the sun itself is visible, are discussed at its end; but this is evidently regarded by the editor as the most important section of his book. The remainder of the contents is of the most varied nature.

Dr. Nuttall's "*Dictionary of Scientific Terms*"⁵ will doubtless prove to a certain extent, useful to the many who nowadays indulge in the perusal of scientific works. In these we find constant reference to matters outside the immediate subject treated of, and therefore left unexplained by the author; and as the mere explanation of the meaning of a term will often furnish the intelligent reader with a clue, enabling him to understand an otherwise unintelligible passage, a convenient little dictionary, giving the sense of the principal technical terms used in scientific writings must prove advantageous. Of course

³ "*How Globes are Raised and Moved: being the fourth part of Hints from the Dawning; or the Creation Story considered under the laws of Light and Motion.*" By Edward Dingle. 12mo. London: Pitman. 1868.

⁴ Henri de Parville. "*Causeries Scientifiques, Découvertes et Inventions, progrès de la Science et de l'Industrie. Huitième Année, 1868.*" Deuxième édition. Sm. 8vo. Paris: Rothschild. 1869.

⁵ "*Dictionary of Scientific Terms.*" By P. Austin Nuttall, LL.D. Sm. 8vo. London: Strahan. 1869.

it is impossible within the compass of a small volume such as this of Dr. Nuttall's, to give all the terms employed in all the sciences, and we are rather surprised at the amount of information which he has been able to condense into its pages; but at the same time it must be confessed that it has many and grave imperfections, and that by a more judicious treatment its usefulness might be immensely increased. Thus the terms used in systematic Natural History, descending in many cases even to generic names, are to a very great extent derived from antiquated sources, and a considerable proportion of them might have been omitted and replaced advantageously by other articles. A quite unnecessary number of medical and surgical terms is given, and in the explanations given of many terms, we find errors and misstatements which greatly detract from any value the work may otherwise possess. We would recommend the author, in the event of his book reaching a second edition, to devote particular attention to the articles relating to zoology and comparative anatomy, which abound in errors of more or less importance.

Few things are more important in the study of any science than a knowledge of the history of the stages by which that science has arrived at its existing form, and in none perhaps is it at present more desirable that the student should be enabled to take a comprehensive view of the progress of his science, than in chemistry. Under these circumstances, Mr. Watts has done good service to the English student by translating and editing the introductory chapter of M. Wurtz's "Dictionary of Chemistry,"⁶ which contains an admirable summary of the history of that science since its emergence from the mists in which it had been enveloped by the adoption of ideas inherited from the alchemists. M. Wurtz refers very briefly to the views entertained upon the theory of chemistry by one or two observers of the seventeenth century, and indicates that the foundation of modern chemistry is due to Lavoisier, in whose behalf he claims chemistry as "a French science." It is true, indeed, that the names of French chemists are inseparably connected with almost every advance of this science, which may to a certain extent justify the "national partiality" exhibited in the use of the phrase above quoted, but M. Wurtz is by no means blinded by this feeling to the importance of the work performed by members of other nations, and we find full justice done to the genius of our countryman Dalton, to the labours of Berzelius, and to the researches of a host of other investigators who have contributed more or less to advance the science of chemistry to its present position. The treatment of the subject is admirable, and the translator has evidently done his duty most efficiently. He has added an appendix of notes elucidatory of matters referred to in the text.

Professor Blomstrand of Lund,⁷ desires to revert to the chemical

⁶ "A History of Chemical Theory, from the Age of Lavoisier to the present time." By A. Wurtz. Translated and edited by Henry Watts, B.A., F.R.S. Sm. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1869.

⁷ "Die Chemie der Jetztzeit, vom Standpunkte der electrochemischen Auffassung, aus Berzelius Lehre entwickelt." Von C. W. Blomstrand. 8vo. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1869.

ideas of Berzelius, which, he considers, by a little extension and modification, may be made more in accordance with the known facts of chemistry than any of the more recent theories. Adopting and extending the Dualistic views of Berzelius, he gives the following summary of his electro-chemical theory:—Two general factors: the *material atoms* and the *forces* working in their reciprocal action. The atoms must not only possess a certain weight, but also occupy space. The forces which effectuate the mutual action of the atoms, are opposite and polar. When the attractive force is spread over a larger space, or in other words, is excited to action in several points, it must act in the given direction more weakly than otherwise. The exertion of electro-chemical force thus modified, brings about the polyatomicity of an otherwise mono- or diatomic element. Thus a strongly positive atom which can only unite with one atom of equal negative power, unites with a larger number of relatively weaker negative atoms, and a negative atom of monoatomic action, yielding to the influence of several negative atoms, may appear to be relatively positive.

M. Alphonse Julien has published an interesting pamphlet on the traces of Glacial action in central France, especially the Puy-de-Dôme and Cantal.⁸ He finds traces of glaciers in many of the valleys of this region, whilst indications are not wanting of an earlier glacial period preceding the diluvial. His interpretation of the phenomena presented in central France is as follows: The tertiary period terminates with the so-called Lower Pliocene deposits containing remains of *Mastodon*. This was followed by a glacial epoch which has left its traces in *roches moutonnées*, in the breaking down of eruptive rocks, and in the formation of great beds of conglomerates, such as those of Perrier. The diluvial period which followed this is ascribed by the author to the melting of the great glaciers, and this was followed by a period in which the fauna of the Elephants established itself in central France, where it has left remains identical with those of the Cromer Forest bed, and the lignites of Zürich, the Upper Arno, &c. A second, but less severe, glacial period then set in, and it is to this that the glaciers observed by the author are referred. The frontal moraines of these glaciers descended to a level of about 1500 feet. The crater volcanoes appeared between this second glacial period and the age of the Reindeer.

It is perhaps not difficult in the present day for any one possessing a moderate knowledge of natural history to compile a good account of the animals referred to in the Bible; and so much has already been written on the subject that it is hard for any one, however great his scientific attainments, to put much that can be termed original into such a *treatise*. Looking at Mr. Wood's "Bible Animals"⁹ in this

⁸ "Des Phénomènes Glaciaires dans le Plateau central de France, en particulier dans le Puy-de-Dôme et le Cantal." Par Alphonse Julien. 8vo. Paris: J. B. Baillière. 1869.

⁹ "Bible Animals; being a description of every living creature mentioned in the Scriptures, from the Ape to the Coral." By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1869.

light we may justly regard it as a good and useful work, and it will doubtless be welcome to that numerous class who desire to obtain information upon every subject relating to the Bible. Much has been done of late years, by exploring expeditions, to elucidate the natural history of the Holy Land; and Mr. Wood has freely made use of the researches of Mr. Tristram and others who have devoted themselves in an especial manner to this task. His book furnishes a good popular account of the animals mentioned in Scripture. It forms a handsome volume, and is well illustrated.

Another zoological work which makes no high scientific pretensions is a translation of Ernest Menault on "The Intelligence of Animals."¹⁰ The author runs through the animal kingdom, and indicates the intellectual manifestations which may be observed in the different forms, the main object of his teaching being to show the conformity between the intellectual operations of man and those of the lower animals.

In a former number we had occasion to notice a history of the birds of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, by a very young ornithologist; and we have now before us another of these local histories, written this time, however, by a more experienced hand. Mr. Sterland's "Birds of Sherwood Forest,"¹¹ is stated by him to be the result of twenty years' observations in a most favourable district; and although occasionally unnecessarily expanded, it contains a great amount of valuable and interesting information. Mr. Sterland is not contented to follow implicitly the opinions of his predecessors, however high their authority may be; in several passages he shows that he has thought as well as observed, and his opinions seem to be deserving of all attention. Thus, to cite an example: after referring to the various opinions which have been put forward with regard to the use of the serrated middle claw of the goatsucker, our author suggests that none of these have hit upon the true solution of the phenomenon, but that the claw comes into use in holding the bird upon its perch, as it sits lengthwise and not crosswise, like most other perching birds.

We have previously noticed the appearance of a part of Mr. Newman's "Natural History of British Moths,"¹² and have now again to call attention to the work on its completion. In this book, which forms a handsome octavo volume, copiously illustrated with good wood engravings, the author has limited himself to the larger forms, the Hawkmoths, Bombyces, Geometers, and Noctuæ, the species of the remaining families being for the most part of such small size that the method of illustration adopted by Mr. Newman would fail to give any just idea of them. Of the families here treated of, Mr. Newman furnishes an excellent natural history; and his book will be welcomed

¹⁰ "The Intelligence of Animals, with Illustrative Anecdotes." From the French of Ernest Menault. Sm. 8vo. London: Cassell. 1869.

¹¹ "The Birds of Sherwood Forest. With Notes on their Habits, Nesting, Migrations," &c. By W. J. Sterland. Sm. 8vo. London: Reeve. 1869.

¹² "An Illustrated Natural History of British Moths, with life-size figures from Nature of each Species, and of the more striking varieties; also full Descriptions of both the perfect Insect and the Caterpillar," &c. By Edward Newman, F.L.S., &c. 8vo. London: Tweedie. 1869.

by many an entomologist, especially in the country, as furnishing him with a cheap and good guide to the knowledge of these insects.

A new edition of Professor Johnson's treatise on the growth of crops,¹³ prepared and specially adapted for the use of the English student by Professors Church and Dyer, of the Cirencester Agricultural College, seems to furnish almost all the general information on the subject of the constitution and growth of plants that can be required by the agriculturist, even if he desires to follow out a course of scientific investigation. The constitution of the plant is here treated very fully from both its chemical and its physiological side, the results of recent investigations are most carefully cited, and a sufficient amount of general chemical and botanical information is given to render the beginner independent of other works. It is true that the relations of growing plants to soils are scarcely touched upon, and consequently the influence of manures upon vegetation is left to be learnt from other sources. The purpose of the book, however, is not to lay down a complete system of practical agriculture, but to supply such scientific information upon the laws of vegetable life as may enable its reader to advance with more certainty upon the path of practical investigation. This purpose it seems to us thoroughly to fulfil.

Dr. Spencer Cobbold's supplement to his well-known Treatise on Entozoa¹⁴ contains, in addition to a special and general index, a record of researches conducted since the year 1864. He has made numerous experiments of feeding animals on trichinous flesh, and out of sixteen cases of mammals in which the results appeared to have been fully ascertained, in nine they were successful—that is to say, that the parasites were found in greater or less abundance in the flesh of these nine animals after death. It is reassuring then to learn from Dr. Cobbold that a great deal of unnecessary fear has been created in this country, that English swine are almost entirely if not absolutely free from the disease, and that not a single case of Trichiniasis in the living human subject has been diagnosed in the United Kingdom. He believes, indeed, that the twenty or thirty individuals who have been found after death to be trichinized had contracted the disease by eating German pork sausages or other preparations of foreign meat. In conjunction with Professor Simonds of the Veterinary College, Dr. Cobbold was successful in rearing cystic entozoa in the calf, thus producing the diseased phenomena called by Professor Leuckart "acute cestode tuberculosis." Two hundred mature proglottides of the *Tænia medio-*

¹³ "How Crops Grow : a Treatise on the Chemical Composition, Structure, and Life of the Plant, for Agricultural Students." With Illustrations and Tables of Analyses. By S. W. Johnson, M.A. Revised, with numerous additions, by Arthur H. Church, M.A., and W. T. Thistleton Dyer, B.A. Sm. 8vo. London : Macmillan. 1869.

¹⁴ "Entozoa : being a Supplement to the Introduction to the Study of Helminthology." By T. Spencer Cobbold, M.D., F.R.S. London : Groombridge and Sons. 1869.

canellata were given in milk to a calf. Ten days afterwards the animal was very ill and seemed likely to die, but it did ultimately recover, and when it was killed, a little more than two months after its dose, it seemed to be a thoroughly sound and thriving young beast. When its flesh was examined, however, hundreds of larval cestode parasites were discovered in the superficial muscular layers; the calculation being that there were from seven to eight thousand present. Other interesting experiments are related in this volume, which will prove an acceptable supplement to those who are in possession of the author's original work. To it is appended a full bibliography.

Sir James Clark's memoir of the late Dr. Conolly¹⁵ contains a fair and full account of the great reform in the treatment of the insane by the abolition of mechanical restraint, which has been effected in this century, and exhibits impartially the large share which Dr. Conolly had in carrying it on to a successful issue. It also contains an account of the condition of foreign asylums in different countries, and a long appendix by Dr. Arlidge, embodying the results of his personal inspection of some and his inquiries concerning other foreign and colonial asylums. Dr. Arthur Mitchell has contributed an able and appreciative notice of Dr. Conolly's writings, and has given his valuable assistance in other parts of the memoir. It is hardly necessary to say then, that the volume contains a great deal of interesting and useful information, but we must confess to a feeling of disappointment in finding very little about Dr. Conolly's life and character, and especially so few and brief extracts from his letters, which were always graceful and eminently characteristic. In fact, the book is really a rather loosely constructed account of the introduction of the non-restraint treatment of the insane and of the present condition of asylums, with references to Dr. Conolly's public life interspersed in it, and does not give us any conception of the real character and the inner life of one whose name, as Sir Thomas Watson has said, "will go down to a remote posterity, and be reckoned among those of the greatest and noblest benefactors to a very suffering portion of the human race."

Bearing in mind how little exact knowledge of the action and uses of drugs medicine can yet boast, we were not disposed to entertain great expectations from the perusal of Dr. Ringer's recently published "*Handbook of Therapeutics*."¹⁶ Indeed, the author avowedly publishes it as an introduction to Therapeutics in which controversial and speculative questions have been, so far as possible, omitted, and as designed for the use of students and young practitioners. Accepting this modest design of the work, and criticising it from no higher standpoint, we cannot help thinking it in some respects strangely incomplete. The author has omitted mention of all therapeutical agents other than drugs, so that his title hardly indicates the

¹⁵ "Memoir of John Conolly, M.D., D.C.L." By Sir James Clark, Bart., K.C.B., M.D., F.R.S. London: John Murray. 1869.

¹⁶ "A Handbook of Therapeutics." By Sydney Ringer, M.D. London: H. K. Lewis. 1869.

true character of the handbook; and in treating of different drugs he dismisses in a few words some which have a considerable reputation, and are commonly believed to have special actions and special uses. In a work on therapeutics, it is surely not enough to say of Stramonium little more than that it produces symptoms very similar to those of belladonna, and then, immediately afterwards, to dismiss Hyoscyamus with the statement that it corresponds, "in its behaviour on the body," to belladonna and stramonium. In designedly avoiding speculative discussions and theoretical opinions, Dr. Ringer has failed sometimes to convey to his readers adequate ideas of what is really known concerning the physiological action of certain drugs, and has made his book more dry and less instructive than it might have been. Still, all faults and defects apart,—of which faults of composition do not fail to be noticeable—there is a great deal of practical information and much valuable suggestion, which cannot but render the handbook, what it is intended to be, useful to students and young practitioners.

Mr. Walter Coulson's "*Treatise on Syphilis*,"¹⁷ which is founded upon a course of lectures delivered at the Lock Hospital, contains the conclusions at which he has arrived from his own observations of the disease, and from his study of the best works treating of it. The author gives his decided adhesion to the opinion that there are two species of chancre—the one being merely a local sore which does not infect the system; the other being the true syphilitic ulcer which is almost invariably followed by constitutional symptoms. With regard to the value of syphilization as a means of treatment he does not appear to have definitely made up his mind, although evidently inclining to the belief that it has little or no effect upon the disease. We should have thought that the evidence warranted a stronger and more decided expression of opinion. The description of the ravages which syphilis is known to produce in the internal organs of the body is somewhat sketchy, and, although summarizing the views of several recent inquirers, hardly does justice to the importance of the subject and the amount of knowledge which has actually been obtained. We do not think that the execution of the work entirely justifies its title as a *Treatise on Syphilis*, but there can be no doubt that Mr. Coulson has produced a useful summary of the opinions now generally entertained with regard to syphilis, engrafting on it the results of his own observation.

"*A Treatise on Alimentation*" by Dr. Jules Cyr¹⁸ has rather the character of a popular exposition than of a scientific treatise. He begins with the consideration of alimentation in its physiological relation, noticing briefly the actions of the different digestive fluids, and then describing the composition and discussing the nutritive value of different articles of food, animal and vegetable; he goes on next to treat of alimentation in its pathological relations, setting forth the

¹⁷ "*A Treatise on Syphilis*." By Walter J. Coulson, F.R.C.S. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1869.

¹⁸ "*Traité de l'Alimentation*," Par Dr. Jules Cyr. Paris: Baillière et Fils. 1869.

respective effects of insufficient and of superabundant nourishment, and the morbid conditions produced by injurious articles of food ; and lastly he deals with alimentation in its therapeutical relations, treating at length of the kind of diet most advantageous in febrile and other diseases. There can be no doubt that the author has brought together within a moderate compass much useful information, which was only to be found scattered in different books, but some of it hardly appears to be up to the scientific level of the day, and the whole treatment of the subject is too superficial and summary to be quite satisfactory.

M. Moreau,¹⁹ who published a few years ago a book entitled "*Psychologie Morbide*," which excited a good deal of attention at the time, has now given to the public in a small volume the results of his observations and reflections on what he proposed to call neuropathic insanity, but which is commonly known as hysterical insanity. He believes it to be a form of insanity which has distinct characters,—one of the most striking of which is the greater or less consciousness of their intellectual disorders which the patients display—a course in some respects special, and which is most benefited by a particular treatment. He has given the notes of a great many cases which have been under his observation, but neither in these notes of particular cases nor in his general reflections does he bring out at all clearly what are the distinctive characters of the disease. Indeed, his treatment of the subject does not evince close and exact observation, but is vague and theoretical, and the book, though undoubtedly suggestive, leaves its purpose imperfectly accomplished.

Dr. Alexander Müller, formerly Professor of Agricultural Chemistry at Stockholm, discusses in a very thorough manner the aims to be kept in view and the means to be used in the purification of our dwelling houses.²⁰ He describes and criticises the different plans which have been proposed for the utilization of sewage, strongly advocating what is known as the Müller-Schürian system of scattering, by a self-acting closet, a powder of unslacked lime and charcoal over the excrement immediately after it is passed. He maintains that by this plan the purification of our cities might be effected without cost, as the value of the manure obtained would more than pay the expense.

Mr. Pye H. Chavasse, having written a little book called "*Advice to a Mother*," which has gone through several editions, has now published "*Counsel to a Mother*," as a continuation and completion of it.²¹ The present volume, like the other, gives much useful advice in a plain and intelligible form, but we hardly anticipate for it a success equal to that of its predecessor. The author shows himself far too prone to go beyond the ground on which he can speak with authority, and to discourse on matters that do not properly come within the range of his book, while

¹⁹ "*Traité Pratique de la Folie Néuropathique*." Par le Docteur Moreau (de Tours.) Paris: Baillière. 1869.

²⁰ "*Die Ziele und Mittel einer gesundheitlichen und wirthsch aftlichen Reinhaltung der Wohnungen*." Von Dr. Alexander Müller. Dresden. 1869.

²¹ "*Counsel to a Mother*." By Pye Henry Chavasse. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1869.

he has been sillily induced by the advice of friends to publish in it "A Poem on Childhood," which is a foolish jingle of rhymes.

Of the "Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences," from January to June, we can only repeat what we have said of former volumes.²² It cannot justly claim to be called a digest of British and Continental medicine, for it is almost entirely made up of extracts of all sorts from English Journals.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR. DUFFUS HARDY, one of the most laborious of men, has succeeded in producing one of the most unreadable of books. A preface of 150 pages, is followed by a series of Chronological Tables, and surmounted by an index of nearly 500 pages; and this is only the first instalment of an English Syllabus of *Rymer's Fœdera*.¹ This Syllabus is intended as a Synopsis of the whole of the "Fœdera," and will, in Mr. Hardy's opinion, if read continuously, give the student a much more faithful picture of the events of any particular period than can be gathered from the pages of the writers of the age to which those events relate. Mr. Hardy regards his Syllabus as a general index to Rymer's voluminous work, promises its continuation in a second volume, which will contain a second index of persons and places which occur in the Syllabus, as well as an Appendix correcting original or editorial errors of transposition of documents, and announces a third volume "which will be wholly devoted to a general index of the names of persons and places, including also matters which appear in all the editions of the 'Fœdera,' and so arranged as to suit each edition." These editions of the "Fœdera" are four in number, Churchill's edition of 1717, in seventeen volumes, fifteen by Rymer himself, and two by Saunderson, his continuator; Tonson's edition, in twenty volumes, the last of which made its appearance in 1735, and which with its four immediate predecessors, was the production of Saunderson; the Hague edition completed in 1745; and the extravagant and unwieldy edition of Dr. Adam Clarke, who was authorized by the Record Board to undertake the task in 1810. There is also a translation from the French of the Hague edition by Mr. Stephen Whalley, who was encouraged to assume the part of interpreter by William Benson, to whom we are indebted for the monument of Milton in Westminster Abbey. Thomas Rymer, the principal author of the "Fœdera," was a younger son of Mr. Ralph Rymer, who, joining the Presbyterian Rising in the

²² "Half-yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences." January—June, 1869. London: Churchill and Sons:

¹ "Syllabus (in English) of the Documents relating to England and other kingdoms, contained in the collection known as 'Rymer's Fœdera.'" By Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. Vol. I. 1086—1377. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

autumn of 1663, was captured, condemned by Commission, and executed. Born at "The Hall" in the little village of Yafforth in Yorkshire, Thomas was educated at a private school at Northallerton, kept by a royalist pedagogue, Mr. Smelt, and at Sidney College, Cambridge, which he left without taking his degree. In 1673, having previously become a member of the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, he was called to the bar. Some poems, prose translations, and a pamphlet or two, were his earliest literary efforts. On the death of Thomas Shadwell in 1692, the two offices which had hitherto been enjoyed by one person were separated, and when Tate was appointed Poet Laureate, Rymer was nominated Historiographer Royal, with a salary of 200*l.* a year. Within eight months after this accession of dignity, Rymer was directed to carry out the great national work—viz., the collection of diplomatic instruments or treaties which Montague and Somers had recommended. Rymer commenced his acquaintance with Leibnitz in 1694, and was materially influenced by him in the plan and formation of the "*Fœdera*." With Hobbes and Waller he lived in honourable intimacy. Stepney numbered him among his friends, and Bishop Kennet, writing after his death, mentions him with respect. Up to a short time before his death, Rymer was actively engaged in collecting materials. These materials assumed the form of fifty-nine volumes of MS., embracing the period between 1115 and 1698. Rymer died in Arundel-street, in the Strand, on the 14th December, 1713, and was interred in the church of St. Clement Danes on the third day after his death. These particulars, with a thorough elucidation of the questions suggested by the subject, are drawn from the long and instructive preface with which Mr. Hardy has introduced what he appropriately calls his "*Skeleton of English History*," which we now commend to the admiring contemplation of his model student.

Another work of antiquarian interest, the *Speculum* of Richard of Cirencester, an historian of the fourteenth century, has been edited by Mr. John E. B. Mayor, in two volumes, the second of which has now come to hand.² It consists of four books, of which the first contains the history of the Pagan Saxons from their first arrival in England to the coming of Augustine, chiefly borrowed from Roger Wendover, or following the traditionary nomenclature, Matthew of Westminster and Geoffrey of Monmouth; the second, mainly from Bede, takes us from the mission of Augustine to the accession of Alfred; the third, derived from various predecessors, comprises the history of 170 years, from the accession of Alfred to the death of Hardecnut; while the fourth expatiates on the acts and miracles of the glorious king and confessor Edward, and is borrowed from Ailred, William of Malmesbury, Florence, Higden, and others. The chief grounds for reprinting the *Speculum*, says Mr. Mayor, in his learned preface, are not its in-

² "*Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de gestis regum Angliæ*." From the copy in the Public Library, Cambridge. Edited by John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners, &c. Vol. II. A.D. 872—1066. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

trinsic merits, but the use which has been made of it by historians and antiquaries, the numerous errors which are current respecting it and its author, and the conclusive evidence which it bears to the spuriousness of the *De Situ* to which Richard owes most of his fame. This work was brought to light by Dr. Charles Julius Bertram, professor of English at Copenhagen, who professed to have discovered it in the Royal Library there. Bertram's original, however, has never been found. There is no external evidence for the *De Situ*, for before 1747 it was never named, and the internal evidence seems fatal to its authenticity. Yet this is the book which Gibbon has praised for its genuine knowledge of antiquity. For 120 years "a forger alike contemptible as penman, Latinist, historian, geographer, critic," has imposed "upon members of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and of the two ancient universities, of the youthful society D.U.K.," on the writers of Germany and Denmark, of England and of Scotland. Pronounced by Dr. Guest in 1850 a patent forgery, this "clever fabrication of Bertram's" has supplied material to the modern historian, to the pictorial illustrator, and to the private and official map-maker. With such experience there is no need to wonder that history wins its way to the fabulous, or rather to the false. Even in our own critical and sceptical age credulity is too ready to accept the pretended testimony of fraudulent ingenuity.

Mr. Riley, in a third volume of the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancto Albano*, brings to a conclusion the history of the *Abbots of St. Albans*,³ as contained in the Cottonian MS. An anonymous continuation follows, transcribed from the only text that is known to exist, the closing pages of the Parker MS. This continuation breaks off abruptly in the middle of the Abbey of William Heyworth, in the twelfth year of Henry IV., or A.D. 1411. The present volume recounts the history of the house during the long rule of Thomas de la Mare, and sets forth the acquisitions made, the encroachments resisted, and the struggles sustained by that able and litigious Abbot. An episodic account of Wat Tyler's insurrection, as far as Hertfordshire is concerned, spreads over nearly a hundred pages, and the general narrative is varied with sketches of social life, legendary tales, and graphic pictures of incidents tragical and humorous. The work is enriched with an explanatory essay with a glossary, an index of names of persons, and a second index of names of places.

A Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Elizabeth analyses documents illustrating the events of one year only, 1563.⁴ "Here, as

³ "*Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancto Albano a Thoma Walsingham regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem ecclesie præcentore compilata.*" Edited by Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Vol. III. A.D. 1349-1411. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

⁴ "Calendar of State Papers: Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1563." Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

in the previous volume, we are chiefly interested in the progress of our intercourse with France." The despatches of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton testify to his powers of observation and description. In proof of this his account of the battle of Dreux, of his interview with the Duke of Guise, may be instanced. The narrative of the siege of Havre, distributed in various notices, written by different reporters, shows the sufferings of the garrison, the enduring spirit of Warwick, though compelled to surrender at last, and the official neglect from which our troops succumbed. During this year, Mr. Stevenson remarks, neither Scotland nor Spain attract attention, Queen Elizabeth and Cecil being occupied almost exclusively with France. Besides the historical analysis and the preface, the volume before us contains a general index and a topographical list of documents.

In the Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Lambeth Library, and extending over a period of about twelve years, we have another of these useful documentary publications.⁵ In an able Introduction the editors describe the state of Ireland under Mary and Elizabeth. Among other things they draw attention to the remarkable fact, that however strong her papal predilections might be, Mary was perfectly contented to retain the Tudor supremacy: that by precisely the same authority by which the religious independence of the nation had been asserted in the reign of Henry VIII., the old religion was restored and the Legateship of Cardinal Pole admitted and recognised. "In the communications between her Council in England and that of Ireland, she styled herself "Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on Earth Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland." As conclusive evidence of the growing prosperity of the English Pale under the reign of Elizabeth, the editors adduce the address of the Deputy Sir Henry Sidney to the Queen, and affirm that however intolerant and severe in some respects might be her rule, it was connected more intimately than any other with the prosperity of her subjects both in England and in Ireland.

In a new volume of the domestic series of "State Papers of the Reign of Charles I.," we pass from 1637 to 1638, at the commencement of which the ship money writs sent out for the fourth time in annual succession, again replenished the royal exchequer.⁶ Officially, says Mr. Bruce, the question was considered settled, but there was a popular persuasion that as the judges had been divided in opinion, there would be some appeal. Persons, accordingly, who had been assessed still continued to evade the tax. The government was now essentially absolute. The archbishop reigned over the church; the king was independent of parliament; nine years had elapsed since the

⁵ "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth, 1589—1600." Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A., and William Bullen, Esq. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

⁶ "Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I., 1637—1638." Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1869.

last of these bodies was dissolved. The king's ecclesiastical prepossession had raised a spirit of resistance among the people of Scotland which showed itself in warlike menace. Apprehensions were entertained of an invasion of England. "From this time the Calendar contains many valuable papers" which bear on the general subject, and indicate the military preparations which were made against the arrival of the apprehended catastrophe. The Rising in the Fens, near Ely, occasioned by the Earl of Bedford's drainage of the great level, is another topic which is treated here, and various historical and biographical information connected with this eventful time, may be elicited from the volume.

The writer of the introduction to one of the Elizabethan Calendars sees in Sir Henry Sidney's letters a standing rebuke to those who have decried the administration and character of the great Tudor Queen. Mr. Hosack, a vindicator of Mary Queen of Scots, on the contrary, regards her as an accessory to a course of persecution to which all similar examples of State iniquity are but as dust in the balance.⁷ Of course Sussex, Cecil, Murray, the Scottish nobles, and the representative men of the English nation, all share in this indictment, made in the interest of Mary Stuart, the "illustrious victim of sectarian violence and barbarous statecraft." Against the multitude of adverse authorities that confront him, Mr. Hosack refers us to Camden, Carte, and Lingard, who "in point of research and accuracy are certainly unequalled by any of their contemporaries." Mr. Froude he describes as the most reckless of the Scottish Queen's modern adversaries, and repeatedly accuses him of direct fabrication (pp. 302, 381, 346, 513). Buchanan is of course a wholesale forger and calumniator, and Knox occupies a very different position in the heroic world to that assigned him by Mr. Carlyle. There are some allegations in Mr. Hosack's volume that are in direct contradiction to those in our ordinary history books, to which we desire to draw attention. It has been generally asserted that Mary joined the league called the Holy Alliance, the object of which was the extirpation of Protestantism, but Mr. Hosack says that the only evidence for this conviction is that of Randolph, and that Randolph spoke only from hearsay. Again, Mr. Hosack declares that the support of Elizabeth was in all probability given to "a devilish conspiracy," ostensibly for the death of Riccio, but in reality for the destruction of Mary Stuart and of her husband, and he appears to us to regard both Randolph and Bedford as accomplices in the plot. The casket letters Mr. Hosack treats as evident forgeries, though he has the gravest authorities against him. The internal evidence which he adduces against that genuineness deserves the consideration of opponents, but he does not seem aware that two of the *French originals* have been discovered; such at least is the statement of Mr. Froude, who pronounces both the Scottish and the Latin forms of the letters to be

⁷ "Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers: embracing a narrative of events from the death of James V. in 1542 until the death of the Regent Murray in 1570." By John Hosack, Barrister-at-Law. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1869.

translations by Buchanan. To attempt a detailed refutation of Mr. Hosack would require a minute examination of original documents to which we have no access, and a cautious comparison and scrutiny of evidence and counter-evidence impracticable to us. Mr. Hosack's vindication, however, is written with apparent knowledge of the subject, with great occasional plausibility, and with inferences drawn from little known or recently discovered documents, and if Mr. Froude or Mr. Barton have leisure for a formal examination of the arguments which it contains, we should be glad to see the challenge accepted by them. If only the character of Mary Stuart were in question, this re-investigation might be dispensed with, but since Mr. Hosack's defence of the Scottish Queen involves a condemnation of Elizabeth, of Murray, and of all the great actors in the historical drama who were opposed to Mary, larger and nobler issues are at stake, and Mr. Hosack's deliberate and often circumstantial counter-accusation is sufficiently important to make a rejoinder desirable.

The history of the eighteenth century has received some elucidation from the series of sketches, originally read as lectures by Mr. Thorold Rogers, and now collected in a portable little volume, for a larger and more enduring public than the audiences to whom they were first addressed.⁸ These sketches, intended to present a set of historical facts grouped in each instance round a conspicuous figure, rank far above the average of similar performances. Mr. Rogers is an independent thinker, and if he sometimes betrays an unexpected mental limitation as in his estimate of the first French Revolution, he in general exhibits a cogency of statement and an emphasis of language that entitle his opinions to a respectful attention. The four portraits that he has placed together in his literary cabinet are those of Montagu, Walpole, Adam Smith, and Cobbett, of which the third is, we think, the most valuable, and the fourth the most entertaining. In his first sketch Mr. Rogers takes us back a little way into the seventeenth century, describing the daily parochial inquisition of the Protectorate clergy as more insupportable than the occasional persecutions of the monarchical courts, and the palace life of the second Charles as one vast revel, one perpetual round of debauchery, containing no modest woman and no honest man. Charles, like his father, plundered the London merchants; more than ten thousand families were ruined by his appropriation of the 1,328,526*l.* which lay in the Exchequer. No interest we are told was paid for thirty years, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century the government of William, which, if it borrowed money saved public credit, effected a compromise, and this, the oldest part of the National Debt, is still one of the public liabilities. Born in 1661, Charles Montagu, after a preliminary training at Westminster under the famous Dr. Busby, was sent at twenty-one years of age to Trinity College, Cambridge. The travesty of Dryden's "*Hind and Panther*," in which he was assisted by Prior, under the title of the "*Town and*

⁸ "*Historical Gleanings. A series of Sketches:—Montagu, Walpole, Adam Smith, Cobbett.*" By James E. Thorold Rogers. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

Country Mouse," gained Montagu the friendship of Lord Dorset, and opened him a career in the political world. He first sat in the Convention Parliament of 1689, and acquitted himself so well that he at once received from the kingdom a pension of 500*l*. At thirty years of age he managed a conference of the two Houses, the object of which was to define anew and amend the law of treason, an object which, though temporarily defeated, was ultimately obtained. Montagu indeed may be hailed as the father of English finance, for it was he who first pledged successfully the public credit, prevented the degradation of the currency, furthered the project which established the Bank of England, and invented and circulated Exchequer bills. In 1691 Montagu was made a Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was then that he brought forward his recoinage scheme, which, however, was attended with considerable disadvantages, resulting in an aggregate loss to the nation of 3,000,000*l*. In 1699 he was created Baron Halifax, and first Commissioner of the Treasury. On the accession of Anne, after he had lost his office, a futile attempt was made to impeach him. From that time till 1708, he was one of the junto ejected from power by personal insolence and popular clamour. He was again made First Lord of the Treasury on the death of Anne in 1714. The dignity of an earl too was accorded him, but dying May 19, 1715, he did not long enjoy this elevation. Sir Robert Walpole, *Earl of Orford*, the subject of Mr. Rogers's next lecture, was the second son of a Norfolk squire. He was born August the 26th, 1676. In 1708 he was appointed Secretary at War in the room of St. John. On the accession of George I. he was made Paymaster, and soon afterwards First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1721 he became a second time Prime Minister, holding office till February, 1742, when he resigned, and was raised to the peerage. He died three years after his resignation, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. Walpole's chief business, says Mr. Rogers, lay in managing the king, the queen, the Church, the House of Commons, and perhaps the people. The corrupting influences attributed to him his biographer considers to have been exaggerated. There were venal members then in the House, as now, but the stock story that Walpole said he knew every man's price, is probably an extension of an imputation limited to certain members of the Opposition. Shippen, Wyndham, Pulteney, and their followers, Walpole knew very well were not to be bought. Walpole was emphatically a peace minister, but the prosperity of the country during his administration was not its result, but its spontaneous concomitant. Improvement in agriculture led to an increase of material wealth, and as a consequence population increased, probably from 5,000,000, in 1700, for England and Wales, to nearly double in 1750. In addition to domestic progress, a great colonial progress is also recorded. Poverty, however, went hand in hand with luxury. In those days there was no police. London, no less than the country, swarmed with footpads and highwaymen. Death was inflicted for every offence. "Writing to his friend from his modern Gothic villa of Strawberry-hill, Horace Walpole says, 'Seventeen were hanged this morning. One is forced to travel even at noon as if one were going to

battle!" In the succeeding biographical sketch, of Adam Smith, whose life fell in this period, we have further illustrations of the social state of those days. The rights of the Highland lairds to imprison and hang were only abolished after the affair of 1745, and slavery prevailed in Scotland till 1799. The county voters in Scotland were 2500, and the electors in the sixty-six boroughs amounted to 1440 only. The posthumous son of a custom-house officer at Kirkaldy, Adam was carefully brought up by his mother. At fourteen years of age he was transferred from one of the schools, so happily common in Scotland, to the University of Glasgow, and at seventeen years of age, being nominated to a Baliol exhibition, he proceeded to Oxford, where he resided apparently for seven years. Destined for Anglican orders, Smith abandoned the prospect, and returning to Scotland without graduating, was appointed in 1757 to a professorship at Glasgow. After twelve years' residence in this university, he accepted the office of travelling tutor to the young Duke of Buccleuch. To this interruption in his previous secluded habits Mr. Rogers thinks we are indebted for the "Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." The conception was suggested during a three years' tour in France. In Paris Smith became intimately connected with the sect of the Economists, and in particular with Turgot, Quesnay, and Dupont de Nemours, and, according to Mr. Rogers, got from them the habit of analytical research exercised upon economical phenomena. *If political economy did not begin with him (Nicolas Oresme, Bishop of Lisieux, discovered the true theory of currency as long ago as 1360) its method, says Mr. Rogers, undoubtedly does.* "Smith applied an inductive method to his facts, and, as far as possible, verified his hypotheses by observation." As a remarkable instance of Adam Smith's inductive power, Mr. Rogers refers us to his hypothesis, intended to explain the different status of the prosperous English peasantry of the fifteenth, and of the penurious and dependent order in the thirteenth century. Smith's conjecture that the mass of the agriculturists must have passed through a métayer system before they arrived at independence, has found its verification in facts, which Mr. Rogers supplies in p. 121. After some further specification of the services of Adam Smith, his biographer thus eulogistically concludes: Whatever may be done in future, there is no doubt that successive generations of economical reformers will always honour, as the most illustrious of their order, the Scotch professor who sleeps in the churchyard of the Edinburgh Canonsgate. Born in June, 1723, Adam Smith died July, 1790. The factitious prosperity enjoyed by a portion of the community during the war with France (which, by the way, Mr. Rogers thinks we might have escaped had Pitt's ambition allowed him to share his power and reputation with his rival and political enemy, Fox) was never so much as tasted by one class of persons in this country, the yeomen and the agricultural labourers. Of this class William Cobbett constituted himself the champion. His father was a small farmer who lived at Farnham, in Surrey; and his grandfather, who died only a year before Cobbett's birth, which happened March 9, 1762, was a day labourer. Mr. Rogers gives us a very pleasing picture of Cobbett's early life, and

dwells on his keen sense of natural beauty and his love of the rude or cultivated scenery in and near the valley of Farnham. A child of thirteen years old, he ran away to Windsor, and worked in the king's garden there. At seventeen, he ran away again, and after acting as lawyer's clerk, and trying to go to sea, finally enlisted in a regiment which was recruiting for Nova Scotia. After his discharge in 1791 he was married. In the following year he went to France, studied the language, and then sailing to America, maintained himself by teaching English to the French emigrants. At Philadelphia he opened a shop, scoffed at the independence of the United States, and denounced the Revolution in France. On his return to England, after an absence of sixteen years, he commenced his career as a journalist and publicist. Failing to obtain the patronage of Pitt, he soon went over to the party of Burdett, Cartwright, and Hunt. His "*Political Register*" was commenced in 1802, and was continued, though not without some interruptions, to his death. A prosecution, in 1810, one of many, vexed, and finally embittered him. In 1817 Cobbett fled to the United States to avoid, as he gave out, the "Six Acts" of Lord Sidmouth. In 1819 he came back, bringing with him Paine's bones. In 1830 he was returned for Oldham, and sat for that borough till his death in 1835. Cobbett was vindictive, intolerant, and even ferocious in retaliation. He denounced, without understanding, the Corn-laws, he denounced paper-money, and he denounced also Peel's expedient for the resumption of cash payments. To his purpose of defending the farmer and the peasant he held to the last. For the growing pauperism, he inclined to some species of communistic remedy. Mr. Rogers gives him credit for familiarizing the people with that education which consists in the criticism of public events and public characters, and regarding the influence of his writings as pure, earnest, and honest, pronounces it on the whole beneficent.

Cobbett's sympathies were with the land cultivators, with the farmers and labourers. Grey of Dilston sympathized with all classes connected with the land, with the landlord as well as with the tenant, and had the progress of both classes at heart.⁹ A pupil of the Cullens, so renowned as cattle breeders, one of the founders of the Royal Agricultural Society, a practical and theoretical husbandman, a writer of essays on farming questions, a manager of large estates, Mr. Grey's experience was unusually wide, and his verdicts are proportionably authoritative. Among the opinions which he had formed, we may instance the following, as especially interesting in the present day. To estates of immoderate magnitude he was decidedly opposed, arguing that they became the occasions of selfish luxury and careless management. To large farms, however, he was favourable, if accompanied with security of tenure, regarding them as promoting economy of cultivation and as supplying a substitute for resident landlords. Large farms, indeed, were not to be the sole form of the distribution of the soil; small farms were to be intermixed with large, from 50 acres

⁹ "*Memoir of John Grey of Dilston.*" By his daughter, Josephine E. Butler. Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas. 1869.

near great towns where market-gardening begins, up to 1000 acres of arable land; so that men of all grades of capital might find a profitable employment for it in the soil. Security of tenure he regarded as the indispensable condition of successful cultivation. He is the best farmer, he exclaims, in a striking paper on the "Relative Duties of Landlord and Tenant," p. 260, who treats his farm as if it were his own property, and he is likely to do the most for the land who has the longest prospect of enjoying it. The question of game preserving, again, is one on which Mr. Grey had expended some thought. Great game preserves he denounces as encouraging poachers; but he was not an enemy of game under all circumstances. Sporting in moderation he countenanced, but the battue system, except under a restriction which, though it does not reconcile us, reconciled Mr. Grey to it, he discountenanced as spoliation of another's property, and as a relic of feudalism. There are other points on which we would gladly touch, as the condition of the labourer, the employment of women in field work, but space forbids. The career of Mr. Grey as a political friend and auxiliary of eminent liberal politicians, his management of the Greenwich Hospital estates, a management which raised the rent roll in thirty years from 25,000*l.* to 40,000*l.*, his private life, his quiet beneficence, his extraordinary memory, and combination of poetical taste and study with dry practical pursuits, are so many attractive topics which his daughter, Mrs. Butler, has introduced into her admirable memoir of an agricultural *savant*, a patriotic citizen, a wise and affectionate father, and an upright, tender-hearted, and accomplished man. We can only add that the subject of these remarks, Mr. John Grey of Dilston (abbreviated from Devilstone), was born of an ancient family at "sweet Glendale," in the Border country, in August, 1785, and died in Jan. 1868, aged 82.

Mr. Crabb Robinson had a still longer lease of life. Born May 13, 1775, he died February 5, 1867, having numbered more than ninety years.¹⁰ He received instruction at various schools, among others Mr. Fenner's at Devizes, studied at Jena, was *Times* correspondent in Altona and Corunna, was called to the Bar and became leader on the Norfolk Circuit. He accompanied Wordsworth in his tours in the West of England, in Scotland, Italy, and Switzerland. A Dissenter by education and conviction, he preferred Dissent to the Church, but he liked Churchmen better than Dissenters. During his long life he made many friendships; his acquaintances were almost innumerable. He knew nearly all the distinguished men of letters in his own country, and not a few of the eminent writers of Germany. He was a pupil of Schelling's; he read "Samson Agonistes" and Byron with Goethe; he heard Lamb's inimitable puns, and listened to Coleridge's bewildering rhetoric. Hazlitt, Shelley, Rogers, Landor, Blake, were all more or less known to Robinson. The volumes in which his reminiscences and correspondence are preserved are full of anecdote, description, estimates of men and their works, incidents of adventure

¹⁰ "Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister-at-Law, F.S.A." Selected and edited by Thomas Sadler, Ph.D. In three volumes. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

and travel, pleasant and interesting enough. The first and second volumes are the most valuable, the third is diffuse and twaddly. Of a book of this kind, it is difficult to give a satisfactory account. It consists of interminable talk, some of it good, some indifferent, some perhaps bad, certainly much omissible. Moreover, it lacks a central interest, for though a good, amiable, clever, and useful man, Mr. Henry Crabb Robinson had no conspicuous importance. An everlasting chatterbox, he has something to say about everybody, he has views, and opinions, and fancies, and tastes without end, and his Diary testifies to his ready and retentive memory. Some of the passages in the book have a continuous interest, as those in which he gives an account of Goethe, of Blake, of Landor, and others. Occasionally we have some striking stories, as those in which Thurlow's zeal for religion is illustrated. Mr. Robinson was given to theological speculation, yet he was but an indifferent theologian. Bunsen and Donaldson were among the acquaintances with whom he discussed theology. Donaldson defined a "sound Divine" as *vox et præterea nihil*. Southey's opinion on posthumous punishment is quoted without comment: "I cannot believe in an eternity of hell. I hope God will forgive me if I err, but in this matter I cannot say 'Lord help thou mine unbelief.'" There are some letters from Lady Byron in the third volume which, during the present miserable discussion, will be read with heightened interest. If Lady Byron's epistolary evidence is to be received, she, like all connected with the poet, "was broken against the rock of Predestination." In a letter addressed to Mr. Robinson, she says, referring to a paper in the *National Review*—"The author of the article on Goethe appears to me to have the mind which could dispel the illusions surrounding another poet (meaning Byron) without depreciating his claims (not fully acknowledged by you) to the truest inspiration. Who has sought to distinguish the holy from the unholy in that spirit? to prove by this very degradation of the one how high the other was." Goethe's estimate of Byron's genius, as recorded by Mr. Robinson, is still higher. Goethe praised the views which Byron took of nature as equally profound and poetical, and declared that in all his works he found but two or three passages he could have wished to alter—of course, as misrepresenting that nature of which the German poet had been so devoted a student. Again, Mr. Robinson tells us that while admiring Milton he did not praise him with the warmth with which he eulogized Byron, of whom he said "the like would never come again; he was inimitable."

In 1802 Mr. Robinson was invited to a supper party at Schelling's.¹¹ He appears to have had a very pleasant evening, and to have been on such good terms with himself that he ventured to spar with the Professor. A gentleman present exhibited a ring received from England in the form of a serpent. "Is the serpent the symbol of English philosophy?" said Schelling to me. "Oh no," I answered, "the English take it to appertain to German philosophy, because it

¹¹ "Aus Schellings Leben. In Briefen." Erster Band, 1775—1803. Leipzig: Hirzel. 1869.

changes its coat every year." "A proof," he replied, "that the English do not look deeper than the coat." Mr. Robinson gives us by no means a pleasing personal portrait of Schelling. He had, he continues, the countenance of a white negro, if the contradiction may be pardoned, that is, the curly hair, flat nose, and thick lips, without the colour of the African. Of the original of this flattering likeness, a biography is now in course of publication. Commencing with a sketch of the early life of the philosopher by his son, who died before many pages of his book were completed, the editor allows Schelling to tell his own story, in the letters which in point of fact form the body of the work, supplying the information in occasional paragraphs which is necessary for connexion or elucidation. Frederick William Joseph Schelling was born at Leonberg, a little country town in Wirtemberg, on 27th January, 1775. Both his father and grandfather belonged to the clerical order. In a school at Bebenhausen, Schelling learned to write Greek and Latin hexameters, and such dexterity in the art of verse-making did he acquire, that he could turn a German dictation lesson into longs and shorts. Somewhat later we find him writing a poem in his own language, and in after life Schelling commenced some stanzas, printed in the volume from which we derive our report, as beautiful and possessing true poetic fire. With a competent knowledge of not only the classical tongues; but of more than one Oriental language, Schelling, a spirited, energetic youth, was transferred in 1790 to the University at Tübingen. Here he began to study philosophy, and in 1794 (his fellow student Hegel having left the University the preceding year) Schelling produced his first work. A series of essays followed in tolerably rapid succession. The two great original philosophers in his opinion were Fichte and Spinoza. Starting with the Idealism of Fichte, who regarded the external world or Not-me as the product of the Me, he completed, as he believed, the one-sided system of his predecessor, by postulating nature or the Not-me, as the complementary Side, both being equally real, and both identified in some higher reality, the Infinite. This mental elevation is not to be attained by reflection, but by intellectual Intuition, the true organ of philosophy. The Infinite or Absolute is the identity of all Powers, and a power is definable as that which determines difference. After studying at Leipzig, and filling the chair of philosophy at Jena, on the death of Fichte, after writing numerous treatises, and forming valuable social ties, Schelling was called to Berlin in 1841. Much was expected from the brilliant successor of Hegel, when he announced that he intended not only to give a permanent form to philosophy, but to place religion on an immovable basis by evolving a new philosophy of Revelation. Dr. Paulus, the head of the Rationalists, and the sworn foe of all mystification, procured a manuscript of the new lectures, and had it printed, and thus exposed the metaphysical jugglery of the religious philosopher *par excellence*. Schelling never denied the authenticity of the transcript, though he brought an action, in which he was cast, against Dr. Paulus for unauthorized publication. The secret was now at an end; the metaphysical conjuror's hocus pocus was detected and divulged. The doctrine of the three Powers

was a bit of genuine charlatanism plagiarized from Hegel. The first of these powers is the Infinite Able-to-be, the second is the Able-to-be, pure and simple, and the third is an Aliquid intermediate between the Able-to-be and the Not-able-to-be. This is the new philosophy in its negative aspect. In its positive aspect, it proclaims that the Necessarily-existent, in antagonism to the Accidental, asserts its freedom or spiritual character, and by the renewed action of the *three* Powers, produces the world and the gradually self-unfolding revelation of the world. Finally the world, which owing to the Fall of Man had forfeited its Paradisiacal attributes, returns to unity with itself. This is the History of Religion, and it has two stages, the mythological process and Revelation. By the mythological process the Son becomes absolute lord of Existence—by supernatural generation he enters into the Historical Domain, and by his death he surrenders himself to the Kosmical Principle, restores this principle to God, and gradually brings Humanity to perfection by the agency of the Spirit which enters into the Church. This abstract of the new philosophy, borrowed from the review of it by F. C. Baur, serves to show us what it really was, and to excite our wonder at the admiring welcome which it received. The Berlin comedy, then performed by Schelling, aided by the scenical attractions of place and circumstance, imposed even on the learned Neander, who became one of the speculative posture-maker's warmest partisans. Since Schelling's death his previously unpublished works have made their appearance. "The Philosophy of Revelation," as one of them is entitled, Dr. Baur considers an essentially poor and insignificant production. Schelling died on 20th August, 1854, in Ragaz, Switzerland, where the monument erected to his memory in the churchyard is a conspicuous object.

While Schelling was mystifying the good people of Berlin, Emanuel Geibel was beginning to delight his countrymen with the evidences of his poetical genius.¹² The first collected edition of his poems was published in 1840, and slowly but surely secured him a place in popular estimation. Geibel was born at Lübeck on the 18th October, 1815. Early sent by his father, a minister of the Reformed Church, to the local school, the boy soon distinguished himself by his energy, his joyous nature, and love of literature. At eighteen years of age he wrote a poem which was inserted, to his great joy, in an "Almanack of the Muses." At Bonn and at Berlin he continued to prosecute his studies, and to cultivate his poetical talents. In 1838-1840 we find him travelling in Greece, apparently making Athens his head-quarters. In 1840-1852, after his return to Germany, he seems to have devoted himself to the production of poetry, sometimes writing songs, and sometimes composing dramas, the latter not always with success. At first deeply impressed by the power and wild beauty of Heine's muse, Geibel seems to have caught his inspiration from that remarkable man, omitting, however, a distinctive characteristic in his model, the ironical element. In time, however, he separated himself from the

¹² "Emanuel Geibel von Karl Goedeke." Erster Theil. Mit dem Bildnisse Geibels und einem Facsimile. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1869.

herd of imitators, and produced poetry of a less dependent kind. His songs were particularly valued for their wonderful harmony, and were set to music by emulous composers, till drawing-room and marketplace rang with these competitive strains. The incidents in Geibel's life are few. Such as they were up to the end of the year 1851, when he formally engaged himself to Amanda Trummer, the orphan daughter of a Jurist of Hamburg, they are related in graceful and intelligible language by Herr Goedeke, who perhaps might have spared us a second volume of biography if he had condensed his narrative of travel and omitted much of his literary history.

The life of a German poet serves as a prelude to the life of the German people, as illustrated in the Manual of George Pfahler.¹³ The work, which contains eight hundred pages, is divided into four books, or fourteen chapters, in which the author discusses the origin of the German people, traces them back by such historical clues as he can find, to a remote antiquity; describes the different German sovereignties, as the kingdom of Burgundy, the kingdoms of the West Goths, Vandals, East Goths, and Franks; sketches their social relations, their personal position, their laws, customs, constitutions, their military arrangements, their domestic regulations, diet, costume, occupations, the products of the country, their traffic, their marine, their currency, astronomy, chronology, and gives us a variety of information respecting their language and its dialects, their writing and their runes, their songs and ballads, their gods, their religious usages, their legends and traditionary beliefs. The matter of the volume is interesting, the arrangement clear, the style perspicuous, and the execution conscientious and trustworthy, so far as we can judge from a cursory examination of it. Commencing his essay with a surrender of the old view, supported by Tacitus, that the Germans were an indigenous people, the author avows his belief, that like other European nations they immigrated from Asia. We attach no value to his assertion that the Sagas and legends of the people, with its reminiscences of Alexander, Troy, Priam, and Æneas, afford an indication of the Eastern origin of these Germans, because we are convinced that these traditionary echoes cannot have reached them till long after their appearance in Europe; but the organic resemblance of the language to the languages spoken in India and Persia, supplies a conclusive argument for their Asiatic derivation. The various constituents of this stream of immigrants became finally known as one national aggregate by the name of Germans, for which, as the author maintains, the most probable etymon is that advocated by H. Leo, namely, *gair* to cry out, or *gairmean* a cry, a Gaelic word equivalent to war-cry, and here indicates a fierce warrior, being a sort of verbal memorial of the terror which this martial race infused among the neighbouring Gauls. Their own national appellation was of later origin, and testifies to a conscious distinction of the language of the people, or the vulgar tongue, from that of the foreign, that is, of the Roman nation—*diot*, meaning

¹³ "Handbuch Deutscher Alterthümer." Von George Pfahler. Neue vermehrte Ausgabe. London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

people; deutisc, popular; Deutsch, German, and deuten, to explain or *Germanize*. The Germans are generally supposed to have had no alphabet of their own, but when they began to write, to have adopted the Celtic alphabet, and at a later period the Latin. Herr Pfahler appears unwilling to give up all claim to the practice of the art among the more privileged classes of the nation, and submits that the disappearance of all evidence is attributable to the perishable nature of the materials employed. He quotes a curious passage, apparently from a poem addressed by Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, to Flavus, in the second half of the sixth century, in which he invites him, if he will not answer in Latin, to avail himself of some foreign mode of speaking or writing:

"Barbara fraxineis pingatur runa tabellis,
Quodque papyrus agit, virgula plana valet;"

inferring that the words indicate the existence of some species of writing by incision on trees. The word *runa*, which he considers equivalent to letter, is formed, he contends, on the oldest memorials of the language, and still survives in the word *Alraun*, *Mandragora*, properly a magic image formed of *mandragora*. The names of the letters, however, afford unquestionable proof of their derivation. They were originally pictorial signs, a particular name, as *Man*, in the old German rune (*M*) being expressed in the corresponding Anglo-Saxon characters, while the letter is generated, so to speak, out of the form of a man with two arms. The account at the end of the volume of the starry lore of the old northern people is curious. An eclipse of the sun and moon was explained by the hypothesis of a menaced consumption, by two voracious wolves, of these important luminaries. To account for the spots on the moon it was imagined that the deity had kidnapped two children, *Bil* and *Hiuki*, while they were drawing water out of a well on earth, and that they are still to be seen in or behind the moon. From this old myth perhaps arises the more modern Christian story that the man in the moon is a thief who stole wood during church-time on Sunday, and was conjured into that distant orb by way of punishment for his sin. Generally speaking, in Germany, as indeed in other parts of Europe, the *Pleiades* represent a hen and seven chickens. The rainbow made of three colours firmly fastened together, is the bridge on which the gods pass to and fro. Strongly made as it is, it will, it is believed, break to pieces at the end of the world—a mythical representation which had its equivalent in mediæval popular theology in the fancied disappearance of the rainbow before the last judgment. The popular belief that a golden key or treasure is buried where the rainbow seems to spring up is perhaps traceable to the older saga, perhaps to the particular trait of it which represented a sentinel as carefully guarding the rainbow, not indeed to preserve a treasure, but to prevent the wicked giants from forcing their way into heaven!

Descending from mythical to historical times we are introduced by Dr. George Stöckert to various important personages who conducted the preliminary negotiations which terminated in the Peace of West-

phalia.¹⁴ By the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the religious and political liberties of the Germans were secured; Lutherans and Catholics were placed on the same footing; and the sovereignty of the States of the Empire was acknowledged, with the right of forming home and foreign alliances, provided none were directed against the imperial interest. Previously to the Peace of Westphalia negotiations were carried on in Osnabrück and Münster. Nassau, Salvius, the younger Oxenstjerna, d'Avaux, and Servien were the Austrian, Swedish, and French representatives in 1644. It was not till somewhat later that the States of the Empire were represented. The diplomatic difficulties attending these negotiations are detailed by the author of this pamphlet, and their ultimate happy adjustment recorded, with glances at different political and military movements, as the march of Torstenson, who had learned the art of war under Gustavus, into Holstein, to punish the hostility of the King of Denmark, or the coalition between that power, Poland, and the Emperor. It was at this juncture that the question of the Admission of the States to the Congress became the predominant preliminary question. The negotiation was nearly frustrated by the opposition of Oxenstjerna to a particular Act which threatened, as he thought, the exclusion of certain States, but convinced at last that the proposed arrangement would have no such prejudicial effect, he withdrew his opposition, and the final convention, having satisfactorily settled the question, broke up and went to dinner.

The treaty of Westphalia, which followed about three years after, established a new organization of the German empire, which served as the basis of the constitution till the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine in 1806. This was one of those Napoleonic transactions which Thiers calls extraordinary, not without reason, says the critic of that historian, M. Jules Barni.¹⁵ The Confederation was composed of fourteen princes of southern and western Germany, who seceded from the old Germanic constitution, and accepted the French Emperor as the Protector of the new association. M. Barni maintains that the characteristics of the sham Charlemagne's policy were the subjugation of Germany in the interest of France, and the employment of any expedient, however tyrannical or hateful, to attain this end. The imperial action in Europe generally, as well as of Germany in particular, the influence of the régime in France, and the whole career of Napoleon I., are the subject of a close scrutiny and severe condemnation in M. J. Barni's little volume, in which he undertakes to substitute a true history for the legend of M. Thiers. We are pleased to see a second edition of this little volume, which appeared first in 1865, and has been already noticed in the pages of this Review.

A "Synoptical History of England" is a tolerably commendable attempt to present to the readers in a tabular form the events of

¹⁴ "Die Admission der Deutschen Reichskände zum Westfälischen Friedens." Von Dr. George Stöckert. London: David Nutt. 1869.

¹⁵ "Napoléon 1^{er} et son Histoire: M. Thiers." Par Jules Barni. Paris. 1869.

English and General History.¹⁶ Each page is divided into three columns: the first contains, in chronological order, a brief abstract of events; the second supplies details on particular points; and the third is occupied by a summary of the principal occurrences in contemporaneous history. The volume abounds in genealogical tables, tables of battles, treaties, and statutes, and obituary lists of eminent persons. The more important constitutional and legal changes are specified; the running narrative is lucid and informing; the execution seems to indicate care and research; the type is clear, and an index facilitates reference. It would, no doubt, be possible to discover inaccuracies; and sometimes the author seems hardly on a level with the present state of our knowledge, as in the article on Thomas à Becket and Peter the Hermit. According to Sybel, Peter's appeal did not lead to the Crusades. It was the address of Urban II., at the Great Synod of Clermont in 1095, that produced the effect. In all the contemporary records Peter appears only as an obscure fanatic who assembled his army of peasants after the papal appeal. It is only in ballads, that contain little or no truth, that Peter the Hermit is invested with this fictitious glory. But where Neander, Gieseler, and Hase have erred, it is not wonderful that the author of the "Synoptical History of England" should err likewise.

Dr. Volguardsen, in his investigations on the sources of Greek and Sicilian History used by Diodorus,¹⁷ discriminates between the historical characteristics of that author and the value of his materials, assuming that they are derived from Ktesias, Hieronymus of Kardia, Polybius, or Fabius. Again, if it can be shown that for certain data of literary history he is dependent on Apollodorus of Athens, we obtain some valuable chronological determinations or corrections. The subject-matter and colouring of the Sicilian narrative on Diodorus argue, in our essayist's opinion, a Sicilian origin, and the deviations from the parallel recitals of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, in some instances confirmed by similar deviations in Cornelius Nepos, Justin, or Plutarch, afford a presumption that he was not indebted for his information to either of the three great historians. Dr. Volguardsen's conclusion is opposed to the assumption of Grote among us, and of Heyne among the Germans.

"The Primeval History of Man," by Dr. Joh. Bapt. Baltzer, is a polemical essay, in intended refutation of a work on the same subject by Professor Carl Vogt, and a denunciation of the alleged errors of Darwinism.¹⁸ The construction of "Primeval History" is an arduous

¹⁶ "A Synoptical History of England, with the Contemporaneous Sovereigns and Events of General History, from the earliest records to the present time." London: James Walton. 1869.

¹⁷ "Untersuchungen über die Quellen der Griechischen und Sicilischen Geschichten bei Diodor, Buch XI. bis XVI." Von Christian August Volguardsen, Dr. Ph., Gymnasienlehrer in Hadersleben. London: David Nutt. 1868.

¹⁸ "Ueber der Anfänge der Organismen und die Urgeschichte des Menschen. Fünf Vorträge zur Wiederlegung der vor Prof. Dr. Carl Vogt, zu Breslau gehaltenen Vorlesungen." Ueber die Urgeschichte des Menschen von Joh. Bapt. Baltzer, Doctor der Philosophie und Theologie, &c. London: David Nutt. 1869.

task, and it is in the highest degree probable that Vogt, or any other historian of the true dark ages, which so greatly need illustration, may build his literary structure of questionable materials and with indifferent execution. How far Dr. Baltzer, in his critical exposition, is successful in detecting the weakness of the edifice or exposing the ignorance of the workman, we must leave to the decision of those persons who are competent to pronounce on such a question. The motive which has inspired the undertaking will recommend his book to the orthodox, since it is a vindication of the doctrines of Revelation that he is in reality anxious to furnish. His defence of the old mythical Creation-week of Genesis and the Flood of Noah, on the other hand, will unfavourably prepossess all those who, to adopt the expression of Alexander Humboldt, are emancipated from the influence of Semitic ideas.

BELLES LETTRES.

"THE Laughter of the Muses, a Satire on the Reigning Poetry of 1869," is a rather long Jeremiad on the present taste in poetry, and is chiefly occupied with what cannot be called anything better than an indiscriminate and indiscriminating scolding of Browning and Tennyson. It reads like a sermon, or like the overbearing criticism of a Pumblechook, delivered in Popian verse. The author belongs to the old and effete school in poetry, and is a few generations behind his age. His criticism resolves itself into the merely subjective assertion "I don't like it;" or, perhaps, it rises here and there to "Bless my soul! this is very unusual." The writer seems to have formed his taste and style on Pope and his school; and it is hardly to be expected that, as his own literary culture is so far behind his time, he should admire what to him are the daring novelties of Browning or the subtle rhythms of Tennyson. This is a fair specimen, and we do not think the reader will ask for more—

"From his *Dramatic Lyrics* turn we now
To what he *Dramas* with undaunted brow
Shrinks not from designating; where we've proof
How he will never keep his hands aloof
From anything, but boldly rushes in
To drown all happy utterance with his din.
He prays before the shrine of an old name,
Convinced that there he finds successful fame.
Of "*Dramas*" he now drinketh many a dram,
Led to his ruin like an unthinking lamb."

How this kind of thing could come into anybody's head—how, when it came there, it should insist upon expression, and how that expression should take the form of verse and rhyme, are mysteries which the author of a new *Eucomium Moriæ* might perhaps come near solving.

¹ "The Laughter of the Muses : a Satire on the Reigning Poetry of 1869." Glasgow : Thomas Murray & Son. 1869.

"Flosculi Literarum"² by Mr. Harding has entered on a second edition. We had occasion last year to speak favourably of this little volume of "prolusiones," which shows that the writer is not without taste and cultivation. But he ought, in his next edition, which we heartily hope may come soon, either to omit entirely or to alter largely his versions of Schiller's "Ritter Toggenburg," and the passage from the fifth Canto of the *Inferno*. We are compelled to say that in these he has done justice neither to the originals nor to his mother-tongue. No true poet or careful literary man would commit an assault on the idiom of the English language, in order to get his phrases into the proper rhyme and measure; and no self-respecting literary workman would send clumsy patchwork out of his workshop. The following verses—and there are many as bad—are *not* up to the mark:

"Inclined towards yonder convent pile
Gazed he whole hours *around*,—
Gazed till the window of his Love
When *op'ning* gave a sound:—
Till there her form beloved showed,
Till there the image dear
Would calmly look adown the dale,
As *angels-mild* appear."

Schiller's German for "Gazed he whole hours around," is "Blickte nach dem Fenster;" and the essential idea of the whole poem is, that he spent his life in gazing at the window of his lost love. This kind of writing is true neither to the sense of the original, nor to poetry, nor to the English language. What *angels-mild* are, we can't say. Mr. Harding has some odd notion of his own about the virtue of a hyphen, and revels in compounds like—

"And then again the pilgrim at
Her Castle-threshold knocks;
They open—ah! what thunder-word
Th' astounded warrior shocks;—"

which, by the way, reminds us of Tate and Brady.

But Mr. Harding has a heavier fall in Dante. If Schiller is a poet, Dante is a great poet and consummate artist in one, and there is no English translation that as yet comes within sight of the perfect beauty of his style. Mr. Harding fails to see the extreme homeliness and directness of Dante's language, how he never uses a second-hand literary expression, how every word is the best word and the simplest word he could have used, and the rhyme comes upon us as a surprise, in the midst of what is perfectly familiar. But Mr. Harding renders him into Ovidian conceits and prettinesses, and makes a very second-hand and second-rate affair of his lines. It wont do to write—

"We *glanced surprises*, but on still we read,
Now pale was *either* cheek, now flushed again!"

² "Flosculi Literarum; or, Gems from the Poetry of all Time." Faithfully rendered into English Verse by John George Harding. London: Edinham Wilson. 1869.

for the plain speaking of:—

“Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
Quella lettura, e scolorocci 'l viso.”

“Now and then our eyes met, and the reading stopped; and our faces flushed,” that is what Dante says, in the plainest and simplest way. “We glanced surprises.” This is the old style of the Della Cruscan School, which we thought was dead, buried, and embalmed ages ago. But the book, with all its drawbacks, is worth having; and there are some good verses in it.

“Poems and Translations”³ by R. H. Shepherd, belongs to a very different category. They are the work of a cultivated man, with an exquisite ear for rhythm, and a genuine poetical sense. He may, perhaps, be even a poet. The translations, chiefly from the too-little known Charles Baudelaire, are admirably done, and have all the swing and fire of originals. The sonnets are hardly up to the level of the other poems. They have a strong smack of Wordsworth; but they were hardly worth writing, at least for Mr. Shepherd. The first is the best. But among the minor poems are several that show a fine ear and an exquisite touch. The simplicity is genuine, and the enthusiasm real. Here are two, not the best, but short and quotable:—

“*May Memories.*”

“’Twas sweet on afternoons in May,
To lie and read in a Devonshire lane,
The blue sky brought me peace as I lay,
My thoughts were the thoughts of childhood again.
’Twas sweet in any month of the year,
To stroll to Ongar’s pleasant town
By Chigwell’s church and village dear;
My thoughts were the thoughts of childhood again.”

“*The Bounty of Nature.*”

“Howe’er we change in time or place
Kind Nature still is boon and free—
How bounteous and profuse her grace
To frail mortality:
Bearing the record in her face
Of genuine liberty.

No feeble lessons she instils,
No puny moral brings;
Without restraint flow on her rills,
Her woodland throstle sings—
She shows our weak and wavering wills
Into the life of things.”

Here and there, there is a languor or a flatness,—something prosaic and bald. This verse, for example, in which the writer speaks of Death—

³ “Translations from Charles Baudelaire, with a few Original Poems by Richard Herne Shepherd.” London: J. C. Hotten. 1868.

"Too soon he exercised his power,
And bore thee to thy burial bier."

But Mr. Shepherd has a fine talent—and perhaps some genius. We fancy he is a young man; if he is, he has a great power of *learning*.

"Via Dolorosa, and other Poems,"⁴ reflects great credit on—the printer.

"Poems: from Calvary,"⁵ by R. Hilton, is a book that could only have been written and published in England. Nowhere else, surely, would it have been possible for a quite uneducated person to take into his head that he could write—that he could write verses—that he could write poems. The following will give the reader some notion of the dreary waste of thousands of lines neither verse nor prose, but a kind of unscannable shuffle, which the "author" has trained his *Musa pedestris* to go along at.

"A mariner on that same vessel carrying Paul,
To plead his cause before the throne of Cæsar,
Hearing the words of life, forth to his native land
Bore the great tidings of redeeming love."

"Petronilla,"⁶ by Mr. F. G. Lee, is a fair average volume of verses upon ecclesiastical and quasi-religious subjects.—Mr. Lee is at best capable only of "short swallow-flights of song;" and his muse has not much strength of her own, but has *learned* most of what she has, and is—has gone to school to Tennyson, Keble, Neal, and others. We rather like his blank verse; but it is somewhat abrupt and short-winded. He is perhaps a little too fond of introducing anapæsts; and his ear, though cultivated, has evidently not been trained on the Miltonic cæsure.

"There were some knights to match these ladies fair,
Who, if their portraits did not flatter them,
Appeared excessively uncomfortable," etc.

And the line:

"He paused to criticise kindly and with taste,"

will neither read nor scan, unless—and the condition is a strain—we elide the *y* of the *kindly* into the *and*.

Mr. Lee has an abominable trick of using the word *so*, which is suggestive of very loose habits of thinking and expression—"so firm and true,"—"dews of night so dark"—over and over again. Perhaps his poems "Under the Hills," and "A Loss" are the best; we regret that we have no room to quote from them.

"Meletæ"⁷ by Joseph Ellis, would have been a much better book

⁴ "Via Dolorosa; or, The Heiress at Alton Grange's Sorrow, and other Poems." By M. London: Provost & Co. 1869.

⁵ "Poems: from Calvary. The Hunter's Tale." By R. Hilton. London: Provost & Co. 1869.

⁶ "Petronilla, and other Poems." By Frederick George Lee. Second Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

⁷ "Meletæ: Poems." By Joseph Ellis. London: Pickering. 1869.

had it been shorter. If the author had had the courage to exclude three-fourths of the poems, he would really have run a good chance of being talked about as a possible, or even probable, new poet. But he has not been strong enough to weed out; and the consequence will most likely be that his readers will not take enough trouble to look for the really good things that are to be found in his volume.

The man who could write the "Analogy"—a sonnet on p. 78, or the promising "Love-song" on p. 3 should not have launched on such a sea of prose and bathos as "Columbus at Seville." Mr. Ellis seems to have a knack of not showing his best side, or of spoiling his best by some weak excrescence, which detracts both from the vigour of the thought, and from the music of the expression.

If any person at the seaside wants a book of poems which will make no disagreeable calls on him for admiration, but which will keep up his attention in a gentle unexciting way, let him try this book. But to Mr. Ellis himself we earnestly give this advice—believing that there is something in him: "Let him cut himself down to one-fourth or one-sixth the bulk; and he may yet be heard of in the world of books."

Mr. Myers, in the "Puritans,"⁸ shows himself stronger on the wing than even in his "Paul." He is a true, if not a great, lyrical poet. We seem to ourselves to catch echoes in his choruses of the splendid rhythms of Mr. Swinburne; and even the blank verse seems to strain against its bonds, and to be eager to burst from them and rush into rhyme. We have not sufficient space at our command to enter upon a complete examination of the poem. We content ourselves with most heartily recommending the book to our readers, and with quoting the following splendid verses:

"Altars whose fires are cold,
Temples whose gods grow old,
Yield place to fairer built upon their fall,
When Truth his youngest daughter
Shall tell what Time hath taught her,
Fair Truth and Love her mate, young Love the lord of all.

One love the world shall fill,
And wide and wider still
From side to side from end to end dilate,
Each as he lives made one
With father and with son,
In conscious larger life for aye incorporate.

What art thou then, O man,
Born for so brief a span?
Count not so dear thy pleasure or thy pain:
The embers aye are red,
The old fire is not dead;
Thou in an ampler age shalt work and win again.

Fear not thy single soul
Shall sink to serve the whole;

⁸ "The Puritans." By Ernest Myers. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

Who more hath loved he also lives the more :
 Each strain of generous strife
 Lifts thee to fuller life ;
 Love lends thee wings and winds to gain the longed-for shore.

Art thou expecting long
 The Christ to crush the wrong ?
 Lo he that talketh with thee this is he.
 Awake, arise, and do,
 We have our triumphs too,
 Nor we nor they alone but all in unity."

"Poems, Dramatic and Lyrical,"⁹ by E. L. Mitford, are merely "words, words, words." There are few persons' time so utterly valueless as to justify their reading this book ; it would be worse than waste of time to write about it. We see it has been published by subscription : it surely could not otherwise have appeared on the shelves of a bookseller.

"Rinaldo"¹⁰ is called a novelette in verse, and is written by the author of "Vasco." The verse is blank verse. "Fools rush in ;" the proverb is somewhat musty. But we often wonder why gentlemen who cannot write good rhyming verse, should take refuge in blank verse. It must be that they fancy it easier. And so it is easier to write prose cut into lengths of ten or eleven syllables, with five accents coming in tolerably regular cadence. But what is the use of it to anybody ? If, however, there are still people in the world who read such books as Pollok's "Course of Time," to them we recommend "Rinaldo" as a contribution to literature of the same calibre.

Mr. Edginton's translation of the "Odyssey" is not a successful production.¹¹ It is in general a bald, spiritless, and monotonous version of Homer's poems. His blank verse is almost never varied, and becomes very wearisome. His style is pedestrian, and even slipshod. The following is a fair specimen (from the fourth book) ; it is not worth while giving more :

"Already, son of Jove, and ye besides
 Sons of brave men : in *troth*¹² Jove unto men
 Vouchsafes, now good, now ill ;—Omnipotent !
 Let us indulge now in the joyous feast,
 And entertain with stories : I will tell
 Amusing things : I can't relate indeed
 The whole of them to you, as many as
 The contests of the bold Ulysses were."

Mr. Leavitt's tragedy of the "Siege of Babylon"¹³ is the ordinary literary ware—in the style, upon stilts, of Sheridan Knowles. Mr.

⁹ "Poems, Dramatic and Lyrical." By Edward Ledwick Mitford. London : Provost & Co. 1869.

¹⁰ "Rinaldo, a Novelette in Verse." London : Longmans. 1869.

¹¹ "The Odyssey of Homer. Translated into Blank Verse." By George William Edginton. In 2 Vols. London : Longmans.

¹² *Sic in original.*

¹³ "The Siege of Babylon : a Tragedy." By the author of "Afranius," &c., John M. Leavitt. London : Trübner. 1869.

Leavitt has evidently formed his style upon Pope and the writers of the eighteenth century ; and it has throughout a second-hand, patched, all too *literary* appearance. All the characters talk the same stilted *blank-verse* language ; and all have a strong family resemblance. We cannot deny to Mr. Leavitt the praise, *talis qualis*, of possessing considerable rhetorical powers ; but he is no poet. He could probably write good sermons.

It is difficult to know exactly in what rank to place Mr. Hector Courcelle.¹⁴ That he is something of a poet we do not doubt. His poems—and Mr. Courcelle is a young man—are in some respects better than Coleridge's early efforts ; that is, they show a higher cultivation, far more earnest labour and a stronger devotion to and higher respect for his work. Every now and then, too, we come upon a *curiosa felicitas* of phrase that is evidence of a clear-seeing poetic eye and a fine sense of music and beauty in language. But then Coleridge came at the end of the last century into a barren time, which could teach him nothing, and which indeed had everything to learn. Mr. Courcelle comes at the end of two generations of a steady and successful cultivation of poetry—such as England has not seen since the times of Elizabeth and James. The question is how to separate Mr. Courcelle's original contributions to poetry from the stock of poetry he has inherited—and how to weigh and value these contributions. How much has the language done for Mr. Courcelle and how much has Mr. Courcelle done for himself ? Where does the poetry stored up in a highly cultivated language end, and where does Mr. Courcelle begin ? Schiller expresses the difficulty in one of his neatest epigrams :

“ Weil ein Vers dir gelingt in einer gebildeten Sprache,
Die für dich dichtet und denkt, glaubst du schon Dichter zu sein ? ”

A language like the English, that has been worked at, and carved and polished for many generations by hosts of great poets and thinkers, becomes informed with a poetising and reflective life, and does for authors and poets sometimes as much as nine-tenths of the poetry or thinking, with the whole of which they thoughtlessly credit themselves.

Enough of faults ; we turn with pleasure to the great and undoubted merits of Mr. Courcelle. The poems, “ Robin,” “ The Lovers' Quarrel,” “ My Garden,” several of the sonnets, and even the juvenile poem, “ Helen's Appeal to Paris,” are sufficient proofs that Mr. Courcelle has considerable powers as a poet, and an earnest desire to devote himself to the cultivation of his art.

“ Forest Poems ”¹⁵ is a volume of verses by a not unpractised writer, Mr. Brodrick, the Vicar of Bramshaw. We can conceive of a not uncultivated public who would admire these poems considerably. For ourselves, we feel that they are “ too good for banning and too bad for blessing.” They seem to us a series of superior prize poems. Mr.

¹⁴ “ Poems.” By J. Hector Courcelle. London : Longmans. 1869.

¹⁵ “ Forest Poems.” By Alan Brodrick, B.A., Vicar of Bramshaw. London : Provost & Co.

Brodrick has a brilliant vocabulary, has in his head an English *Gradus ad Parnassum* of the most splendid phraseology, and is, in fact, a rhetorician of very considerable power. But he has not the eye of a poet, he does not see into the real, that is, the poetical, nature of the things, persons, and circumstances he sets himself to write about. Besides, his splendid vocabulary sometimes runs away with him. He is too diffuse; and he belongs to the class described by Goethe in his *Aphorisms*, "Die modernen Poeten thun zu viel Wasser in die Dinte."

The poem of "Medea"¹⁶ by Mr. Richards is full of brilliant rhetoric and a not unmusical flow of meditative verse, with here and there glimpses of philosophic or metaphysical thought. Mr Richards can be eloquent; but he has still to prove that he can be a poet. He wants compression; he must be more severe on himself; and he will then find more favour with readers and with critics.

"The Long and the Short of it"¹⁷ is a pleasant little jeu d'esprit in heroic verse, evidently by a young versifier. He has wit and an ear for musical verse—though some of his lines will not scan. There are several good lines in the poem—like :

"Here Michael blew the ash from his cigar,—
On earth they took it for a falling star."

The sprightliness of a good deal of the verse indicates power; but the writer has much to learn.

Mr. Aubrey de Vere¹⁸ ought in justice to have an article to himself. He is not as widely known as he deserves; and this probably from prejudices against his nationality and his religion. Had it not been for these—which are again, perhaps, to a large extent the sources of his power—public estimation would have given him a place not much below Wordsworth and Tennyson. If strong and deep human feeling, quick perception, and love of the beautiful, a genuine power of concrete thinking, a fine ear for subtle rhythms, and great wealth of language can make a poet, then Mr. de Vere is a poet in the French sense of the word. What he says of Burns in his lines on Highland Mary is true to a large extent of himself :

"In him there burned that passionate glow,
All Nature's soul and savour,
Which gives its hue to every flower,
To every fruit its flavour :
Nor less the kindred power he felt ;
That love of all things human
Whereof the fiery centre is
The love man bears to woman.

¹⁶ "Medea : a Poem." By Alfred Bate Richards. London : Chapman & Hall. 1869.

¹⁷ "The Long and the Short of it." Edited by Parker Stevens. London Book Store, 282, Strand. 1869.

¹⁸ "Irish Odes and other Poems." New York : The Catholic Publication Society. London : Pickering.

He sang the dignity of man,
Sang woman's grace and goodness;
Passed by the world's half-truths, her lies
Pierced through with lance-like shrewdness.
Upon Life's broad highways he stood,
And aped nor Greek nor Roman;
But snatched from heaven Promethean fire
To glorify things common."

His "Ode to the Daffodil" shows him to be as true a lover and as close an observer of Nature as Wordsworth was. His seventh and eighth odes, the "Year of Sorrow," and his Lines written near Shelley's House, prove him a great master of pathos. And his poems as a whole are full of a noble wisdom as well as of great poetic beauty.

"Palm Leaves"¹⁹ by Karl Gerok, is a book of religious poems, admirably translated by Mr. J. E. A. Brown. Gerok may fairly occupy a place beside Keble. The book is certain to become popular among a large class. We have seen very few translations from German poems that come near Mr. Brown's in clear and polished style, and music of versification. In fact, there is almost no trace in the translation that they are not original poems. They are as well done as anything of Longfellow's, perhaps better.

It is somewhat puzzling to know what to say about Mr. Courthope's "Ludibria Lunæ."²⁰ The art at times seems perfect, and yet the total impression is unsatisfactory; the style is beautiful, and yet it does not attain to perfect freedom; it is called a serio-comic poem, but in fact it is really comico-serious. The author is a man of great powers, refined by wide cultivation, with an exquisite vein of true burlesque; and yet his art seems at times to lose its concentration, to be warped from its orbit, by the too serious feeling of the writer. At times his felicity reminds us of the exquisiteness of Herrick; at other times he is too much in earnest, and his lines might have come from Herrick preaching. This kind of poetry loses its power if it becomes serious in tone—nor can it be serious in its subject. The central impulse in art is what Schiller calls the "Spiel-trieb;" Mr. Courthope is not fully under its power. Perfect lyrical abandonment and freedom, that is what we find in the best lyrics of Herrick; perfect grace and playfulness. We find the same perfect freedom, in the world of prose, in "Tristram Shandy." But the lyrical snatches of Herrick are like the flight of a butterfly from flower to flower; they exclude or are above purpose; and the only dominating power in Tristram Shandy is whim. But there appears throughout the charming evolutions of the Ludibria Lunæ, the disturbing element of purpose; the delicate movements of the poet's mind seem to be decentralized—the trembling needle of his fancy is deflected; the play of his poetic genius is crossed by *moral*. The poem is quite new and unique in the nineteenth century. In

¹⁹ "Palm Leaves." By Karl Gerok. Translated from the German by J. E. A. Brown. London: Strahan & Co. 1869.

²⁰ "Ludibria Lunæ; or, The Wars of the Women and the Gods: an Allegorical Burlesque." By William John Courthope. Smith, Elder, & Co. 1869.

some places it is almost perfect in style, full of the most exquisite and various melody, and bright everywhere with the most sparkling fancy. How refreshing it is, especially to a somewhat weary critic, to meet with poetry that is intelligible, that is not a Chinese puzzle, verse that is musical, and a style that has in it flow and vigour and harmony! We, who are doomed to read with as near an approach to unprejudiced judgment as a tired mind can reach, the spasmodic jerks of one poet, the labyrinthine eccentricities of another, and the twopenny subjectivities of a third, cannot but feel thankful to Mr. Courthope for a noble poem, which is full of wit and fancy, and sparkle and beauty, and a hundred brilliancies both of thought and expression.

Francis W. Newman²¹ presents us with a volume of *Miscellanies of Logic, Poetry, the Forms of Government in Ancient Nations*, and one or two other subjects. The volume would require an article to itself; and we can here merely indicate the nature of its contents. The fragments on Logic are of great value as an introduction to the whole subject. Whatever Mr. Newman may be as a philosopher, he is always *original*; and the reader may always be quite sure that he is not reading the thoughts or dissertations of a technical writer, who moves within fixed limits and employs conventional counters without a previous appraisal of their value, but that he is becoming acquainted with the reflections of a fearless and sturdy thinker, who examines logical and metaphysical questions from a new stand-point, and almost always adds a new element to the old statement of these problems. The four lectures on Poetry are of considerable value, and are immensely suggestive. Yet we cannot but wish that Mr. Newman had been a little less discursive, or a little more exhaustive. In the 100th page, for example, he travels from Theocritus to Crabbe in a very few lines; and half-a-dozen great poets are "ticked off" like items in a ledger. Mr. Newman renders a public service in his endeavour to raise Scott from the neglect into which he has been allowed to fall as a poet. The explanation of this, however, is perhaps also the explanation of Mr. Newman's high estimate of him. To use a rough but probably not inaccurate simile, Scott is greater as a draughtsman than as a colourist. But almost all our modern poetry—Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, Allingham, and others—has gone largely into colour; strong lights and shades, vivid colouring in phraseology, complementary contrasts, are the qualities most predominant in the popular poets of this half of the century. So much is this the case that some poem may be said to consist merely of language—that is, of language as it represents emotion. Subjective and objective, might perhaps still more nearly describe the contrast; Scott is more objective than Tennyson, Tennyson much more subjective than Scott. Hence a luxuriance of language, a fineness of phrase, a delicacy of rhythm in Tennyson that we look for in Scott in vain. Take a more external test: Scott cannot be quoted from; Tennyson is full of beautiful quotable lines. And it seems to us that Mr. Newman is almost in-

²¹ "*Miscellanies: chiefly Addresses, Academical and Historical.*" By Francis William Newman. London: Trübner & Co. 1869.

capable of appreciating colour—that in relation to poetry he is colour-blind, while he has a vivid appreciation of grand outline, of strong drawing and of lively grouping.

In his political essays on the Forms of Government in Ancient States, we can only here notice the extreme clearness of presentation, the firmness of grasp, and the honest breadth of view. Mr. Newman's mind has ripened on the political experience of many centuries; and we have read few essays so full of wise and noble thinking. With Goethe and Carlyle and John S. Mill, he has the splendid talent of hoping; and his message to England and the United States is the well-known line from *Die Loge*,

“Wir heissen euch hoffen”

Mr. Edwin Arnold has given us in the “Poets of Greece”²² a charming book. The idea is an excellent one; and the execution is to some extent worthy of the idea. It is odd that, in the all-too-busy stir of what is called the “literary world,” no writer has, before Mr. Arnold, taken it into his head to give English readers some not inadequate notion of what it is in Greek poetry that scholars are compelled to admire so much. Homer is the greatest of poets. But, though a Greek scholar understands and appreciates, and, it may be, gives his assent to this statement,—a merely English reader looks upon it as an almost impudent assertion—a traveller's tale of a country where he has never been and where he can never go. In this book Mr. Arnold has done almost as much as an able Englishman can do for an English reader to show him some glimpses of the wealth and beauty that are to be found everywhere in the land of Greek song and Greek poetry.

Mr. Arnold deserves high praise for the beauty and vigour of many of his translations; and, on the whole, we know no book of the kind, no book about a foreign or classical literature, which reaches so high a level of literary and critical merit. To the English reader it must become a golden treasury of Greek poetry; and we should be glad to see Mr. Arnold carry out his idea still further. He might give, for example, the best passages from the best translations and imitations of Greek poets that exist in our literature, and this without making his book too large. We should like to see, for example, Leigh Hunt's exquisite version of a short passage from the *Odyssey*, in which the flight of Mercury is described:—

“So went on the far sea the shape divine;”

Cowley's version of the Grasshopper in the Anacreon chapter; and why should we not have Göthe's perfect version also? Then we might have a passage or two from the *Odyssey* of Worsley, in our mind by far the best translator of the *Odyssey* at least, and a passage from Mr. Merivale's version of the *Iliad*. Or these might make a companion volume. We hope Mr. Arnold will consider this suggestion. We cannot part from him without congratulating him on his

²² “The Poets of Greece.” By Edwin Arnold, M.A. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin. 1869.

luck in finding such an idea, and on his skill in carrying it to a worthy result.

Colonel Walmsley, in his "*Ruined Cities of Zulu Land*,"²³ builds a fiction upon a basis of fact furnished by his brother, who is government agent in Natal, on the Zulu frontier. His artistic skill in construction is small; but his book is to some extent interesting. A Captain Hughes receives two years' leave of absence from India, and prefers sport in South Africa to lounging and flirting in Cheltenham or London. He takes with him a number of Kaffirs and Bechuanas, and goes off to hunt in the Bechuana country. He meets a German missionary called Wyzinski, and the two agree to join in a search for the ruined cities of an ancient but extinct race, near the bay of Santa Lucia. They obtain a pass from the head chief of that part of the country, and work up towards Sofala, which is said to be the Ophir of King Solomon, and in the neighbourhood of which they expect to find the ruins of the ancient civilization for which they are seeking. The chief danger in their expedition arises from the superstition of the natives, that, if the ruined cities are disturbed, there will be no rain in the country for three years. They are captured by a savage tribe, and are in imminent danger of being burnt to death. Both have all kinds of adventures, in hunting, among the ruined cities, at sea, and finally in matrimony. The hunting descriptions are well done, and some of the stories are good. The account of the country is interesting; and it may be worth while to quote the following:—

"Natal is a sugar and coffee producing country, and that of the Zulus must follow. Both possess the inestimable advantage of being perfectly healthy for human beings; the soil is abundantly fertile, and the land is intersected by rivers. Between the Coastland and the Drakenburgh range every variety of tropical and European productions can be cultivated, from the pineapple to the gooseberry, and I have seen wheat, too, unequalled in size and quality. The pasture land is eminently adapted for sheep, and nothing but capital is required—capital and labour. As we go more north towards the Zambesi, the nature of the land will alter."

"*Exiles in Babylon; or, Children of Light*,"²⁴ is a book intended for the young. It teaches self-consciousness, sanctimoniousness, hypocrisy, and a general contempt for and mistrust of all persons except the very few who subscribe to the "sound form of words" in which their metaphysico-religious notions clothe themselves. The story is unimportant; the style of thinking and writing is mean, and there is as much "untruth to nature" as can well be found in a book.

"*Sketches by Quiz*,"²⁵ illustrated by Phiz, is an old favourite. There is still many a laugh in it; and the plates are interesting as contrasts with the style of to-day. There is in them a hearty abandon

²³ "*The Ruined Cities of Zulu Land*." By Hugh Mulleneux Walmsley, Colonel Ottoman Imperial Army. 2 vols. London: Chapman & Hall. 1869.

²⁴ "*Exiles in Babylon; or, Children of Light*." By A. L. O. E. London: Nelson and Sons. 1869.

²⁵ "*Sketches of Young Couples: Young Ladies and Young Gentlemen*." By Quiz. Illustrated by Phiz. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

and fun, which the correcter drawing of the present decade may well envy. We have lost much of the jollity, the unctuousness, the rollicking delight of this old time, when Mr. Dickens was still a young man.

Everybody knows or should know Miss Angelina Gushington's "Thoughts on Men and Things,"²⁶ which we are glad to see has entered on a third edition.

"The Pilgrim and the Shrine,"²⁷ one of the wisest and most charming of books, has also reached a second edition. It contains some additions; a few admirable pages on bringing up children. It is very interesting to observe that most of the wisdom of the book comes from its simple candour—comes mainly from the steady habit of mind which Locke describes in his celebrated maxim, "We ought to train ourselves not to believe a statement with more earnestness or conviction than the grounds on which the statement rests warrant." Following this like a religion, and constantly keeping his eye fixed upon the exhaustless significance of the facts of our daily life, the author of "the Pilgrim and the Shrine" has produced a thoroughly good and edifying book. The native freshness and bright clearness of his style strike every one.

"The Book of Worthies," by the author of "The Heir of Redclyffe," is an admirable addition to an admirable series.²⁸ There are few books in existence better adapted for the reading of the young. The author, as every one knows, has the gift of story-telling; and, though here and there a little stiffness—a slight halting, is observable, she carries her readers along with her with good-will and spirit. The story of Xenophon and the Retreat of the Ten Thousand is one of the best; the story of King David is one of the worst told. It is too long, and not in the style which young readers like. The writer, too, has evidently been hampered in it by theological prejudices; while she rises in the story of the great general to real freedom and grasp of detail.

Mr. Nutt has just brought out a beautiful edition, the fifth, of the *Poetae Scenici Graeci*,²⁹ with Dindorf's *Prolegomena*. The value of Dindorf's editions is perfectly well known; we need only mention here the extreme clearness and beauty of the type.

Mr. Gladstone's "*Juventus Mundi*"³⁰ is an *Umarbeitung* of his work on Homer, which appeared in 1858. In its present form it will be much more useful to students and to the merely English

²⁶ "Thoughts on Men and Things: A Series of Essays." By Angelina Gushington. Third Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1869.

²⁷ "The Pilgrim and the Shrine; or, Passages from the Life and Correspondence of Herbert Ainslie, B.A. Cantab." Second Edition, with additions and corrections. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1869.

²⁸ "A Book of Worthies." Gathered from the Old Histories, and now written anew by the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." London: Macmillan. In the Golden Treasury Series.

²⁹ "*Poetarum Scenicorum Graecorum Fabulae superstites, et Perditarum Fragmenta, ex R. Gulielmi Dindorfii.*" Londini: D. Nutt. 1869.

³⁰ "*Juventus Mundi: The Gods and Men of the Heroic Age.*" By the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

[Vol. XCII. No. CLXXXII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXVI. No. II. U U

reader. It is impossible in this section to enter fully on the subject of the book: but we beg to be allowed to note the two qualities of Mr. Gladstone's mind that seem to us predominant. 1st, A power of labour which no amount of detail can daunt, united to a mental view that never loses sight of the plan and bearings of the subject as a whole; and 2nd, A directness of mental vision, a power of looking a question, or thought, or fact straight in the face, and seeing what is there and nothing else. The world of Homer,—and he is a world, wider and fresher than even the world of Shakspeare,—has no more ardent and indefatigable traveller, no more clear and quicksighted observer, than the man whose present work it is to administer the affairs of the British Empire. There is probably no other writer now living who could have done the work of this book, no other writer who unites in himself such wide and deep cultivation, so much practical knowledge of men, and who, with all his experience, and after all his hard and long labour, preserves so much spring and elasticity of mind. At any rate, it would be difficult to point out a book that contains so much fulness of knowledge, along with so much freshness of perception and clearness of presentation.

It is unnecessary to do more here than to chronicle the appearance of a cheap edition of "*Romola*."

"*Le Juif Polonais*"³¹ is a play in three acts, by those well-known writers, MM. Erckmann-Chatrian. It was written without any thought of the theatre; but M. Henri Laroche, observing its capability of presentation on the boards, had it adapted to the necessities of the Cluny theatre, and acted there last June. The story is a very simple one, and there is very little of what is called "action" in the play. The scene is laid in Alsace. The central idea of the play is "poetical justice." We cannot help thinking that the main idea is as strong and true as it is delicate; though perhaps it is not coarse and broad enough for our English playwrights. The style has all that natural grace and freshness that we have a right to expect from MM. Erckmann-Chatrian.

"*Le Livre des Epouses*"³² is rather a catchpenny title for three stories that are interesting enough, and on the whole rather above the average of the smart, epigrammatic, "knowing" French novel, but are not in any sense remarkable. The title would lead us to expect an analysis in the style of Michelet's books. But the stories are worth reading. The principal story gives the wooing, marriage, and married life of a French avocat.

MM. Erckmann-Chatrian give us, in their "*Histoire d'un Paysan 1793*"³³ a continuation of the stories written by them for 1789 and 1792. This volume is chiefly filled with the doings of the army of the Rhine and of the Army of the West. The hero, Michel Bastien, a young Alsatian, is

³¹ "*Le Juif Polonais*," Drame en Trois Actes et Cinq Tableaux. By Erckmann-Chatrian. Paris: Hetzel & Co.

³² "*Le Livre des Epouses*," Par Hippolyte Anduval. Paris: Lacroix, Verboekhoven & Co. 1869.

³³ "*Histoire d'un Paysan l'an 1 de la République, 1793*," Par Erckmann-Chatrian. Paris: Hetzel & Co.

a national volunteer. He tells, in the easy, bright, natural style which the readers of the Erckmann-Chatrian novels well know, about the taking of Spire from the Austrians; about the events that are going on in Paris—which are introduced by the machinery of letters from home and interviews with comrades who belong to other armies; the quarrels of the Montagne and the Gironde, and so on. After the capture of Mayence by the combined forces of the Austrians and Prussians—the siege of which is very well and vividly described—the hero is drafted to the army of the West, which has been ordered by the Convention to march against the Vendéans. In the first battle with the Vendéans Michel is wounded, and is sent back to Angers. This battle is described with the usual clearness and skill in grouping of the authors. Of course the chief interest for the reader comes from the odd and new look which the old and well-known events of the Revolution put on when they are passed through the mind of a prejudiced Frenchman of the lower orders, who sees everything through the heated medium of the ardent republicanism of the year One.

The "*Lehrbuch der Deutschen Literatur*,"³⁴ by Dr. Hermann Stohn, is intended for Ladies' Schools and *die reifere weibliche Jugend*. It is a book written by a cultivated man—at home in his own ground, and not without insight and a talent for putting clearly what he has to say. But, like most English writers of the same kind, Dr. H. Stohn seems to have begun his work without either aim or plan. The book is not so bad in this respect as several English "histories of literature" we could name, but its main object seems to be to give a little about everything. The very opposite plan would be much the best for young readers—everything about a little. There is no more injurious method in education than the method of a spurious encyclopædism. We have here, for example, seventeen epic poets (it will be joyful news to the British Public—or otherwise?—to know that there are seventeen "Epic Poets" still living, and probably writing, in Germany) crammed into five pages, and twenty-six dramatic poets into eight. It is somewhat comical too—and suggestive of the present position of woman in Germany—to find the ladies, poetesses, romance-writers, lyrical poetesses, and others—all knocked off in a short appendix of fourteen pages at the end of the volume.

"Molière, Shakspeare, u. die Deutsche Kritik,"³⁵ by Dr. C. Humbert, of Bielefeld, is an able contribution to the best kind of critical work in Germany. It is written in a lively, vigorous style, which carries the reader with it—is clear and direct, and never tedious or obscure. His ideas are definite and thorough-going; and he has also the power of clear expression. He does not lose himself in generalities; and he defines his terms with fulness and adequacy before he uses them. German books of criticism are in general not lively; but this is one of the most brilliant exceptions we have yet met with. Still, pleasant

³⁴ "*Lehrbuch der Deutschen Literatur für höhere Töchter Schulen u. die reifere weibliche Jugend*." Von Dr. Hermann Stohn. Leipzig: Teubner. 1869.

³⁵ "*Molière, Shakspeare, und die Deutsche Kritik*." Von Dr. C. Humbert. Leipzig: Teubner. 1869.

and interesting as the book is, we wish it had been shorter. Life is short: art is long; and literature is daily becoming longer.

The second part of Herr Droysen's translation of "Aristophanes"²⁶ has just appeared. It contains *The Birds*, *Lysistrate*, *The Thesmophoriazusa*, *The Frogs*, *The Ecclesiazusa*, and *Plutus*. Each play is prefaced by a very clever introduction; and we especially direct attention to the lively description of the Athenian character in the introductory notice to "The Birds." The plastic nature of the German language, which lends itself with ease to a cast of anything, which can translate with almost as much fidelity to the spirit as to the letter, has been worked to good results in the hands of Herr Droysen. He does not rise to the wonderful perfection of Dr. Daumer's reproduction of Hafiz; but he is at any rate easily in advance of every English translation of Aristophanes we yet have. He has a strong sympathy with the rollicking fun and furious humour of the great Greek dramatist; and he gives his "driving sleet of words" with a success worthy both of the Greek and of the German. We wish we had space to quote, in defence of our opinion, the scene between the Herald and Peithetairos (line 1263, et seqq.) If this translation be no great help to the critical study of Aristophanes, it is by far the best help we know to the genial enjoyment of him. There is as yet no mean in our language by which the English reader can obtain a faint idea what Aristophanes really is; and in this respect the Germans are far ahead of us.

Paul Heyse here gives us the eighth series of his "Moralische Novellen"²⁷. It contains five tales, "Cousin Gabriel," "The Two Sisters," "Lawrence and Laura," "Am todten See," and "The Tower of Nonza." The last is a Corsican story, by F. D. Guerazzi. They are very charming stories, written in a bright, clear-flowing style, full of humour and knowledge of human, and especially of child-nature. We trust that they will be translated into English; they are certain to find an admiring and appreciative circle of readers.

"Hölty's Poems"²⁸ are not much known in this country, and deserve to be better known. Like our own Collins, he died early, at the age of twenty-seven, and while he was engaged in superintending the publication of his poems. It is a curious sign of the difference between the conscience of the last century and the conscience of this, that Voss, to whom was entrusted the task of bringing out an edition of his writings, made innumerable alterations, corrections, and "improvements" in them. This he called editing. Karl Hagen, the editor of the present edition, has made it his first care to present the public with a pure text. He has also given us many poems never before printed, and a few letters from the poet's correspondence. This is therefore the standard edition of Hölty. The Editor gives the date of each

²⁶ "Des Aristophanes Werke uebersetzt." Von Joh. Gust. Droysen. Zweiter Theil. Leipzig: Veil & Co. London: Nutt. 1869.

²⁷ "Moralische Novellen." Von Paul Heyse. Achte Sammlung. Berlin: Hertz. 1869.

²⁸ "Gedichte," von Ludewig Heinrich Christoph Hölty, nebst Briefen des Dichten, herausgegeben von Karl Hagen. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1869.

poem, a feature we should gladly see followed in editions of English poets; it is an indispensable element in all serious study of a poet's writings.

It is impossible to do more than mention the appearance of the fourth volume—the volume for 1869, of the *Jahrbuch*³⁹ of the German Shakspeare Society. It contains essays on such subjects as the treatment of Shakspeare by Dryden; a comparison between Shakspeare and Euripides; on Shakspeare's sonnets; a critical essay on Timon of Athens; another on Macbeth; notes on the poaching story; an essay on a new style of presentation on the stage of Richard III.; and a few other essays or excursions on minor points connected with his plays. There is surely here a bill of fare varied enough for the appetite of the most ardent student of Shakspeare and his drama.

ART.

DR. HOLTZMANN, a professor of theology in the University of Heidelberg, has given us in a thoughtful and agreeably written little volume,¹ or pamphlet as it might almost be called, the results of his observation and reflection during two recent art tours in Italy. It appears that Dr. Holtzmann's interest in art had been mainly of a theoretical and intellectual kind,—as indeed every cultivated German has in art a theoretical and intellectual interest—until these Italian excursions had stored his mind with present images of the artistic achievements of the Italian Middle Age and Renaissance. These achievements his profession of theologian naturally led him to consider in their bearings upon that which is for the theologian his special study, the history and development of religious thought. It cannot be said that in Dr. Holtzmann's pages there is to be found much that is likely to be new to his countrymen, or to those outlanders who have been accustomed to read his country's literature. The main movement which is here traced as underlying and directing the progress of art from the Byzantine mosaics of St. Mark's and earlier churches down to the frescoes of Raphael in the Vatican, is a gradual emancipation from the shackles of the priestly convention which imposed or helped to impose upon the earliest artists a traditional uniformity of type and arrangement; a gradual development and self-assertion of the individual; a gradual enlargement of the liberty of the human spirit, accompanied by a gradual divergence of its tendencies; a progress towards the free self-consciousness of the individual exercising in the devotional sphere his voluntary initiative, and no longer owning allegiance to the all-controlling prescriptions of the Church. This is a point of view which must be familiar to

³⁹ "Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakspeare-Gesellschaft im Auftrage des Vorstandes durch Karl Elze." Vierter Jahrgang. Berlin: Reimer. 1869.

¹ "Denkmäler der Religionsgeschichte auf dem Gebiete der Italienischen Kunst." drei Vorträge von Dr. H. Holtzmann. Kilderfeld. 1869.

most of our readers. Jacob Burckhardt, in his history of the Renaissance, takes this point of view persistently; and indeed the "*Entwickelung des Individuums*" has come to be an accepted formula for generalizing the phenomena of that movement. Dr. Holtzmann does give us clear historic testimony that in the days of Charles the Great the infant efforts of art were controlled by the prescriptions of the Church, when he quotes a decision of the second Council of Nicæa to the effect that "not the invention of the painter creates the picture, but a law, a tradition of the Catholic Church as prescribed by the Holy Fathers; to them belongs the composition, to the artist its execution only." A modern German is very far from sympathizing, because he happens to be a professor of theology, either with the theological system or the ecclesiastical organization of the Catholic ages. On the contrary, Dr. Holtzmann, from his intellectual standing-ground, follows the release of the plastic imagination of Italy from ascetic rules, and its recovery of a free ideal of human beauty by the help of the excavated monuments of antiquity, with an enthusiasm not less than that with which the artist or art-lover follows them from his purely æsthetic standing-ground. He is no friend to the "*Mittelalterliche Kirchenglaube*." Speaking of the "*Incendio del Borgo*," and of the almost ludicrous insignificance to which Raphael has reduced the miraculous element in the scene, Dr. Holtzmann interprets thus: "It is here *painted down*, so to speak, before the eyes of every beholder, that the first condition of vitality for modern art is that it should free itself from the Church, in order to enter thereby into the truest and most enduring alliance with religion." Lionardo, Raphael, and Michael Angelo are the three painters who naturally interest our author most, as at once the first and last of great innovators and inventors in the treatment of religious subjects. Concerning Raphael he has more to say, and that of better quality, than concerning Buonarroti. Into the glorious genius of that eager and baffled Titan he has not adequately penetrated. The Venetian school, as was to be expected, interests him less; although he does not fail to point out that which was their special innovation in the field of religious art—the selection of other subjects in the life of Christ than those commonly treated; the selection of many hitherto unpainted incidents of the New Testament, such as gave occasion for the grouping, under the sanction of a Bible name, of Venetian dames and senators amid circumstances of ceremonial splendour. Finally, Dr. Holtzmann has some interesting, and, as we think, judicious remarks, on the union of artistic ostentation with ascetic gloom which marked the religious schools of the decadence: the grimy mechanical sanctities, the cruel martyrdoms and ugly bloodshed in which "the Epigoni of the art-glory of Italy" delighted, in the days when art had been recalled to the service of a Catholicism made darker, narrower, and more austere by the hostility of the Reformed half of Europe. The Catholic revival, of which Ranke has given us the history, and on which Macaulay has written one of his most brilliant essays, finds its illustration in the paintings of Domenichino, Caravaggio, the Caracci, and the tenderer-souled Guido Reni.

We have received two new works from the pen of the very distinguished author of a general "History of Art," which has recently been translated into English. We mean Professor Wilhelm Lübke of Stuttgart. With regard to Professor Lübke's larger work, we have to acknowledge that we did not find in it quite that quality of combined penetration and comprehensiveness which is required in a compendious history of a great subject, and which the recognised science and power of its author had led us to expect. We like both of the present volumes better. The former of the two² is a history of the Renaissance architecture of France. It appears to form the second part of a "History of Modern Architecture" undertaken by Professor Lübke in conjunction with Jacob Burckhardt. It is a well-written and exhaustively accurate account of the revolution by which French architecture was classicized in the sixteenth century, and is illustrated with nearly a hundred excellently-finished woodcuts. In a rapid historical introduction the author goes over nearly the same ground as M. Michelet in the brilliant twelfth volume of his History of France. He traces the sudden shock of the French mind, its sudden plunge out of the full middle age into the full Renaissance, which was a consequence of the Italian expeditions of Charles VIII. and Louis XII.; and collects in a vivid and picturesque summary a number of instances of the manifestation of the classical spirit in literature, and of the Italianizing tendency of life and manners, which were witnessed by the first years of the sixteenth century. Then came Francis the First, feudal and mediæval by his love of chivalry, his love of the chase, his knightly magnificence, his gaiety and romantic courtesy and courage; but modern in his passion for Italy and things Italian, in his love of classical art and his affectionate patronage of artists; and he by his sovereign initiative confirmed and accelerated the movement that was already afoot. He summoned artists from Italy. He covered the country with pleasure-castles in the new style of building. His example was followed by all the great nobles who desired to please their king, or who remembered the delights of the villas and palaces of Italy. In Italy, as Professor Lübke points out, the Renaissance had been a spontaneous and national, almost a popular movement: it had sprung of its own accord from the revived study of the past by artists and men of letters, and had been applied simultaneously to the uses of the Church and of private opulence. In France on the other hand, as everywhere in the North, this revolution was imposed from above; the new architecture was imported by kings and nobles, and employed for the decoration of their palaces, while the old Gothic system, in an enervated form, lingered still in use for domestic and ecclesiastical buildings. The new architecture as practised in France was not however a slavish copy of the neo-classic style as initiated in Italy by Brunelleschi and his followers, and developed by Sammi-cheli, Sansovino, Bramante, Palladio, Alberti. The early Renaissance palaces and castles of France, especially of Touraine, the region best

² "Geschichte der Renaissance Frankreichs," von Wilhelm Lübke, Stuttgart, 1868. Ebner und Seubert.

beloved of the later Valois and their mistresses, have a character strongly national, full of a vivacious and picturesque ingenuity, and retaining under the more rigid and calculated constructive forms of the new style much of the inventive charm of the old. Those of our readers who have visited that pleasant country, and who can recal the aspect of its pleasant waterside castles, Amboise, Chambord, Chaumont, Chenonceau,—with its walls “encore humides” (we quote from memory a local guide-book) “encore humides de la tiède haleine de Diane de Poitiers”—Blois, Bury, and the rest;—those who have enjoyed all this will read with interest and instruction the account which Professor Lübke, in scientific but not repulsively technical terms, has to give of their origin and style. With the scientific account of this really delightful class of monuments belonging to the transition and early Renaissance—delightful both intrinsically and for their manifold and passionate historical associations—about half of Professor Lübke’s book is taken up. The balder and more jejune styles of the later part of the century, when the classical manner had already taken possession both of church and domestic architecture, and when it was declining towards frigid and sombre correctness on the one hand, and on the other towards the not less frigid license of the Baroque, have to be described in the remaining divisions. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the author takes leave of his subject. Finally we have to notice the careful biographical details on the lives of Bullaut, Jean Goujon, Phillibert de Lorme, and other obscurer architects of the French Renaissance, which are introduced in their places, and which complete the claims of the author to our gratitude for this valuable book.

The second contribution of this author to the literature of his subject which now reaches us is a collection of “Studies in Art-History.”³ They have been chosen, as we are told in the preface, from among numerous essays that have at various times been furnished by Dr. Lübke to journals and reviews. Their subjects are Michael Angelo, Titian, Women in Art-History, the Gothic Style and the Nationalities, A Tour in Mecklenburg, Ancient Stoves in Switzerland, Paul Veronese, Ancient Glass-Paintings in Switzerland, Modern Plastic Art at Berlin, and Cornelius. The three essays on the three great painters, Titian, Veronese, and Michael Angelo, are popular but at the same time grave in style, and show a learned understanding as well as a sympathetic appreciation of their lives and works. For readers unfamiliar with the history of painting, we can conceive no better introduction to it than essays of this class, in which the life and life-element of a master is carefully and vividly set forth, and his principal works described and discussed. With reference to Titian’s superb picture at the Borghese Palace, commonly known as “Sacred and Profane Love,” we are glad to see that Professor Lübke quotes and enforces Burckhardt’s assertion that this is a foolish misnomer; and that so far as those two figures, the draped and the undraped—of

• 3 “Kunsthistorische Studien: von Wilhelm Lübke. Stuttgart. Ebner und Seubert. 1869.

which who shall say that one is diviner than the other?—are emblematical at all, they must be considered emblematical not of Sacred and Profane Love, but of Love and Modesty, “*Liebe und Sprödigkeit* :” only there is no exact rendering for “*Sprödigkeit*” in English. Prudery implies reproach, and Virginity is not quite it either; but what has to be understood is that the one personification is in the painter's eyes as lovely and as innocent as the other. Here is a good summary of the melancholy and majestic destiny of the immortal Michael Angelo :—

“He was trained from his youth up in the stern school of life, and had to struggle against a whole chain of adversities. Almost all his most significant creations had the misfortune either not to be carried out according to his own conception, or else to be afterwards mutilated. Many of them, and among these some of the highest value and importance, were destroyed or have since disappeared. The funerary monument of Julius II., which had embittered half his life, was executed, and that in a crippled form, forty-three years after the date of his original design; the colossal bronze statue of the same Pope, which must have been an admirable work, was destroyed by the people of Bologna; the Florence Cartoon disappeared mysteriously; a set of drawings to Dante's ‘*Divina Commedia*’ were the prey of a shipwreck; the ‘*Leda*,’ one of the few easel pictures of the master, got lost in France; the same thing befel a number of drawings, models, and cartoons which he had given, together with the ‘*Leda*,’ to his pupil Antonio Mini. The building of St. Peter's was one series of annoyances and disasters, and more than that, its effect was notably weakened by Maderna's subsequent alterations: the plans for the façade of S. Lorenzo at Florence, as well as for the Church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorenti at Rome, failed to be put in execution; and finally, the ‘*Last Judgment*’ had to suffer lamentably from repainting, and, together with the roof-paintings of the Sistine Chapel, has to this day to suffer from the smoke of incense and candles. Add to this the grief which the downfall of the Florentine Republic inflicted upon him, and one may well say that no artist of such eminence has ever, in an equal degree, undergone the most sensible shocks of a hostile fortune.”

The concluding words here read somewhat lame and impotent: the “*Künstler von ähnlicher Bedeutung*” is a personage very far to seek, whether among the ill-starred or the prosperous; and this stubborn, impetuous, and noble spirit, whom we find contending against the kindred spirit of the furious della Rovere, or cursing fate and the world when he thinks that Vittoria Colonna is to be rest from him, was one not likely to be numbered among the happy under any conjuncture of circumstances. With reference to the lost *Leda* here mentioned, this is the picture which, in the opinion of some of the authorities of our National Gallery, has lately been discovered there under the disguise of a bad oil-painting of the same subject. This superimposed picture having been removed, the remains of a masterly work in tempera were discovered, of which the design is strictly Michael Angelo's, as we know it from Italian engraved vignettes and other sources; and which there seems good reason for supposing the authentic work that had so long been lost sight of.

It is, we conceive, a sign of the movement of German thought in the positive and objective direction, that Dr. Köstlin of Tübingen, in the comprehensive treatise⁴ in which he propounds a new body of æsthetic

⁴ “*Æsthetik*,” von Dr. Karl Köstlin. Tübingen. 1869.

science, has shifted from the standing-ground of Vischer, and of the other Hegelianizing writers on this subject. The necessary method, he says, is not to develop the Idea of the Beautiful in the first place, and then to trace this idea through its phænomenal manifestations. Still less is it to develop the Idea of Art in the first place, and trace this in like manner, since æsthetics has to do with the whole range of beautiful phænomena and their corresponding emotions, with those of nature as well as those of art. A rightly understood science of æsthetics will fall into two divisions; a universal or abstract division, dealing abstractedly and generally with the æsthetic "department of life." (*Lebensgebiet*), and analysing, classifying, and discussing in the abstract, the attributes both qualitative and quantitative in virtue of which certain manifestations of life are said to possess Beauty and enter into the æsthetical department or domain; and a Particular or Concrete division, dealing with the special, practical, and objectively existing realities included in this domain. In both of these a non-metaphysical or partly non-metaphysical method is recommended and adopted.

"The consideration of the Beautiful would float loose in the air if one determined to begin with the 'Idea' or the 'Metaphysic of the Beautiful.' The consideration of the Beautiful must be tied down to actual life, the Beautiful must be apprehended as a '*moment*' of life, and withal be grasped and examined in a vital fashion. This, however, can obviously be compassed only by taking up one's standing-ground from the beginning, not in the metaphysically void, but in life itself; and by trying to show how and why the æsthetic life, or life of the Imagination (*Phantasie*), takes its place apart as an independent sphere beside the practical and the intellectual spheres; and how and why the life of the Imagination of necessity finds in the contemplation and production of the Beautiful its highest and only perfect satisfaction, its highest and only true consummation."

Notwithstanding these professions, the reader will find that according to our English notions of philosophizing at least, Dr. Kostlin is still much given to travel the *high priori* road. Thus when he begins to analyse the beautiful, he lays down as one constituent of beauty the quality of producing a reposeful, harmonious, *nicht störende* impression, and then asks, what are the impressions that have this character? This is a fair example of his method. Of the application of the Association theory, as an English thinker would apply it to the analysis and classification of ideas of beauty, there is no trace. In this mixed method, semi-metaphysical and semi-objective, the patient reader will here find treated all the phænomena and all the ideas which fall under this branch of philosophy. He will find 1019 pages of closely reasoned and carefully divided and subdivided matter, full of hard thought and logical arrangement, and testifying to the most highly trained intelligence, the most unwearied and devoted industry; but which yet does not to us appear to set forward in any very appreciable degree the genuine knowledge of mankind.

Among the many distinguished historians that France has in our day produced, Professor Zeller has won an honourable place. His volume, of which we have just received the second edition,⁵ although

⁵ "*Italie et Renaissance.*" Par J. Zeller. Paris: Didier. 1869.

it lacks the rhetorical fire and imaginative fecundity of works like those of Michelet and Quinet, is readable and vivacious, and above all carefully studied for the ends of historical veracity in details. It consists of a series of essays which in a disconnected form give a tolerably connected view of Italian history from the accession of Pius II. down to the death of Leo X. These are not strictly concerned with our present theme; but in a brief preliminary essay M. Zeller gives us his version of the oft-told tale of the revival of the classical spirit in arts, letters, and thought. We think M. Zeller unduly postpones the beginning of the Renaissance, and represents it as more of a sudden and instantaneous intellectual outburst than it really was. And we think also that although it may be just to compare the political state of Italy before and during the Renaissance with the political state of Greece in her decadence, it is certainly unjust to depreciate the strength, heroism, passion and fascination of individual Italian characters before and during the Renaissance. We think, in short, that M. Zeller is for once unhistorical when he writes: "Imaginez maintenant dans cette époque de *mollesse* et de servitude, au milieu de ces esprits aigris et de ces *caractères faibles*, de ces regrets et de ces espérances, l'apparition subite, éclatante, de cette antiquité philosophique, historique, poétique." The fact surely is that revival had begun as early as the thirteenth century; and that neither then, nor at any time until after the conquests of Louis XII. and Maximilian, was Italy a country of softness or feeble characters.

"On peut affirmer," writes M. Auguste Laugel, "qu'il existe une sorte d'optique esthétique, bien qu'elle n'ait jamais été formulée en un corps de doctrines." The object of M. Laugel's little book⁶ is not precisely to formulate into a body of doctrines this possible science, but to throw out hints towards its future constitution. That is say, M. Laugel in the former part of his treatise gives a popular epitome of the results of the optical discoveries of Fechner and Helmholtz; in its latter part he deduces from these certain principles for the explanation of æsthetic effects, and the regulation of æsthetic enterprises. It is in the former part that he is the more successful. He is a skilful abridger and exponent of the plainer portions of the discoveries of men of science, and as in a former treatise he had made himself the mouth-piece of the discoveries of Professor Helmholtz in acoustics and the physiology of the ear, so does he now for that philosopher's discoveries in optics and the physiology of the eye. His independent speculations reach only to what is obvious. They might with advantage have been followed further and more systematically out. They are divided into the three heads of the laws of Sensibility applied to colours, the laws of Sensibility applied to magnitudes, and the Ideal Character of Art. Under each of these we have a not very good desultory essay, in which many common-places are repeated and few new truths divulged. After reading them we feel that the discoveries of science have not yet borne all the fruit that they are destined to bear in illustrating the manner of our perceptions of colour, form, and magnitude, and the

⁶ "L'optique et les arts." Par Auguste Laugel. Paris: Baillière. 1869.

reasons of the enjoyment that in certain cases accompanies those perceptions. M. Laugel does not dismiss us much wiser than we were before when he concludes his section on the laws of sensibility as applied to magnitudes by a trite rhetorical comparison of the various styles of architecture; nor when he sums up his section on those laws as applied to colours, by informing us that "the painter's gamut of colours is very poor, the intensity of his light is extremely low; but art profits by the indifference of the eye to vigour and vehemence of tones, and finds its means of expression in gradations and contrasts."

A monograph⁷ on the Flemish painter, John Breughel, has reached us from Italy. The book is based on documents existing at the Ambrosian Library at Milan; chiefly consisting of letters of the painter to his patron, Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, and other friends. The editorial matter is of a somewhat singular quality. Dr. Crivelli is evidently an enthusiast; he has brought the utmost zeal and diligence to bear on the collection and collation of his materials; and he has thus thrown real light on the relations in which the brilliant miniaturist stood to his contemporaries, and especially to Rubens; who, with his affectionate generosity, seems to have taken upon himself for many years the office of amanuensis to Breughel. But Dr. Crivelli is in his style cruelly verbose, as well as curiously spasmodic, interjectional, and affected, which makes his part of the book extremely difficult reading. He concludes with a vivacious attack upon a theory broached by M. Alfred Michiels concerning the duality, so to speak, of this painter. This critic had found the number of works attributed to Giovanni Breughel "de ve-lours" too great for any single painter; and by a certain manipulation of biographical evidences had invented two Breughels, father and son, among whom he distributed this multitude of paintings; a hypothesis which Dr. Crivelli refutes entirely to his own satisfaction.

Signor Selvatico prefaces his careful guide to Padua⁸ and its neighbourhood with some piteous reflections on the difficulty and thanklessness of guide-book writing. But so far as a guide-book may be judged away from the scenes which it describes, this is one, we think, for which visitors to Padua will not fail to thank its author. It seems thoroughly intelligent, and complete without being long-winded, especially in the artistic sections. The volume is illustrated with some very respectable wood-cuts.

Signor Martini's "Studies on Correggio"⁹ are a genuine contribution to the literature of art, and for the student of this particular painter indispensable. The book is not properly speaking a new one; but as it has been newly sent us we may perhaps be pardoned for recommending it in this place to the notice of our readers. It would have been better had some other form been selected for the publication than that of a large thin quarto, and it would have been better if the profusion of somewhat artificial and chilly rhetoric in which the author

⁷ "Giovanni Breughel, sue lettere e quadretti esistenti presso l'Ambrosiana." Par Giovanni Crivelli. Milan. 1868.

⁸ "Guida di Padova e dei principali suoi contorni, di Pietro Selvatico." Padova. 1869.

⁹ "Studi intorno il Correggio, di Pietro Martini." Parma. 1865.

indulges had been checked. But with these drawbacks this must be pronounced a book acceptable as giving us the most careful and most trustworthy account yet published of this great, and in his life neglected painter. Correggio was the only one of the illustrious artists of the cinquecento who had no contemporary fame equal to his deserts, who died poor and unlamented, and of whom there are no letters, no anecdotes, no authentic portraits, and little credible record. Signor Martini, treating of the art of the master with somewhat too much of the effusion of a mere encomiast, has in treating of his life displayed great diligence and clear-sightedness. In full references and notes between the chapters the reader will find an opportunity of testing for himself the value of the author's inferences, and the use which he has made of his documents.

An English pamphlet,¹⁰ also of not quite recent date, has reached us. It is only noticeable as being written with a more comical contempt of grammar than anything else that we have seen in print. Its object is to find fault with the misdirection of Government art patronage—and indeed with most other things. Here is a specimen of the author's style:—

"Brought up to regard the 'powers that be,' if not 'ordained of God,' at least as under the government of right sense and honour, I have had to endure every species of wrong, social and legal; and when, in following up a natural gift of art as an occupation, I was led by the press of the time (1849) to believe that such a peaceful pursuit would lie out of the pale of trade corruption or political tug and jobbery, only to find, however, the muse of 'authorship and art' begrimed to suit the interests of a class better fitted for horse-dealers or 'Old Bailey practitioners.'"

Still more humorous is it to find our author calling Mr. Ruskin, of all things in the world, "the compiler of the thoughts of Lessing, Goethe (*sic*), and Aristotle, and the studio talk of artists."

That notable compiler of other people's thoughts has lately published a volume¹¹ which, although not in the main directed upon art matters, yet has at such matters certain side glances of which we may be allowed to take notice here. The book consists of three parts: one headed *Athena in the Air*, the next *Athena in the Earth*, and the third *Athena in the Heart*. The first part was in the main delivered in the form of a lecture in March of the present year; the second part is a study supplementary to the first; the third a loosely stitched collection of notes, partly from former numbers of the "Art Journal," and of fragments of other lectures. With the mythological aim, which is also the principal aim of Mr. Ruskin's work, we have strictly nothing to do; yet we should like to pause and point out how fruitful and suggestive, how finely and subtly imaginative, Mr. Ruskin's treatment of this part of the subject is—at any rate in the first lecture. Subtracting what we think too great a readiness to attribute to the Hellenic intellect divination of modern discoveries, and pre-occupation with

¹⁰ "Technical Education: our Government Schools, and what they have done for Art." By G. W. Noy Wilkins. London: Adlard.

¹¹ "The Queen of the Air." By John Ruskin, LL.D. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1869.

modern perplexities, we are inclined to call this the most brilliant and successful piece of interpretation to which any set of Hellenic myths have been subjected in England since the discoveries of philologists have set interpreters on the right road. And it is done in the author's very best manner, with a lavish and delightful exercise of that power which he has of fixing in melodious periods the most evanescent, and to other men indescribable operations of nature, her subtlest and most fugitive lovelinesses. There is another part of the book with which we have nothing to do either, and with which we are very glad to have nothing to do—the part in which the author insists on the doctrine of control, or Law, and denounces liberty, or rather that which he understands by the name of liberty. The two chief passages referring specifically to art both occur in the last and loosely-connected chapter headed *Athena Ergane*, or *Athena in the Heart*. The first of them is an expression of opinions on the relation of art to morality, directly or nearly directly, contrary to those which were ventured on the same subject in a recent number of this Review.

"Great art," writes Mr. Ruskin, "is the expression of the mind of a great man, and mean art that of the want of mind of a weak man. A foolish person builds foolishly, and a wise one sensibly: a virtuous one beautifully, and a vicious one basely. If stone work is well put together, it means that a thoughtful man planned it, and a careful man cut it, and an honest man cemented it. If it has too much ornament, it means that its carver was too greedy of pleasure; if too little, that he was rude, or insensitive, or stupid, and the like. So that when once you have learned how to spell these most precious of all legends—pictures and buildings—you may read the characters of men and of nations in their art as in a mirror—nay, as in a microscope, and magnified a hundredfold; for the character becomes passionate in the art, and intensifies itself in all its noblest or meanest delights. Nay, not only as in a microscope, but as under a scalpel and in dissection; for a man may hide himself from you, or misrepresent himself to you, every other way, but he cannot in his work—there, be sure, you have him to the inmost. All that he likes, all that he sees—all that he can do—his imagination, his affections, his perseverance, his impatience, his clumsiness, his cleverness, everything is there. If the work is a cobweb, you know it was made by a spider; if a honeycomb, by a bee; a wormcast is thrown up by a worm, and a nest wreathed by a bird; and a house built by a man, worthily, if he is worthy, and ignobly if he is ignoble. And always, from the least to the greatest, as the made thing is good or bad, so is the maker of it."

One would be glad to hold an opinion so plausible and so tempting as this is, especially when it comes enforced by the cogent eloquence of a writer of genius; but it is an opinion which closer examination to us seems only to render more untenable. The thing is surely not quite so simple as this. Can one not conceive some Socratic questioner applying his elenchus here: "*A virtuous man builds beautifully*. Very well. But what do you understand by a virtuous man? Do you mean a virtuous soldier, a virtuous citizen, a virtuous husband, a virtuous father, or only a virtuous builder? *As the made thing is good or bad, so is the maker of it*. Very well indeed. But in what way must the maker of the good thing be good? Must he be a good statesman, a good actor, a good runner, a good blacksmith, or only good as the maker of that particular thing?" To the former question Mr. Ruskin

would have to reply, that to build beautifully the builder must possess all those other virtues, and in addition to them the natural gift and acquired art of building. To the latter we must not make him reply (as Plato, by-the-bye, would have been apt to make a subject of the elenchus reply) that the good maker must also be a good statesman, actor, runner, blacksmith, but only that the good maker must also be morally good—that is, that he must have justice, right conduct, honesty, gentleness, and the like. That is precisely the point that lacks proving. To us the experience of the past (witness the commonplaces about the aberrations and vices of genius) seems to assert that a man may do a particular thing excellently well, and yet be in other respects nearly a worthless man. Take the matter of art production. Certain constitutional or inherited tendencies and capacities of the brain develop in a given man a special sensibility to a certain set of pleasures, and a special capability for producing the class of objects that gives rise to that set of pleasures. This capability of itself is not enough; it requires training and perfecting by assiduous practice and discipline. To such assiduous practice and discipline the person thus gifted is stimulated by the love of applause, by the satisfaction of doing a thing well, but especially by the natural pleasure which his constitution enables him to feel in the class of objects upon which his efforts are directed. In the meantime he may quite possibly be cruel or dissolute—a rogue, spendthrift, or liar. Assiduous practice and discipline are the means of cultivating right morality and self-control, as well as of cultivating an artistic gift; but a man may subject himself to practice and discipline in one department without subjecting himself to it in the other. Supposing the tendency to self-indulgence in a man to be strong, and his regard for others to be weak, such practice and discipline as are necessary to the moral regulation of life will be for him excessively difficult. Supposing in the same man (what experience proves possible) the sensibility of the perceptions to be great, and the power of the imagination strong for retaining and combining the impressions by which it has once been pleasurable stimulated, the kind of practice and discipline necessary for developing this sensibility and this power into a complete artistic gift will be comparatively easy. In the one case the motives for practice and discipline will be weaker than the motives against; in the other case the motives for them will be stronger than the motives against; and the result will be an ill-regulated character accompanying a successful talent; a builder who has the virtues of a builder, but not the virtues of a citizen, husband, father. And this is what constantly occurs, and what makes it so fallacious, as we think, to judge confidently from a man's work to his character. When La Bruyère wrote "*Quelle mésintelligence entre l'esprit et le cœur!*" it was at this that he pointed. His maxim is thus commented on by a recent writer: "*L'esprit et le caractère se poursuivent toujours sans jamais s'atteindre; peu de gens ont l'esprit de leur caractère, moins encore le caractère de leur esprit.*" Under *esprit* or mind, La Bruyère would have included all those mental operations, all that activity of the intellect and the imagination, which passes in a man's consciousness without taking effect in action,

without resulting in practice; under *cœur* he would have included all those thoughts and emotions which do tell in action and in practice, which regulate conduct and constitute the character of a man as displayed in his intercourse with his fellows. Similar affections may in one case get translated into practice, and in another case may remain inoperative for practice. The emotions of tenderness, compassion, benevolence, renunciation, love of justice, and the rest, that in a temper of one constitution would have passed into action and have been consolidated and perpetuated in the formation of a virtuous character, may in a temper of another constitution remain idle, and infructuous so far as conduct is concerned; but without ever passing into action may yet fructify as a mental experience, and be given out again in burning exhortations from the pen of a poet whose conduct proclaims him a rascal, or in countenances of expression exquisite and angelic from the hand of a painter whose life is a reproach. And it is only of the *practical* morality of an artist, as exhibited in life and conduct, to which, as we maintain, the products of his art are no adequate clue. Of that other unpractical or potential morality which constitutes not what the man in his outward life *was*, but what he *might have been* had his righteous feelings not been mastered by the unrighteous, and so prevented from passing into practice, we have nothing to say. When Mr. Ruskin writes, "A man may hide himself, or misrepresent himself to you in every other way, but he cannot in his work; there, be sure, you have him to the inmost," he may be right, understanding by "himself" his whole inner nature and the sum of his contending impulses, which constitute what we have called his unpractical or potential morality. But it is not according to this, it is according to his practical morality as issuing in conduct, that the moral verdict of man upon man is passed. And it is in this sense that we hold it to be entirely fallacious to say that "a virtuous man builds beautifully, a vicious man basely;" and "that as the thing made is good or bad, so is the maker of it."

We have taken so much space for the explanation of our position on this matter that we cannot touch on other interesting questions with reference to the arts raised in the present volume by Mr. Ruskin (as indeed this writer is at all times one of the most suggestive and most stimulating). Still less have we the chance of doing justice to the admirably written and entertaining volume¹² in which Mr. Gilbert has given us the results of his exploration of the country of Titian's birthplace. Of this book the illustrations are the only weak point. Mr. Gilbert makes us feel with quite a new vividness and freshness the nature of the element amid which Titian spent his youth. He writes at once like a sensible and vivacious tourist, an enthusiastic and discriminating amateur, and a careful and judicious historical investigator. He has, we think, set at rest for good all doubts as to the subject of Titian's destroyed battle-piece in the Ducal Palace. He has given us many interesting scraps of biographical and historical detail, some excellent descriptions, and some general remarks on landscape art giving rise to reflections which we only regret that we have not here space to develop.

¹² "*Cadore; or Titian's Country.*" By Josiah Gilbert. London: Longmans.

